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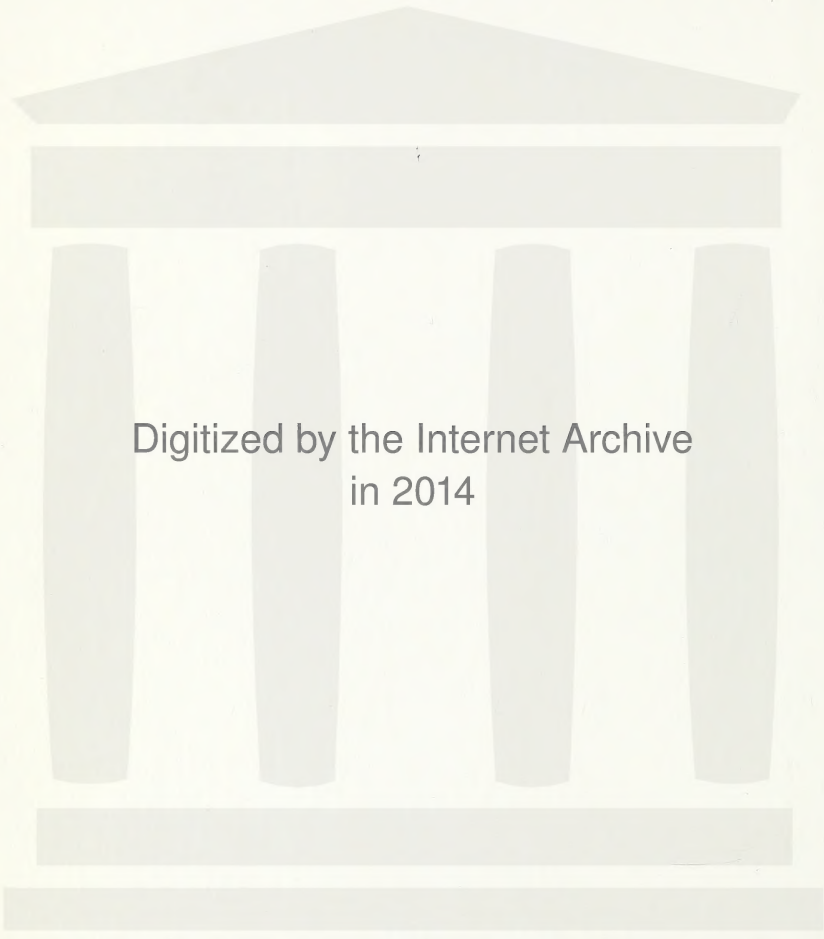

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PRINTED CALENDARS.

THE Editors of Calendars published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls are requested to confine any Prefatory Remarks they may consider necessary to prefix to their Volumes to an explanation of the Papers therein contained.

(Signed) ROMILLY.

13th June 1867.

CALENDAR

OF

STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS

EXISTING IN THE ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS OF

VENICE.

1527—1533.

CALENDAR

OF

STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS,

RELATING TO ENGLISH AFFAIRS,

EXISTING IN THE ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS OF

VENICE, Italy

AND IN OTHER LIBRARIES OF

NORTHERN ITALY.

VOL. IV. V.4

1527—1533.

EDITED BY

RAWDON BROWN.

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1871.

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PREFACE.

THE year 1527, with which the fourth volume of the Venetian Calendar commences, was ushered in by a magnificent entertainment at York House, at which the King was present, and Cardinal Wolsey's supremacy as yet gave no indications of decline. In France it was generally reported that Francis was on the eve of betrothal to the Princess Mary of England; and after the sack of Rome, on the 6th May 1527, the French and English ambassadors in Spain acted so heartily together at Burgos, that on the 21st January 1528 they, with their Italian colleagues, took leave of the Emperor, against whom on the morrow Clarencieux and Guienne made a formal declaration of war. In his reply, Charles V. reproached Henry VIII. with his injustice in attempting to obtain a divorce from Katharine, and his inconsistency in first tempting the Emperor to marry his daughter, the Princess Mary, whom he was thus stigmatising with the blot of illegitimacy. In conclusion, Charles V. attributed the hostilities of England to his refusal to satisfy the rapacity of Wolsey, or to secure for him the Papal tiara.

The Venetian correspondence during this eventful year, shows that it was the policy of the Cardinal to prevent the Cortes from giving the Emperor a donative, and also to induce the Electors to reject his brother Ferdinand and prefer one of their own number as a candidate for the title

of King of the Romans. Wolsey, said Charles, had sworn to be revenged, and if war ensued, the blood must rest on the head of him who was the original instigator of it.

In the course of 1527 an opportunity presented itself to the Cardinal for rendering Charles V. unpopular. His troops had sacked Rome, and the Pope was besieged in the Castle of St. Angelo; fasts were solemnized for the release of Clement VII., and when Wolsey went to France to confer with Francis I. a pageant in Wolsey's honour was performed at Calais, representing him as the Saviour of the popedom and of Italy. At Amiens he was met by Ghinucci and Gregory Casal, Italian diplomatists in the English service, and it was then and there that, on the 26th of August, Wolsey gave Casal the "large commission" to form a league with the Duke of Ferrara, an act included amongst the misdemeanours laid to the Cardinal's charge at his disgrace in 1529. The commission having been exhibited to the Venetian Signory as a party to the Italian League, it was transcribed in the "Commemoriale," where it is yet visible; and Casal having been invested with full powers by his King, the Republic admitted the validity of the document, and probably on good grounds, although at a later period it was disputed at home. In September 1527 we find the Senate charging the Venetian Ambassador in England to "beware of saying a word which could "offend or censure Cardinal Wolsey, he being in such "esteem and supreme favour as was well known."

A fortnight before the French and English heralds declared war at Burgos, news reached England of the Pope's escape from the Castle of St. Angelo; and at a banquet given by Wolsey in honour of that event, the scholars of St. Paul's recited the Phormio of Terence, one of them delivering an oration in which the Emperor's soldiery were styled the most iniquitous men in the world, worse

than Turks, he himself being stigmatized as the cause of all the recent calamities to which the Apostolic See had been subjected.

Although in January 1528 Charles V. had already complained openly of the threat of Henry VIII. to divorce Queen Katharine, the Venetian letters, which on the 29th August 1514 alluded to the subject cursorily, do not return to it until February and March 1528; whilst the English State Papers from June to September 1527 show that, although then "a secrete affayre," Charles V. became acquainted with it in the summer of that year; but on the other hand it is from a Venetian source that we obtain the first notice of the mission to England of the Papal agent Stafileo, who at a later period was reproached by Clement VII. with having been one of the chief abettors of Henry's design.

In April 1528, the Ambassador Surian in Florence giving the news of the day from Orvieto, where the Pope then resided, writes that the suit had been referred by him to three Cardinals, who were of opinion that the King's marriage ought not to be annulled; and in June, when the Papal Court had passed from Orvieto to Viterbo, we hear from the Venetian ambassador, Gasparo Contarini, of the appointment of Cardinal Campeggio as Legate to England. In conjunction with Cardinal Wolsey, he was charged by his Holiness to take cognizance of the suit for the dispensation of the King's marriage, which Contarini already foresaw would never be canonically dissolved; Clement VII. telling him moreover distinctly, that Campeggio was in the Emperor's confidence.

After a lapse of so many years, it is not to be expected that many new facts should be brought to light in illustration of so trite a subject as the repudiation by Henry VIII. of Katharine of Aragon; but the documents contained in

the present volume record certain circumstances which perhaps deserve greater attention than they have hitherto obtained.

In a letter to Henry VIII., date Rome, 11th February 1532[1], Edward Karne informs the King that "all stondyth "upon Cardinal Anchona, for as he woll, so every thyng "shalbe, and otherwyse hyt can not be loyked for here." This statement is fully confirmed by the Venetian ambassadors, who show that until his death, the Cardinal of Ancona was all powerful with Clement VII., and the staunch champion of the injured Queen.

The Cardinal of Ancona, by name Pietro Accolti, born at Arezzo in 1454, had been secretary to Pope Julius II., who created him Bishop of Ancona in 1505; and Cardinal, on the 10th March 1511. When Julius II. granted the dispensation for the marriage of Henry and Katharine, Accolti was the Pope's secretary, and he still maintained the validity of the act, at the age of 78, after a lapse of thirty years, thus showing himself consistent, conscientious, and courageous. Clement VII. informed Marco Antonio Venier, that it was the Bishop of Ancona who made him issue the Papal brief, dated January 1533, by which Henry VIII. was pronounced excommunicate, unless he restored the Queen to her place, and abstained thenceforth from all intercourse with Anne Boleyn, pending the issue of the trial. This was the last act of the Cardinal of Ancona, whose death is recorded by Venier in a letter dated Rome, 23rd April 1533.

Amongst other able and zealous supporters of Queen Katharine at the Papal Court (besides Francisco Quiñones, Cardinal of St. Croce), the Venetian ambassadors make special mention of a gentleman of Barcelona, named

[1] "State Papers," vol. vii., p. 5.

Don Michael Maj, who had studied at Padua, of Gabriel Merino, Archbishop of Bari, and of the Count of Cifuentes, all Spaniards accredited by the Emperor to Clement VII. On the 25th June 1533, Marco Venier writes that in a Consistory, held two days before, the Papal law officers commenced reading the process, an operation which was not concluded until the 25th, as the process contained the depositions of 150 witnesses. Some of these attested the impotency of Prince Arthur, others declared that Henry VIII. was heard to say he had found the Queen a virgin. It is much to be regretted that we have no list of the witnesses, as their names might serve to test the validity of the evidence produced on both sides.

The gradual decline of Wolsey's supremacy may be traced as follows:—On the 1st July 1527 he wrote to Henry VIII. that he was "not a little troubled in his "mind, lest the King should doubt his zeal in advancing "the secrete matier;"[1] and within twelve months from that time we hear from Italy, where Campeggio was preparing for his journey, that Wolsey's colleague was a notorious Imperialist. At that moment (June 1528) Henry VIII. sent Gardiner from Viterbo to Venice, charging the Signory to restore Ravenna and Cervia to Clement VII.; but in July 1529 Wolsey told Falier in London that the Signory would do well to place strong garrisons in those cities,—a change of policy which is accounted for by the Pope's letter to the King, dated 29th April 1529, informing him that it was not in the power of the Apostolic See to annul the dispensation granted by Julius II.[2]

On the following 16th of June the Legatine Court met

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[1] "State Papers," vol. i., part i., p. 94.

[2] "State Papers," vol. vii., p. 161.

in the Parliament chamber at Blackfriars, and Falier gives a minute account of its proceedings, which were also narrated to Gasparo Contarini by the Pope himself, who added that Queen Katharine had written to him, repeating under oath her declaration, made in public to Wolsey and Campeggio, that "no other husband than the present King "had consummated marriage with her." On the 29th July the Legates in England prorogued their Court, although the papal brief removing the suit to Rome had not yet arrived. After being delayed at Dover by contrary winds until the end of October, Campeggio crossed the Channel, and already in August the fall of Wolsey was foreshadowed at Venice by the refusal of the Senate to grant his demand for "a remnant of tawny coloured damask."

On the 18th of October the Cardinal was deprived of the Great Seal; and the breach which divided Rome and the Empire from England was daily widened, notwithstanding the general peace between Charles V., Henry VIII., and the other great Powers, proclaimed in London on the 28th August.

On the 5th November, the Emperor made his entry into Bologna, and Gasparo Contarini gives a minute account of the ceremony, showing, in contradiction to the assertion of Burnet, that Charles V. kissed the Pope's foot.

I have calendared what I believe to be the last letter written from Windsor Castle by Katharine of Aragon; it is one of kindness, in favour of her surgeon Balthasar Guercius, addressed to the Duke of Milan, dated the 15th July 1531. In the second week in August, Savorgnano was admitted to her presence at the More in Hertfordshire, after having previously presented himself to the King at a hunting-lodge in Windsor Forest. Whilst at Richmond, Savorgnano saw the Princess Mary, who was accompanied

by her governess, the Countess of Salisbury; and he shows how at that time the court of the heiress of England was such as became her high station.

A few days after Savorgnano's departure, the Ambassador Falier took leave of the King, with whom he had resided nearly three years; and having returned to Venice on the 2nd November 1531, he presented himself on the 10th to the Senate, and made his report, of which a copy exists in the Venetian Archives. A summary of its contents will be found in the present volume. It commences with a family portrait, and alludes to the baldness of Henry VIII., which may account for the reason why no painter ever dared to represent the King without a bonnet. Falier declares that the King had already become avaricious, and that his popularity was on the decline; "the Queen being so loved and respected, that "the people already commence murmuring; and were "the faction to produce a leader, it is certain that the "nation would take up arms for the Queen; and by so "much the more, were it arranged for him to marry the "Princess Mary, although by English law females are "excluded from the throne."

Whilst Margaret Plantagenet was at Richmond with the Princess, her son, Reginald Pole, resided at Avignon, where a letter was addressed to him from London, by Edward Wotton, and is now preserved amongst the Contarini MSS. in St. Mark's Library. Of direct notices of Pole during his stay at Avignon (which lasted but a few months), I have met with no other. To account for the present destination of this letter, I may mention that on quitting Avignon, Pole went to Venice, and his intimacy with Gasparo Contarini may have been the reason why this letter formed part of the donation made by the late Girolamo Contarini to St. Mark's Library. In this docu-

ment Edward Wotton exhorts Pole to be economical, laying before him the state of his limited income. The political intelligence contained in the letter reduces itself to news of the rupture with Scotland; of the King's progress to Nottingham; and of the appearance of Thomas Abell's book, confuting Cranmer's arguments in favour of the divorce. A reign of terror was commencing, and Wotton did "not dare be so curyouse about gettyng " off yt" [the book] "be cause yt ys prynted owt off " England." Abell's book was entitled—

"An answer that by no means it may be lawful for the King to be divorced from the Queen's Grace his lawful wife;"

and its author, the Queen's chaplain, was burnt in Smithfield in 1540, at the time when the post of Treasurer at Calais was held by this same Edward Wotton, whose grandson Henry was afterwards English minister at Venice for eleven years in the reign of James I. The notices of his negotiations, still preserved in the Venetian Archives, will serve hereafter to illustrate the intercourse between England and the Republic in the first half of the 17th century.

The letters of the Milanese envoy, Scarpinello, contain still more minute information about the disgrace and death of Cardinal Wolsey than is to be found elsewhere. He also tells us, that in the year before the appearance of Abell's book, three thousand copies of Tyndale's "*Practyse of Prelates*" had been circulated over London by the author's brother and others. The delinquents were paraded through the streets with pasteboard mitres on their heads; whilst from their necks were suspended copies of the heterodox pamphlet which the public executioner cast into the flames before St. Paul's Cross. With this example before his eyes, Edward Wotton acted prudently in not forwarding Abell's book to Reginald

Pole. But though Abell and Tyndale held religious opinions directly opposed to each other, they both suffered the same dreadful death. Abell, as I have said, was burnt at Smithfield, Tyndale at a place near Brussels, in September 1536, the Catholic Governor of Brabant admitting that he was "learned, godly, and good."

In November 1531 the Signory heard officially from their ambassador at Rome, that the Excusator Karne represented himself as sent to the Consistory not as agent from Henry VIII., but from the kingdom and people of England; the King's ambassadors at Rome opposing his admission, a feint which is alluded to in the State Papers (Vol. VII. pp. 281, 283). Whilst these matters were passing at the Papal Court, the Government in London vented its wrath on the Flanders galleys. The Duke of Norfolk, "the small man with black hair who "bore especial ill will" [as Falier said] "to our Venetian "nation," complained of the Signory's ingratitude, and an order was signed by the King, forbidding the despatch of any other galleys from Venice to England, because there was no wool. The Ambassador Capello heard on good authority, that the prohibiton was caused by a letter from Pope Clement, informing Henry VIII. that the Council of Ten forbad any doctor of law to quit the University of Padua for the purpose of stating the King's rights in the divorce case.

It appears in the seventh volume of the State Papers (p. 347), that a copy of Karne's conclusions was sent to England in his letter dated Rome the 11th February 1532; but as a foot-note informs us that they had not been found, I thought it my duty to translate the document from the transcript in the copies of Sanuto's Diaries, sent from Venice to Vienna in the year 1869, in exchange for the original volumes, in which I was unable to find the

"conclusion;" the sheet on which they were written, or printed, having evidently been cut out, but when, where, or by whom is uncertain. The translation has therefore been made without the possibility of collating it with the original, but, for the reason already assigned, I was loth to omit it; and with the assistance of Professor Rinaldo Fulin, I have made the most I could of the document.

A few months before the entries in the present volume commence, Polydore Vergil published in London his treatise "de Prodigiis." In September 1531, the Venetian ambassador in London announced to the Signory the appearance there of the comet, to which in 1682 one of the greatest astronomers of England (Halley) gave his name.

I do not know what contemporaneous English notices may be found of this comet of 1531, but in October the following year, at the moment when the King and Anne Boleyn were on the eve of departure for their interview with Francis I., Falier's successor, Capello, tells of another comet which had been seen in England for three weeks. According to astronomical registers it was visible from the 23rd September to the 20th November. The following is the only notice I have ever met with of its appearance to the naked eye in London.

The paragraph commences with the story of a whale ninety feet long, which was stranded on the Northumberland coast apparently in September, the ambassador adding that Polydore Vergil, who was in London in October, had received a letter from Tynemouth (which was sent to Venice), with a woodcut of the monster ("*etiam la effigie "di quello stampata*"), and then comes the account of the comet, and of another prodigy, thus—

"Twenty days ago a comet appeared here, and is still visible in the east two hours before daybreak; its tail, which is five

yards long and stretches towards the south like a long beard as it were, is of a bright silvery hue.[1] The people declare that on the morrow of the King's departure from Greenwich[2] the tide flowed during nine hours, the water rising even to Greenwich chapel, a thing never seen or heard of before, and these events they consider prodigies."[3]

Of whales in the Thames there had been a previous notice on the 24th May 1532, the day of Queen Katharine's removal from the More to Bugden, when in like manner they were considered prodigies of evil omen, especially because at that time fourteen persons committed suicide by drowning themselves in the river.

Nor did Polydore Vergil's dialogues and attacks upon Divination eradicate the "vulgar errors" of the English, for on the death of Oliver Cromwell, in September 1658, it was said that the event had been presaged three months previously by the capture near Greenwich of a whale, whose dimensions are registered in Evelyn's diaries, and it was then inserted in our national annals—"take "notice that the unusual appearance of a whale so far "within land has always prognosticated some mighty "change."[4]

The Venetian ambassador at the Court of France shows that, notwithstanding the comets, the whales, and the high tide, Henry VIII. and the Marchioness of Pembroke, with twenty maids of honour, arrived safely at Calais on the

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[1] "De qui già XX giorni de qui è aparso una cometa ch' ancor aparo do hore inanzi giorno in le parti di Oriente e stende la coda sua verso mezodì, di longeza di braza cinque in forma quasi di una lunga barba d' arzento splendulo."

[2] In the letter from which this extract is made, the ambassador writes that Henry VIII. quitted Greenwich for France on the 7th October.

[3] "Queste cose sono stimate da questi, prodigiose."

[4] *See* "The Turkish Spy." Letter dated "Paris, 5th of the 10th moon, 1658."

11th of October. In an anonymous account of the interview, preserved by Sanuto, it is said that Madame Anne was not one of the handsomest women in the world. He describes her as being of middling stature, with a swarthy complexion, a long neck, a wide mouth, and a flat bust, in fact, she owed her position to the King's sensual appetite and to her eyes, which were black and beautiful, and had taken great effect on the renegade servants of Queen Katharine, at least such is, I believe, the correct translation of the concluding paragraph, which in the original runs thus: "*et li ochj che sono neri et "belli et che ha grande modo de l' intertenimento di servi-"tori avesse la Regina quando era in salute.* Perhaps allusion is here made to those three members of the Privy Chamber, Brereton, Norris, and Weston, who were subsequently accused of being Anne's paramours.

The Venetian ambassador gives an account of the King's return from the interview in November, and of the promises obtained by him from Francis with regard to the divorce. In the following year he tells us how Cramner was consecrated on Monday the 31st of March, convocation sitting throughout that week, and apparently on Palm Sunday. On the Monday in Passion Week (the 7th of April), convocation pronounced the divorce; on Wednesday the 9th, Norfolk, Suffolk, and the Marquess of Exeter went to Ampthill to notify the resolve to Queen Katharine, whose reply is given in detail. Capello writes:—

"On this morning of Holy Saturday" (Easter eve, 12th April 1533), "the Marchioness Anne went to high mass with the King, as Queen, and with all the pomp of a Queen, clad in cloth of gold, and laden" ("*carga*") "with the richest jewels; and she dined in public, although they have not yet published the decree of the Parliament, and it has been told me on good authority that they await the conclusion of the peace with Scotland. I am

assured that his Majesty married her some months ago, and that she bore him a son who is a few months old."[1]

On the Wednesday in Easter week Capello went by Royal invitation to dine with the Court at Greenwich. His fellow-guests were the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, and Lord Rochfort, with whom, after the banquet, he entered the King's apartment, and found him with "the Queen Anne and many lords, "ladies, and damsels." He congratulated the King in general terms, but says nothing of any compliments paid by him to Anne Boleyn until the 24th June, when in reply to a civil message from the Signory, she said that she acknowledged everything from God, who had inspired the King to take her, and that he might have found a greater lady, but not one who bore greater goodwill and love to the Republic than she did.

Whilst the King and Anne Boleyn were preparing for their visit to the French Court, the Edinburgh ascetic, John Scot, to whom a reference is made in a Papal bull, printed in Rymer (vol. vi., part ii. p. 176), presented himself to the Venetian Signory, being then bound for Jerusalem. On his return from pilgrimage, "he appeared at "Paul's Cross, an evident saint and apostle, cursing the "King and his divorce, denouncing his apostacy, and "threatening the anger of Heaven."[2]

Scot was presented to the Doge by Michiel Morosini, to whom he had brought a letter of introduction from Cardinal Pisani. The Doge passed him on to the Chiefs of the Ten. He presented various well-authenticated certificates of his feats in fasting, which did not seem to have impaired his constitution, for Sanuto represents him

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[1] "Mi vien afirmato za più mezi questa Maestà averla sposata e aver "uno fiol di qualche mese con lei."

[2] *See* Froude's "History of England," vol. i., p. 294.

as being "about fifty years old, with long hair, red face, "fattish" ("*grasuto*"), "with a red beard." He was wrapped in a sorry plaid. He carried a Mass book ("*un* "*officio*") in his hand, on which his eyes were always bent, and speaking nothing but his own language, he was unintelligible to everybody; but possibly his companion, also a Scot, interpreted for him. At any rate the Chiefs of the Ten were hospitable, and they sent for the cellarer of St. Giorgio Maggiore, and desired him to provide for St. Ninian's devotee and his companion in the Benedictine monastery on that island during ten days, at the expiration of which they were to go to the island of San Spirito. Thus passing from one friary to another, the two pilgrims had board and lodging found them until an opportunity offered for safe passage to Jerusalem. Meanwhile all Venice went to look at John Scot, whose visit to the Signory preceded that of James Crichton by about half a century.[1]

Scarcely had Charles V. arrived at Barcelona from Genoa, when he heard what had taken place in England in Passion week, and immediately gave orders to Count Cifuentes, his ambassador at Rome, to urge the Pope to take proceedings against Henry VIII. Clement VII. replied that the King had violated the laws of God, and of the Apostolic See, and the ties of blood by which he was bound to the Emperor, so that it would be well to ponder the matter, and then act together spiritually and temporally: the Emperor as the champion of the Apostolic See, being bound to defend it, sword in hand; the Pope in like manner employing spiritual weapons. But he urged that, in the event of having recourse to arms, it should be remembered that they must also be

[1] *See* vol. i. Venetian Calendar Preface, p. xcii.

turned against the King of France by reason of his close friendship with England, and therefore as the conflict might prove detrimental to the Christian religion, the Pope advocated procrastination, objections which were constantly combated by Cifuentes and the other Imperialists at Rome.

Three days after Anne Boleyn's professions of regard for the Republic, another comet made its appearance, and as, according to the common astronomical registers, it was not generally visible until the end of July, I translate the ambassador's words from his despatch, dated London, 21st July 1533.

"Some twenty-four days ago, there commenced appearing there, at about the second hour of the night in the E.N.E., a star with a mane (*una stella crinita*) like a horse's tail, which to the [naked] eye, seemed ten yards in length, its summit traversing the Milky Way; and whereas at first it stretched towards the south-west by south so now does it seem to have declined towards the south-east by south." [1]

Sanuto closed his diary with the end of September 1533, nor can I take my leave of the diarist otherwise than I would of a valued friend and companion, with whom I have communed now for more than 37 years. In June 1833, my good friend the late Don Pietro Bettio, then Librarian of St. Mark's, introduced me to the first of the 58 folios, which detail the events of those momentous years with less passion and prejudice than any other known work. Sanuto was a scholar and antiquary; editions of the classics were dedicated to him by Aldus Manutius, and his own lives of the Doges illustrate his passion for

[1] According to an Italian printed account, this comet was not very far from Perseus, and *traversed* (?) the constellations Gemini, Taurus, and Aries, "*non molto lontano da Perseo, retrocedendo i segni di Gemini, Tauro, ed Ariete.*"

history. The occupation brought with it its own reward; and for the rest, the Diaries relating solely to events with which his contemporaries were well acquainted through a variety of other channels, he may be said to have laboured exclusively for future generations. Very little notice is to be found of himself, and that little is too often painful, for it shows that he was a poor, unfortunate, and disappointed man, not without some ambition for posthumous fame. When delivering his volumes for safe custody into the chamber of the Council of Ten, he wrote to the historian Bembo, that he did so "*acciochè le mie "fatiche siano sempiterne.*" It is satisfactory to think that his wish has been gratified, for at the present day, throughout Italy, as also in England, France, Germany, Russia, Hungary, and Croatia, the annals of those countries are daily enlarged by extracts from the Diaries of Marin Sanuto.

Where his remains rest I know not. In his will he gives directions for a monument; but a codicil informs us, that, as it could not be erected, his tombstone was to bear the following inscription:—

NEC TU HOC DESPICE QUOD NON VIDES SEPULCHRUM,
SEU SIS ADVENA, SEU URBANUS,
OSSA SUNT HIC SITA
MARINI SANUTI LEONARDI FILII
SENATORIS CLARISSIMI,
RERUM ANTIQUARUM INDAGATORIS,
HISTORIE VENETORUM EX PUBLICO DECRETO
SCRIPTORIS SOLERTISSIMI.
HOC VOLUI TE SCIRE, NUNC BENE VADE,
VALE
VIXIT ANNIS . . . MENSIBUS . . . DIEBUS . . .
OBIIT ANNO (*sic.*)

The reason why the monument was never erected may be inferred from a clause in the codicil, written three months before the testator's demise.

"I also cancel the clause about the case of books left conditionally to Marin Sanuto, son of my brother Lunardo, and choose it to be annulled together with the article about the rest of the books."

"As to my library (*studio*), having dispersed it, in part by the sale of books, and partly in payment of creditors, I therefore choose the clause of the will about the books of my library to be cancelled."

In September 1533, when Sanuto made his will (which preceded the codicil by more than two years), he says that his printed books, "in the large library on the ground "floor," and the manuscripts in the bookcases in his own room, numbered more than 6,500, and that Egnazio, the tutor of Leo X., and Antonio di Marsilio, on seeing the catalogue, would know that many of them were valuable. The residence of Sanuto where these literary treasures were preserved bears an inscription in honour of the diarist. The official notice of his death in the "Necrologio," preserved at the Archives, is thus worded briefly,—

"Avogaria del comun
Necrologio dei Nobili
1536, 5 April [1]
Messer Marin Sanuto
San Jacomo dalorio."

As this volume contains the last mention of Gasparo Contarini, a statesman who has furnished us with many valuable notices for the history of our country, and of whom Reginald Pole affirmed "that he was ignorant of "nothing that the human intellect could by its own "powers of investigation discover, and that nothing in "him was wanting that the grace of God has revealed "to the human soul," [2] I may be excused for adding that

[1] The Notarial Act appended to the codicil of the will, shows that he was already a corpse on the 4th of April, which was probably the day of his death, although the fact was not notified to the "*Avogaria*" until the 5th.

[2] Hook's "Life of Pole," p. 55.

"I also recall the clause about the case of books left conditionally to Mario Equolo, son of my brother Leonardo, and choose it to be annulled together with the article about the rest of the books."

"As to my library (*Biblio*), having disposed of it in part by the sale of books, and partly in payments of creditors, I therefore choose the clause of the will about the books of my library to be cancelled."

In September 1585, when Sansio made his will (which preceded the codicil by more than two years), he says that his printed books, "in the large library on the ground "floor," and the manuscripts in the bookcases in his own room, numbered more than 6,500, and that Ignazio, the tutor of Leo X., and Antonio di Marsilio, on sorting the catalogue, would know that many of them were valuable. The residence of Sansio where those literary treasures were preserved bears an inscription in honour of the district. The official notice of his death in the "Necrologio," preserved at the Archives, is thus worded briefly,—

"Avogaria del comun
Necrologio dei Nobili
1586 5 April
Messer Nicolo Sansio
San Lazzaro dalorio."

As this volume contains the last mention of Odoardo Contarini, a statesman who has furnished us with many valuable notices for the history of our country, and of whom Reginald Pole affirmed "that he was ignorant of "nothing that the human intellect could by its own "powers of investigation discover, and that nothing in "him was wanting that the grace of God has revealed "to the human soul," I may be excused for adding that

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[1] The Statutes Act appended to the codicil of the will shows that he was already a corpse on the 4th of April, which was probably the day of his death, although the fact was not noticed in the "Avogaria" until the 6th.

[2] Nicolo's "Life of Pole," p. 55.

Gasparo Contarini was first made known to the English public in the year 1598, by Lewis Lewkenor, who then translated his treatise on the "Government of Venice," dedicating it,—

"To the Right Honourable and most vertuous Lady, the Lady Anne, Countess of Warwicke."

Lewkenor praises Contarini's work, giving him his title of Cardinal, received from Paul III. at the time when the same grade was conferred on Queen Katharine's virtuous supporter, the Bishop of Rochester; but the future master of the ceremonies makes no allusion to the diplomatic remains of "Gasper Contareno," which throw no less light on the Government of other countries, than on that of Venice.

In our own times, the reports of Gaspar Contarini, Marin Giustinian, Antonio Surian, and Ludovico Falier, have all been published in Italy; but for the English reader their letters have a far greater interest, and on this account I have extracted largely from them.

In May 1529 Contarini, writing from Rome, laments the last illness of his successor at the Emperor's Court, Andrea Navagero, whose despatches have also enabled me to fill up some voids in the correspondence of our envoys in Spain, as published in Vol. VI., part V., of the State Papers. Navagero combined horticulture with classical studies and diplomacy, and whilst in Spain, he kept a diary, in which there is an entry dated Seville, 15th May 1525, detailing the recent importations there from the West Indies, and one of the items gives a clue to the etymology of the English word "potato" thus, "*In Sevilla "vidi Io molte cose dell' Indie, ed ebbi di quelle radici "che chiamano 'BATATAS,' e le mangiai, sono di sapor "di castagne.*"

Dr. Johnson supposed the word to be American, but its orthography was apparently unknown to him.

In the seventh volume (p. 232) of the State Papers, there is a letter from John da Casale to the Duke of Norfolk, dated Venice, 5th April 1530, concerning counsel's opinion demanded there on behalf of the King from Francesco and from two Jews, "*quorum alterum* "*jam Dominus Crocus allocutus est, alter vero est mihi* "*amicissimus de quo alias scripsimus ex Bononia, qui est* "*doctissimus, et Romæ pro Pontifice et Episcopo Vero-*"*nensi quasdam partes Veteris Testamenti, ex Hebreo in* "*Latinum traduxit.*"

With regard to these opinions from the University of Padua, about which the Venetian ambassador in London wrote to the Signory on behalf of the King, the matter was referred to the Council of Ten, whose decrees on the subject show that the Republic stood more in awe of Charles V. than of Henry VIII.

Of the persons mentioned in John da Casale's letter, Brother Francis was a Venetian nobleman by birth and a kinsman of Marin Sanuto; he is generally considered one of the ablest writers in favour of the divorce, and that his opinions were disinterested was proved long ago by Gilbert Burnet; but (as mentioned in my last preface, p. xvii) Gasparo Contarini confuted them in a work, entitled "Responsio ad Apologiam Francisci Georgij." Georgio was a Franciscan friar, and it seems that in the spring of 1530 he composed his "Apology," or "Votum "pro Henrico VIII.," which was burnt by some orthodox bishop, and Sanuto[1] records a demand from the King to the Signory to have it "remade."

One of the two Jews, mentioned anonymously by Casale

[1] Venetian Calendar, p. 251, August 2, 1530.

as "his very great friend, and a most learned man," is seen by entries in this volume (pp. 203, 204), to have been a Spaniard, by name Jacob Mantino, and in date March 4, 1531 (p. 277), we also learn that one Marco Rafael, who had renounced Judaism and been employed by the Signory as a secretary in the cypher department, was then resident in England, and in great favour with the King for having written against the dispensation granted by Julius II.

Marco Rafael had also been professor of the Hebrew tongue in Italy, and amongst his scholars was Marco Savorgnano, a distinguished military engineer, who, when making a tour in England in the summer of 1531, renewed acquaintance with his language master, and through his friend at the English Court obtained a glimpse of the Royal family.

§

The first appendix in the present volume contains a variety of documents with which I was unacquainted until the work was advanced thus far, and amongst these additions are some certificates which now enable me to show the rate of exchange between London and Venice in the year 1410; whereas the earliest protest, previously discovered by me, was for non-payment of a bill drawn at Venice on the 26th September 1442, and dishonoured in London on the 31st December following.

A glance at the lists of protests in Vol. II. (p. lxxiii.), will therefore show that the Venetian Calendar now gives the rates of exchange between the two countries during upwards of a century, and as the sequin, or golden ducat, never varied in standard or weight from its first coinage in the year 1284, until the fall of the Republic in 1797, we see at once how the standard of the English silver penny was gradually and systematically debased.

In 1410 the sequin was sold at Venice for 30½*d.*; in

1512 it could not be bought there for less than 54½*d.* The Venetian merchants easily circumvented the attempt to circulate false money at the price of pure metal, but the repute of the English silver standard, through fraudulent acts for which the Crown was held accountable, was lowered abroad, whatever benefit may have accrued to the Government at home.

The certificates of the rate of exchange in the year 1410, were found by the Signor Luigi Pasini, whilst arranging certain documents appertaining to the Venetian Court of Common Pleas (*Magistrato Petizion.*) From another official in the Archives I received a copy of a document (in the registers entitled *sindicati*), authorizing Leonardo Dandolo to negotiate an agreement for military service, with Sir John Hawkwood. The "power" is dated Venice, 8th of June 1376, but does not indicate the place where the conference was to be held, though from an entry in the first volume of the Venetian Calendar it may be inferred that Hawkwood was ravaging the Bolognese territory when Dandolo was there. At any rate it is certain that Hawkwood did not accept the offer thus made to him by the Republic.

I have frequently alluded to the existence, at Venice, of drafts of Papal briefs, and of original letters addressed to the Popes from foreign courts, both by their own Legates, and by others. My attention has lately been drawn by my friend Don Giuseppe Valentinelli, the librarian of St. Mark's, to a series of letters from the Papal Nuncios in England and France, supplementary to those already printed in my first volume. Both series serve to correct a mistake made by Lord Bacon in his life of Henry VII. concerning the Pope, by whom those able statesmen, Flores and Chieregato, were accredited to England and France,—a mistake recorded long ago by Francesco Biondi (lix. p. 144).

Lord Bacon writes that Lionel, Bishop of Concordia, was sent to France and England as Nuncio from Pope Alexander VI., "*that he might fish the better; casting the net, "not out of St. Peter's, but out of Borgia's bark, &c.*"

The documents already published in the Venetian Calendar show that Flores and Chieregato were accredited to England, France, and Brittany, not by the Spaniard Rodrigues Borgia, but by the Genoese Giovanni Battista Cibo, Pope Innocent VIII., to whom the letters were addressed, and with regard to the present supplementary correspondence, it was given to the Marciana by the Council of Ten, a very few years before the fall of the Republic.

The collection was considered an authentic historical repertory, but more adapted to chroniclers of the past than to statesmen intent on the politics of their own day; and therefore it was transferred from the Archives of the Ten, to the Public Library, but without any explanation of the means by which the Signory of Venice obtained possession of what belonged by right to the Court at Rome. In one of the letters now published, Chieregato gives the names of the French diplomatists who were sent to Boulogne to negotiate peace with England. Amongst them may be found Gaguin the Prior of the Trinity, *alias* "Bons Hommes," the object of whose order was to release Christian captives from slavery. The negotiations proved futile. Gaguin had previously been in England, and, as mentioned by Lord Bacon (p. 373), succeeded so ill there, "that more like a pedant than an ambassador, he "dispersed a bitter libel, in Latin verse, against the "King." Gaguin did not mend matters at Boulogne; but his libel was well answered in Latin verse by the King's Latin secretary, the Venetian subject Carmeliano, of whom frequent mention has been made in the Venetian Calendar.

Although the letters of Chieregato and Flores were not transmitted to Alexander VI., the appendix contains a missive addressed to that Pontiff in favour of Perkin Warbeck, by Maximilian King of the Romans, at variance with the answer given by him to Sir Edward Poynings and Sir William Warham, as recorded by Lord Bacon (p. 397), "that for love of King Henry he would in no "sort aid or assist the pretended duke," etc. I am unable to ascertain the *precise date* of the answer given to Poynings and Warham, but on the authority of Lord Bacon and other historians it may, I think, be assigned to the autumn of 1495. The document now published, dated Worms, 22 September 1495, was communicated to me by Cav. Gar, and forms parts of the miscellany of State Papers removed from Rome to Venice apparently in the 16th century. There can be no doubt of its authenticity.

In the first appendix to the present volume, I have also calendared some of the news letters recently restored to the Venetian Archives by the Austrian Government. To illustrate the nature of such documents, I mention the following fact.

In Vol. IV. of the Venetian Calendar (No. 1249) there is the original draft of a letter from the Signory to the Venetian ambassador in England, of which Mr. Brewer lately found a copy, but with the omission of a certain passage, apparently suppressed by the secretary, who compiled the news letter for the inspection of Henry VIII. and Wolsey, apprehensive lest their vanity might take offence if they were plainly told, that some consideration was due to the Pope, as one of the chief parties to the League. So the Signory, or their diplomatists, thought it advisable to let the King and Cardinal believe that they alone ruled the destinies of Europe, and it was unnecessary to consult the wishes of Clement VII.

In this volume I have also printed (p. 570) Sanuto's version of a letter from Secretary Rosso, dated Angoulême, 19th June 1526; and in the appendix to Vol. IV. it will be found as it is transcribed in advices destined for Rome. In the latter instance, the paragraph concerning England has been altered; I infer, therefore, that Sanuto copied Rosso's words correctly, but that the scribes in the Ducal Chancery modified them, to encourage the Pope by assurance of strenuous support from Henry VIII.

But if the Signory's official news-letters were occasionally garbled for particular purposes, they nevertheless transmitted notices of England and of Englishmen to foreign parts, at a period when similar *advices* comprised well nigh all that was known in the East of Western Europe. In the second volume of the Venetian Calendar (date May 1511), mention is made of the last Cardinal of England who could wield a "two-handed "sword" like "Beaufort the imperious churchman," Wolsey's predecessor in the see of York. In like manner Christopher Bainbridge wore armour, and led troops to an assault; and the place attacked by him was the Bastion of Genivolo, to which stronghold there are allusions in Ariosto's 3rd and 4th cantos of the "Orlando Furioso." In the Venetian "Advices" lately restored to the Archives, it is now known that an account of the English Archbishop's military command was sent by the Signory to their ambassador at Constantinople, to be communicated to Bajazet II., and I have therefore inserted the paragraph in the present appendix.

In the Preface to Vol. III. (p. xxxv), I alluded to the recent discovery of a letter from the Papal Governor of Bologna to the Council of Ten, contradicting the assertion made by Sanuto that Cardinal Adrian, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was never heard of after his departure

from the Bernardo Palace at Venice in December 1521. The letter will be found at p. 487 of the present volume, and I can only add that in Ferri's "Biography of Cardinal "Adrian, with Annotations by Simpliciano de Schreck," published in 1837, it is conjectured that after quitting Venice in December 1521, he may have sought protection in Switzerland; a legend is added, implying that he presented himself at a house in some valley subject to the diocese of Trent. The last new fact recorded of this adventurous and unhappy prelate tells us no more than that he was still alive in May 1523, and was still persecuted by Cardinal Wolsey.

In the second appendix, some notices will be found relating to the first drafts of the Confession of Augsburg, and to the progress of Lutheranism in Germany. Although no notice was taken at Augsburg of Henry VIII., the proceedings of the German Diets at that period are important as throwing light on the Reformation in England. The opening of the Diet and the mode in which the "Confession" was presented to the Emperor, is narrated in a letter from Marco Savorgnano, who in the following year visited England, as already mentioned by me. His account coincides with Sarpi's history of the Council of Trent, but contains some additional touches which serve to complete the historian's sketch.

Charles V. and his brother, accompanied by the Electors, by the Legate Campeggio, and the Ambassadors and others, went in state to the Cathedral of Augsburg on the 20th June 1530. After celebration of a mass of the Holy Ghost, the Nuncio Pimpinella, Bishop of Rosano, delivered an oration in which he demonstrated the necessity for suppressing all discords in Germany, and making valid defence against the threatened invasion of the Sultan Solyman, who, he said, was more powerful and his

subjects more united than those of his opponents, because they had a variety of creeds; and therefore the Nuncio urged them to renounce their heresies. Savorgnano was of opinion that this discourse gained much from the Archbishop's graceful delivery and action, implying that his rhetoric was better than his arguments. From the Cathedral the Emperor and the rest of the dignitaries proceeded to a palace belonging to the municipality, in the market-place. The Diet was opened by a long address in German from the Emperor to the Electors, apologizing for his protracted absence, and assuring them that he was now come with the intention of making great preparations against the Turks. He desired their aid, and promised to devote to the unity of Christendom not only his royal, but also his personal revenues, and those of his brother Ferdinand. Not a word was said about the revolt of almost one half of the Germanic body from the Papal See; and the whole Diet, which expected him to adopt a much harsher tone, was so agreeably surprised, that the Elector Duke Joachim of Bavaria answered in their name most respectfully, assuring his Majesty of their especial love and devotion. From the 20th June to the 3rd July, the Princes often sat alone, debating various points which they subsequently communicated to the Emperor, who during that interval attended the Diet twice; his second appearance being caused by the Legate Campeggio, who had a Papal brief read, exhorting Germany to arm against the Turk. Campeggio then made a short speech, resembling in substance that of the Archbishop of Rosano. The Legate was met on his entry at the stair-head by the whole Diet, receiving the same compliment on his departure. Then the Lutheran Princes,—viz., the Elector Duke John of Saxony; George Pius of Anspach, cousin of Joachim I., Elector of Brandenburg; Philip

Landgrave of Hesse; John Frederick son of Duke John of Saxony; Ernest Duke of Lunenburg; and Wolfgang Prince of Anhalt,—rose and presented the Emperor with a very long writing, now known by the name of "The "Confession of Augsburg." The Duke of Saxony, as spokesman, requested that as it concerned the faith, it might be read in public, but to this the Emperor would not consent; and desired them to bring it to him on the morrow. This was done, and Sarpi says it was then read in a hall in the presence of 200 persons. Savorgnano adds, that the writing contained upwards of fifty articles, of which he quotes the following:—That the Laity should be allowed to communicate *sub utráque specie;* that priests should be permitted to marry and receive a stipend sufficient for the mere necessaries of life; that the service of the mass should be reformed. The Emperor and the Catholic Princes immediately determined on a reply. The task of writing it was assigned to John Faber, Eckius, and Cochlæus, but it was not completed when Savorgnano wrote on the 3rd July; and he says that the Lutheran Princes composed this document for the purpose of bringing about a disputation, and if possible a General Council, nor would they suffer any discussion for defence against the Turks to take place until their demands about the faith were adjusted.

The Ambassador Tiepolo adds that the Emperor had already soundly rated the Landgrave of Hesse. We learn from a young nobleman, named Pagin Erizzo, domiciled in the Venetian Embassy, that when Charles V. urged Philip of Hesse to renounce Lutheranism, and threatened to coerce him, the Landgrave replied that as war had been waged so many years in Italy, it was but fair that it should be transferred to Germany, and for this conjuncture the Lutherans were not wholly unprepared,

as they had many of the free towns as their allies, two of which had signed the articles, which they were strenuously resolved to maintain.

In the first week in August the Emperor attended the Diet and presented the orthodox reply. After its perusal he turned to the Duke of Saxony, and requested him and the other Lutheran Princes to renounce their opinions. They demanded a written copy of it, but were refused; and the Electors appointed four theologians for each side, who should endeavour to effect an adjustment.[1]

On the morrow the Landgrave of Hesse quitted Augsburg, without taking leave of the Emperor, to whom he subsequently wrote a letter of apology assigning as a reason that his Consort Christina of Bavaria was dangerously ill, but that he would return immediately, regardless of any impediment, on receiving the slightest hint from his Majesty. Erizzo says the Landgrave was a youth 22 years of age, very violent in his words and actions, a usurper of his neighbours' goods, having seized on all territories belonging to the Count of Nassau and the Cardinal of Mentz, accusing them of wasting the revenues of the Church. When reproached with the murder of his mother, Anna of Mecklenburg, who had reproved him about his religion, he replied that he put her to death for other causes. I do not know whether this charge against Philip the "Magnanimous" has ever been substantiated, but, with regard to his age, Erizzo erred by two years, as the printed genealogies show that the Landgrave was born in the year 1504.

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[1] It appears by Sarpi that at first seven arbitrators were appointed for each side, but subsequently the number was reduced to three Catholics and three Protestants. In Sanuto's Diaries the words are "et furono electi li " [da li ?] 6 Excell^mi. Electori, 4 per li Catholici et 4 per li laici."

The Confession of Augsburg is generally said to have been presented to the Diet on the 25th June 1530, agreeing with Savorgnano's letter of the 3rd July; but I find this entry in Sanuto's Diary,—

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1530.

"May 31. Confessio opinionis sive resolutio intentionis Martini Lutheri impresenti Imperiali Dietâ Augustæ proponenda, decem et septem articulis comprehensa."

Sanuto does not say through what channel he obtained this information; but supposing his date to be correct, it would imply that the Protestant manifesto was in circulation before the opening of the Diet. Considering its importance I have translated it from the Latin word for word.

Before the Diet opened, the Protestant Electors petitioned the Emperor not to interdict their preachers, as they preached nothing but the pure and manifest gospel, and, after their sermons, daily exhorted the people to pray for the whole Christian Commonwealth, and especially for God's grace to the Emperor and the Electors that the ecclesiastical and civil affairs, for which the Diet was convoked, might by their means be firmly established in peace and concord.

In the summer of 1531 the religious sects at Augsburg were three in number, namely, the Roman Catholics (termed by a Franciscan friar "*Papisti*"), the Lutherans, and the followers of Ulric Zuingle, who were far more numerous than the Papists or the Lutherans. On holidays the new doctrines were preached in five different meeting-houses. The sermons were preceded by commentaries on the New Testament, bells were dispensed with, psalms (the friar says) were sung most melodiously; after the sermon alms were collected, the preacher exhorting his congregation to pray for all sorts and conditions of men,

as also for the propagation of the gospel. The sectarians were frugal in their habits, both in regard to apparel, household furniture, and food. Daily lectures were delivered in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and attended more than had ever been the custom formerly. The education of the young in learning and sound Christian morality was carefully regarded. The Evangelical preachers were in favour of Zuingle, whose death took place a few weeks after this account was written from Augsburg.

By a letter of the same period (September 1531) it seems that the "Anabaptists" were also styled "Dreamers" ("*Somniatori.*") They discountenanced preaching, because it was not enjoined by divine precept, and neither useful or necessary. The foundation of their faith was based on dreams and visions, which they styled "revelations." They dissolved all conjugal ties, and did not believe either in the Eucharist or in Baptism. So the Senate of Nuremberg forbad all persons to consort with them under pain of death, forseeing that their aim was communism ("*che* "*con questo principio habbia ad venir alla commuione* "*di tutte le cose*").

The Emperor closed the Diet of Augsburg on the 20th November 1530, without having succeeded in modifying the "Confession" in any way, but on the 2nd August 1533, his letters-patent, by a public decree, conceded liberty of conscience. At that time the forces of the Empire were assembled at Vienna to resist Sultan Solyman, and it was said that the Lutherans attended mass, by which act, however, they did not renounce any of the demands made by them at Augsburg in 1530. Indeed, in June 1532, we find the Venetian ambassador, writing from Ratisbon, that at the "*Transaction*" which was then being effected at Nuremberg, the Lutherans insisted on the grant of all that was demanded in their "*Confession*

"*and Apology*," especially the right of preaching and converting others to their creed; on which terms they consented to have no intercourse with the Zuinglians and Anabaptists. The Emperor agreed that the Lutherans should live in their own fashion, until the convocation of the Council,—a concession which caused the Princes, and the free towns of Ulm, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Strasburg, to contribute more than their quota for the defence of Germany against the Turkish invasion, and as Strasburg had until then been Zuinglian, much surprise was caused when Bucer, and the other leaders of the sect, authorized their followers to receive the communion in both forms like the Lutherans, or in one, according to the dictates of their conscience. Still more important was the reconciliation of the new Duke of Saxony (John Frederick), and the Landgrave of Hesse with the Emperor.

Such are some of the particulars concerning the Confession of Augsburg, as recorded by Marin Sanuto. In concluding this volume I have to acknowledge, as before, the services rendered by Mr. R. E. G. Kirk, and I have to return my thanks to friends both in Italy and in England who have aided me in the compilation of the present volume.

RAWDON BROWN.

Venice, 25th June 1871.

VENETIAN AND OTHER PAPERS.

A.D. 1527.

1527.
Jan. 2.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xliii. p. 357.

1. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador, Prothonotary Casal, came into the College and discussed current events, he likewise [as well as the State] having had letters from Rome, from his brother Sir Gregory Casal, his King's ambassador; and he communicated advices from France, which will be noted hereunder.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 3.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xliii. pp. 454, 455.

2. ADVICES from FRANCE.

The marriage contract between England and France is expected to be concluded shortly. The Chancellor of Alençon ("*Cancellier di Lansom*")* and the first Chamberlain of England,† the favourite, are stipulating the conditions. The chief difficulty has been removed, namely, the demand made by the English King for the surrender to him of Boulogne, as security for the celebration of the marriage; and it is supposed that the matter will be arranged by means of a certain number of hóstages. The King [of France] has sent Robertet's son-in-law, Lelubajard [Gilbert Bayard],‡ to the Emperor in Spain, to say, that if he chooses to give him his sister [Eleanor], as promised, he will marry her, provided his sons be set at liberty, his Majesty offering a fair ransom for his own capture. It is supposed that he acts thus, in order to ascertain the Emperor's final decision; and should his sons be given up to him, he will then marry the Emperor's sister, and give the English Princess to the Dauphin. In case the Emperor do not decide forthwith, the King of France will take the English Princess for himself; the Princess will come to France, and England will wage war in Flanders.

St. Germain, 3rd January 1527. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd January.*

[*Italian.*]

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* Jean Brinon.

† Sir William Fitzwilliam is meant.

‡ This French diplomatist, whose name was Gilbert Bayard, had several aliases given him by Italian writers, thus: Lelubajar, L'Elu Bajart, Lelio Bajar, Gilberto Bayard. (See Cicogna Inscriptions, vol. 6, p. 266.)

1527.
Jan. 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliii. p. 469.

3. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Cardinal Wolsey gave a banquet to all the ambassadors, and after dinner a comedy was performed, and the King came in disguise, and they danced until day-break.

The King consents to the marriage. He has sent 30,000 ducats to the Pope by Sir John Russell, who at Lyons will receive the annual payment made by France to England, and will take it with him to Rome.

London, 4th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th January.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliii. p. 452.

4. GASPARO SPINELLI, Venetian Secretary in London, to his brother LODOVICO.

I wrote to you on the 1st, transmitting the King's reply to Luther's letter. Last evening I was present at a very sumptuous supper given by Cardinal Wolsey, there being amongst the guests the Papal, French, and Venetian ambassadors, and the chief nobility of the English Court.* I considered myself out of place beside a very beautiful damsel, each of the guests having one to his share. During the supper the King arrived, with a gallant company of masqueraders, and his Majesty, after presenting himself to the Cardinal, threw a main at dice and then unmasked, as did all his companions; whereupon he withdrew to sup in one of the Cardinal's chambers, the rest of the guests continuing their repast, with such variety of the choicest viands and wines as to be marvellous. Supper being ended, they proceeded to the first hall, with which you are well acquainted,† and where a very well designed stage had been prepared, on which the Cardinal's gentlemen recited Plautus' Latin comedy entitled the Menæchmei. On its conclusion all the actors, one after the other, presented themselves to the King, and on their knees recited to him, some more and some less, Latin verses in his praise. Having listened to them all, the King betook himself with the rest of the guests to the hall where they had all supped, the tables (at which they seated themselves in the same order as before) being spread with every sort of confection, whereof they partook.

After this marvellous collation a stage was displayed, on which sat Venus, at whose feet were six damsels, forming so graceful a group for her footstool, that it looked as if she and they had really come down in person from heaven. And whilst everybody was intently gazing on so agreeable a sight, the trumpets flourished and a car appeared, drawn by three boys stark naked, on which was Cupid, dragging after him, bound by a silver rope, six old men, clad in the pastoral fashion, but the material was cloth of silver and white satin. Cupid presented them to his mother, delivering a most elegant Latin oration in their praise, saying they had been cruelly wounded; whereupon Venus compassionately replied in

* The Cardinal's supper on the 3rd of January is recorded by Hall, p. 719; no mention, however, being made of the comedy.

† Lodovico Spinelli had been secretary to the Ambassador Surian in England from 1519 to 1523.

1527.

equally choice language, and caused the six nymphs, the sweethearts of the six old men, to descend, commanding them to afford their lovers all solace, and requite them for past pangs. Each of the nymphs was then taken by the hand by her lover, and to the sound of trumpets they performed a very beautiful dance. On its termination the King and his favourites commenced another with the ladies there present, and with this the entertainment and the night ended, for it was already day-break. I then went home sated with so much revelry, and am despatching a public letter for the Signory, to be given to Sir John Russell, now on the eve of departing for France on his way to the Pope.

London, 4th January 1527. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd January.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. li. p. 117, tergo.

5. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA ROSSO, Secretary in France.

To adhere to the opinion of the most Christian King with regard to depositing* the Milanese, and abiding by the arbitration of the English King.

Ayes 196. Noes 6. Neutrals 0.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliii. p. 450.

6. ANDREA ROSSO, Venetian Secretary in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The negotiation for the marriage with England advances, and as the French ambassadors there have no commission from his most Christian Majesty, he has appointed two new ones to treat and conclude this marriage with him. The one with Madame d'Alençon and the King of Navarre is concluded.

His Majesty sends the mandate for the negotiation of the peace to his ambassador at Rome, the Count of Carpi, as requested by the Pope.

Poissy, 5th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd January.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8–12. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliii. p. 469.

7. ANDREA ROSSO to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Conversations held with the King, the Chancellor [Duprat], and the other chief personages, about sending money. His Majesty said it was being collected; but a messenger had arrived at Poissy from the Marquis of Saluzzo, saying that the stipulated amount of infantry was not in the field. Also with regard to the money for the Pope, 20,000 ducats would be sent in a week. At Lyons 10,000 ducats for the Crusade, and 12,000 due to the Signory for the seventh payment, were detained. The marriage of the Duchess of Alençon, the King's sister, to the King of Navarre is concluded; that of his most Christian Majesty to the King of England's daughter will also take place, and he is sending two ambassadors to England, namely, ... to conclude it.

* "Circa il depositar del Stato de Milano."

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Sir John Russell ("*Monsignor di Rosel*") has also arrived from England on his way to Rome with 30,000 crowns, which the King is sending to the Pope; and he intends to remonstrate with the Duke of Bourbon and the Viceroy against their attacking the Pope and the Church, because the King of England, being Defender of the Faith, will not endure it.

Poissy, 8th, 10th, and 12th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th January.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 33.

8. Marco Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.

The Emperor's ambassador in London [Mendoza] has received the "power," authorizing the King of England to negotiate the agreement with the King of France and others.

Cardinal Wolsey therefore told him to write to France and the Signory for the transmission of similar powers, as the King of England wishes the general peace to be made; and the most Christian King's ambassador, Dom. Giovanni Gioachino [di Passano, Lord of Vaux], has written to France about this.

London, 11th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 10th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. Sanuto Diaries, vi. xliii. pp. 482, 483.

9. Anonymous Letter from France.

Last evening the gentleman [Sir John Russell]* sent by the King of England to the Pope arrived. He is the bearer of 30,000 crowns, and has been commissioned to go to the Viceroy [of Naples, Charles de Lannoi], and tell him, on behalf of his Majesty, not to molest the Pope. He (Russell) quitted St. Germain yesterday on his way post to the most Christian King in Picardy. He is also charged by his King to request the Pope not to allow himself to be intimidated, or to abandon the League for the sake of any offers that may be made to him by the Spaniards, as his Holiness shall be well assisted by the members of the League, and by him (the King of England);—urging the Pope to have no fear whatever, as ere long he will hear news of such a sort, as to dispel his fear of the Emperor and the Imperial commanders. The like offices will be performed by the envoys whom our King (of France) is sending to his Holiness; both Sovereigns having determined to defend Italy ("*defender quelle cose de Italia*"). In truth, she ought to feel vastly obliged to them for so great a demonstration and for the deeds they are doing, which are important, for should the Pope have heart enough to await the supplies, he will be revenged on his enemies, and not yield to them, as these two Kings purpose assisting and defending him; and although the supplies seemed rather tardy, the good-will doubtless exists.

Poissi, 11th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th January.*

[*Italian.*]

* See "State Papers," vol. vi., part 5, p. 560.

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Jan. 20, 22.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 78.

10. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Very long and confused letters, about conversations with Cardinal Wolsey, who, with the King, wishes the marriage with France to take place, and then everything will prosper.

London, 20th and 22nd January. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 22.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File No. 10.

11. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GASPARO SPINELLI, Venetian Secretary in England.

Approve his diligence and mode of proceeding, and the reply made by him and the French ambassador [Passano], to Cardinal Wolsey, apologizing for the Signory's having sent a power to the Venetian ambassador in Spain, authorizing him to conclude the universal peace there, which proceeding his right reverend Lordship resented. Well pleased to hear how he explained the report in London, that the Lansquenets lately arrived in Italy were dissatisfied with the Signory on account of the Turkish affairs, etc., a false assertion disseminated by malignants.

Gratified to hear of the Cardinal's constant and excellent disposition towards aiding the Pope with an immediate pecuniary subsidy in his urgent need and trouble. To encourage him thus to do, to the utmost. To add that the Republic perseveres in the original project to support the dignity and interests of the Pope, for the general advantage of all Italy and of the Signory; wherefore, besides the great expense incurred through the fleet now at Cività Vecchia for the protection of the Pope, and for the benefit of the Holy League, they had sent a number of their troops across the Po with the Marquis of Saluzzo to defend the Papal territory; and this in addition to the Venetian infantry forming the garrison of Piacenza.

It being reported that the Imperialists in Milan purposed crossing the Po, with the intention of joining the Lansquenets who lately entered Italy, and that they would attack the Papalists, the Signory authorized their Captain General to cross the Po with their army, and join the Marquis for the Pope's defence; and although they subsequently heard that the troops which quitted Milan were destined for an attack on the Venetian territory, yet, for the greater security of his Holiness's dominions, they determined that "*pro nunc*" their Captain General should send beyond Po 5,000 infantry and 500 light horse in the Signory's pay, he himself in person with the rest of the army pushing forward to the river. He has already arrived there, and has thrown a bridge over it, and regulates himself according to the proceedings and progress of the enemy, having express order from the Signory not to fail taking all bold and opportune steps to prevent his Holiness's affairs from suffering any detriment. Hope this will be effected, provided the Pope have money to defend himself against the Imperialists, for, although supported to the utmost by the forces of the Holy League, yet so enormous is the cost incurred by him, that he is compelled to request and expect aid

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from his friends, especially from those who have at heart the liberty and general welfare of Italy. Should the Pope have the means of maintaining himself for a certain period, the Imperialists, by reason of their scarcity of money and from their mutual distrust, will be compelled to change their projects. Have sent as their ambassador to Florence the noble Marco Foscari, to encourage the Florentines to persevere in their original purpose, the Signory's forces being destined for their preservation.

To communicate the whole to the King and Cardinal, and give frequent advices of all occurrences worthy of the knowledge of the State.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliii. 55.

12. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador informed the College that he had received a letter from Cardinal Wolsey, purporting that the King, of England is well disposed, and would fain negotiate a general peace, the Emperor being well inclined thereto. He, the King, therefore desires that the necessary powers may be sent to him.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 25. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 40.

13. ADVICES from FRANCE.

The King is now sending three honourable ambassadors to England, namely, the Viscount of Touraine, the first President [of the Parliament] of Toulouse, and the Bishop of Tarbes. They have ample mandates from his Majesty to conclude with the King of England. Don Inigo [de Mendoza] arrived in England a few days ago. He is said to have a very full mandate from the Emperor to effect the general peace, of which the King of England is to be the administrator. So the King and Cardinal assembled all the ambassadors, acquainted them with the Emperor's good-will, and requested them to write to their respective Sovereigns for mandates authorizing them to stipulate and sign the peace; those who shall have no power within the appointed time to be excluded. Should the peace not take place, everybody is of opinion that in the spring the army of Italy will be re-enforced.

Poissy, 25th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 33.

14. ANDREA ROSSO to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The French ambassadors destined for England will depart shortly to conclude the espousals. The personages thus appointed are the Viscount of Touraine, the second President [of the Parliament] of Paris, and the Bishop of Tarbes.

Poissy, 26th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 10th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. li. p. 123, tergo.

15. The DOGE and SENATE to DOMENEGO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador at Rome.

Have received letters from their ambassador in England, dated the 4th instant, announcing the departure on that day of Sir John

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Russell, who was being sent by the King to the Pope with 30,000 crowns as a subsidiary gift for his Holiness; and by letters from the Signory's secretary in France, dated Poissi, the 12th, are informed that Russell had arrived there, and would speedily proceed on his way to the Pope.

The secretary adds that France was about to send 45,000 crowns by bills of exchange, viz. 20,000 sent heretofore but detained at Lyons, and 10,000 crowns for the tenth, disbursed at that time to the agent of Salviati, on whom the bill was drawn. The remaining 15,000 were to be paid at the end of a week, and within a month the residue, forming a total of 60,000 on account of the tenth.

Have also been assured that the most Christian King has settled the marriage of his sister to the King of Navarre, and will completely ratify his own with the daughter of the King of England. The Pope will perceive that these facts demonstrate the excellent dispositions of the Kings of France and England, and that they will act vigorously.

Ayes, 125.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 10.

16. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GASPARO SPINELLI, Venetian Secretary in England.*

To return thanks to the King and Cardinal, and assure them of the Republic's extreme gratitude, and of the account in which the Signory holds their good-will and sage suggestions. Are gratified to hear of the efficient subsidy of 30,000 crowns, sent as a gift to the Pope, through Sir John Russell, for his Holiness's support in his perilous troubles and urgent need. To exhort the King to persevere until the Pope shall have prevailed against the hostile attacks made upon him. To employ his usual assiduity to this effect, as hitherto. Have also, to their satisfaction, heard that the negotiation for a marriage between the Princess of England and the most Christian King is in a fair way. To assure the King and Cardinal that the Signory have charged their secretary in France to perform such offices as are required by their respect towards both Majesties, and by the present need of the Holy League.

The Venetian forces are still crossing the Po in support of the Pope, and the Signory's Captain General is to do the like by order and commission from the State.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. pp. 279, 280.

17. * * * * * to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

Messer Paulo da Rezo arrived many days ago; and subsequently the Papal Auditor [Ghinucci] came in the name of the King of England. Simultaneously, the Nuncio, the Venetian and Milanese ambassadors, and the French ambassador likewise received the mandates authorizing them to make the peace. Believes, however, that it will not be concluded, as the Emperor's successes in Italy

* The Signory continued to write to Spinelli until they received advices of Venier's arrival in England.

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render his will at variance with his words, though he fails not to make fairer promises than ever. At this same time the English are urging the Emperor to refer the stipulation of the peace to the King of England, and will not join the other ambassadors in their endeavours to have it negotiated at Valladolid, which causes great confusion, as, according to their instructions, the ambassadors are expressly commissioned not to do anything without the participation and advice of those from England, who, when requested accordingly by their colleagues, reply that they have no commission to negotiate the matter, neither will they give counsel, as they say it is not needed. It is moreover evident, from a variety of signs, that the Emperor does not intend to refer the matter to England, although he sought to have it treated there; and it is also known that the Chancellor [Gattinara] would fain gain repute by making the peace in Spain, though they do not openly tell the English that they decline the mediation, and the Emperor exerts himself to let their King know that he will not fail in his word. It is said that some of the instructions sent are not ample, and also that as the Florentines have not sent theirs nothing can be done, and the peace is thus artfully delayed. The negotiators themselves have no hopes of it at present, unless by miracle, though should the Pope wish to make a separate peace for himself alone, he would stipulate it in Spain.

Advices have been received at Valladolid, to the effect that the King of France marries the English Princess, and that the affair is about to be concluded. This alliance would be much regretted by the Imperialists, nor will they fail to do all they can to thwart it. Much suspicion has also been caused by the news of the marriage of the Duchess of Alençon to the King of Navarre, on account of that kingdom.

Valladolid, 29th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th April.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29, 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. pp. 6, 7.

18. DOMENEGO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Notwithstanding the money which is being sent to him from France and England, and the marriage in course of negotiation between his most Christian Majesty and the English Princess, the Pope has determined to make the truce [with the Emperor] for six months. His Holiness says that Cardinal Wolsey, perceiving himself unable to mediate between France and the Emperor, consents to the marriage in order that the war may be greater. The Pope says he will at any rate stipulate the truce, and place Parma and Piacenza in the hands of the Prothonotary Caracciolo, and consign Cività Vecchia to the nephew of the General of the Franciscans, all to be held for the Emperor; which being done, the Pope will negotiate the general peace, and he wishes to go to Spain. His Holiness read to him (Venier) the letter brought to him by Fieramosca from the Emperor, who will have him for Father (*vol averlo per Padre*) and refer all his disputes to him. The Pope then said he would conclude the

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truce, he and the Florentines giving the Emperor 200,000 ducats, and the Signory not contributing anything, so that the Republic is at liberty to become a party to it free of cost. The Signory should therefore give an answer, and not abstain from doing so out of regard for the King of France. The Pope added, "That King sends us money artfully, that we may continue at war; and since last September we alone incur expenditure. We are the head of Christendom. We choose to sheathe the sword. We shall have to pardon the Colonna faction; so be it."*

Rome, 29th and 30th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30. Navagero Despatches. Cicogna copy, in the Correr Museum.

19. ANDREA NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

Quitted Granada on the 7th of December, and proceeded from Toledo to Valladolid, where he found the Chancellor, who endeavoured to convince him of the insincerity of the King of France towards his allies. Before the Emperor's arrival at Valladolid, on the 24th January, the ambassadors held a meeting at the house of the Nuncio [Castiglione], the Emperor having told them at Toledo to commence negotiating with the Chancellor. It was therefore proposed, whether they should exhibit their powers to him, and what was to be done. Calvimont [the French ambassador] refused to exhibit his power until the ambassadors had spoken all together with the Emperor, as he, Calvimont, had received his power but not his instructions, these last, together with other letters addressed to him, having been detained, and being in the possession of Don Juan Alleman; and without them he did not know how to act. Moreover, the power was not given to him alone, but also to one of the King's secretaries, whom he expected in a few days from Burgos. He also said that he did not think anything should be settled until after communication with the English ambassador [Ghinucci], who had not yet arrived. He (Navagero) and the Nuncio replied, that with regard to the English ambassador, the commissions of all the ambassadors were uniform. For this, and for the other reasons adduced by Calvimont, it was determined to await the Emperor's coming. In the meanwhile the letters which had been detained were delivered to the French ambassador; the secretary Bayard came from Burgos; the [Papal] Auditor† sent by the King of England to the Emperor to further the negotiation for peace arrived from France, and [Lee] the English [resident] ambassador [from Toledo ?].‡

* "Quel Re ne manda danari con arte, azio stiamo in la guerra, e da Septembrio in qua "nui soli spendemo. Semo Capo della Christianità. Volemo metter zozo le arme. "Conveniremo perdonar a Colonesi; pacientia."

† Girolamo Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester, before obtaining that see, was appointed Papal Treasurer (*Auditor di Camera*) by Julius II., and the Italians continued to give him that title after he entered the service of Henry VIII.

‡ The Venetian ambassador quitted Granada for Toledo on the 7th December 1526, and arrived at Valladolid on the 10th January 1527. Lee may be supposed to have made the journey at the same time, in conformity with the Emperor's orders, which are alluded to in Navagero's despatch, dated Granada, 2 December 1526.

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The Emperor having entered Valladolid on the 24th, the ambassadors all assembled in the house of the Nuncio, namely, the two French ambassadors, the two English ambassadors, the Milanese ambassador, the Florentine ambassador, and Navagero.

First of all, the English ambassadors were informed that they had been called by the other ambassadors, because these last were charged in their commissions to do nothing whatever without their advice and consent. After this, the powers of all the ambassadors one by one were examined, the opinion of each being asked concerning what was to be done. They all agreed to go in a body to the Emperor, and to tell him, that as at Granada, in reply to their exhortations, he had announced his constant wish for peace, and that he would not refuse any fair terms, provided they were general, desiring them also to write to their Sovereigns for powers to negotiate accordingly, they had done so, and had now received the same; wherefore they awaited his Majesty's orders concerning what was to be done, and [requested] that he would inspect the powers, or have them inspected, so that negotiations might be commenced for the welfare of Christendom, which depended on this peace.

This was the opinion of all, with the exception of the English ambassadors, who would not give either advice or consent of any sort, and, when questioned, said that the others were to do what seemed best to them, but that they [Lee and Ghinucci] had no commission whatever from their King to that effect, neither was he at war with the Emperor, and had therefore no peace to negotiate with him; that if the other ambassadors had called them to their consultations as a mark of honour towards their King, they thanked them for it as confederates; that their King had neither joined the League nor accepted its protectorate, as asserted by them, though he had indeed written to the Emperor that he could not refuse to accept it, if the Emperor failed to make peace; and that as this, however, had not yet come to pass, they therefore had nothing to say, nor, according to their present commission, could they interfere in any way.

Being unable to obtain anything further from the English ambassadors, the other ambassadors considered that they had done much in communicating everything to them, and would acquaint them from day to day with current events, but did not fail to go to the Emperor, whom they addressed in the form above written. The Emperor replied, that he would desire the Chancellor and the Council to send for them and examine the powers, and then commence negotiating the peace. So yesterday, the 29th, the ambassadors went to the palace, to the apartments of the Count of Nassau, who was there with the Chancellor Gattinara, Don Juan Emanuel, the Bishop of Osma, the Emperor's confessor, Monsr. de la Chau, Monsr. De Praet, and the secretary Don Juan Alemani. At the request of the Chancellor, all exhibited their powers. The Nuncio's power having been read, the Chancellor said that although ample, its form was false, as it rather reproached the Emperor, saying that he [the Pope] had joined the League for one reason,

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The Nuncio replied, that there was no occasion to draw up powers, as the Emperor, with whom everything was to be negotiated, was on the spot, and this was not the moment for raising difficulties about preambles; that the Pope stated the reason which had induced him to join the League, and which was better known to him than to anybody else, and if they did not believe the Pope, he, the Nuncio, could do nothing further; and that the matter now under discussion was not the cause which had induced the Pope to make the League, but whether the power was valid or not. Don Juan Emanuel and some other counsellors rejoined that the negotiation for peace would not be suspended on this account.

The French ambassador's power was read next, and gave great displeasure, as it contained certain phrases haughtier than those in the other powers. Two objections were raised against it; the one, that it related less to the general peace than to the particular question of the release of the French Princes; the other, that it styled the King of England a confederate, which he was not, and insisted on nothing being done without the consent of the English ambassadors, who had no mandate at all concerning that matter, nor did they accompany the ambassadors to say they were content.† The French ambassador replied, that they must not cease negotiating the peace on this account, for, should there be no other difficulty than this one, he would either obtain the consent of the King of England, or a power from the King of France cancelling this condition.

The power sent by the Signory to him (Navagero) was read next. Besides the clause concerning the King of England. They objected to the stipulation purporting that nothing was to be done without the consent of the Duke of Milan and the Florentines, who did not seem to have sent any power to their ambassadors. Answered that what the Pope did was understood to be done by the Florentines, because in the League they were not mentioned as principals, but as the Pope's co-adherents, and therefore the Nuncio's power sufficed for them likewise. That the ambassador of the Duke of Milan had the mandate from his Duke, although he had not brought it with him, but he would exhibit it afterwards; which he confirmed to them by word of mouth.

All the powers having been read, the Nuncio said that the objections raised appeared to him very feeble for the prevention of so good a result as universal peace, and that he was therefore of opinion that the negotiation should commence; that, if they chose, it would be very easy afterwards either to change the preambles or modify the powers; so he would at once proceed to particulars, that they might give an answer. The Pope [he said] required nothing for himself

* "Che il prohemio era falso, perchè pungeva un poco Sua Maestà, et diceva che era "intratto in la liga per una causa, et era stato per un'altra."

† "Nè erano venuti con noi, a dir che fusseno contenti."

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but universal peace, and perceiving that it could not be obtained save by the restitution of the Milanese to the Duke of Milan (which was the cause of all the disturbance in Italy) and of the French Princes to the King of France, he therefore first of all demanded these two things of the Emperor, together with two others; the one, that he should remove his troops from Italy, and promise never again to return in such a way as to excite apprehension; the other, that he should pay the King of England what he owed him. That these were the things demanded by the Pope and the League. That they [the Imperial ministers] were to answer if they thought fit, and make demands of the ambassadors in return, if they had anything to ask, when a reply should be given them.

The Chancellor made such an answer that he (Navagero) for his own part did not comprehend it, and believes it to be unintelligible to everybody else; nor does he think that any logician (*philosopho*), however subtle, could elicit any substance from it. He said that these were private affairs, and not to the purpose when discussing a general peace; that it was requisite to understand each other about this universal peace, and that these personal matters must be left aside. This subtlety appears to him (Navagero) incomprehensible, because he does not know how to imagine a universal peace unconnected with the personal interests of those who are parties to it. The ambassadors did not fail to make a suitable rejoinder, but the Imperial ministers merely said that they would withdraw for awhile and then reply. They were absent a long time. Believes they went to the Emperor. On their return they said they would discuss the mandates more at leisure with the Emperor, and for that purpose they besought the ambassadors, in his name, either to entrust the powers to them for half a day, or to give them copies of the documents. The Nuncio thought fit to give them his, and he (Navagéro) did the like; the French ambassadors did not choose to give theirs, but said they would send a copy; and the Milanese ambassador said he would send them his. Does not know what has been done down to this present. Today their powers have been returned to the Nuncio and himself.

This is all that has been done hitherto, and no further progress having been made, but small opinion can be formed of the hope of peace, considering the frivolous replies made by the Chancellor, and which are evasions rather than anything else. Is extremely perplexed, and strongly suspects that the Imperialists are cajoling them.

The arrival of the Viceroy in Italy, the presence of the Lansquenets, and the consequent hope that Imperial affairs will prosper, have rendered the Emperor's ministry very unbending, and will perhaps create some difficulty, most especially as they are no longer apprehensive of the Turk; and they invent a thousand false reports to their advantage. On the other hand, had they received, or were they to receive, a slight check, they would accept any terms. As long as their present hopes last they will glide on with fair words until they receive news of affairs in Italy.

At present perceives another obstacle to peace. The councillors most anxious for it, all Spaniards,—the Archbishop of Toledo, the Archbishop of Bari, the Duke of Alva, and the Duke of Bejar,—

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are absent. The Count of Nassau above all is very averse to peace, and speaks most unfavourably both of the Pope and of everyone, without the slightest respect. Don Juan Emanuel is the only person much inclined towards the welfare of Italy, and most anxious for her interests; but at the present moment his influence is not so great as necessary. The Chancellor Gattinara, who is everything, says that he is well disposed, but no effect is visible to him (Navagero), to whom he said yesterday, in private after the conference, that they had seen the articles of the League, both public and secret, and intended to print them, that the whole world might see what reason the Emperor had to be hostile to those who were so hostile to him, and that the articles would be printed within a fortnight. Considers this proceeding calculated to produce fresh discord, and much at variance with the peace which they profess to desire. This was confirmed to him by Don Juan Alleman, who added that they would be found to contain things much at variance with the title of "*Holy Father*," which the Pope gives himself.

The Auditor [Ghinucci], who was sent to Spain by the King of England, and the other ambassador also [Lee], who was here previously, have during the last few days gone together several times to have audience of the Emperor. They have not communicated their negotiations either to the Nuncio or to anybody else; and indeed today they are sending a messenger to England in secret, and do not choose him to take letters for anyone. It is therefore supposed that the sole object of their negotiations is to transfer the discussion of the peace to England.

The Auditor [Ghinucci] certainly came for this purpose, and he himself says so, and is therefore much opposed to the negotiations of him (Navagero) and his colleagues, they having for object to stipulate the peace in Spain. Does not know what reply the Emperor made to them, but considers it certain that he will give them [only] words, having said clearly that, if in his power, he will not allow the peace to be treated in England. The English ambassador [Lee], who has been resident in Spain for some months,* is a worthy man ("*è homo da bene*"), but very fond of the Emperor ("*molto affettionato a Cesare*") and the enemy of France, and does everything by means of his letters to keep his King the friend of the Emperor. The Auditor [Ghinucci] unbosomed himself to a friend so much as to say, amongst other things, that Lee wrote to the King that the Emperor fails not to favour the peace, but that it is thwarted by the ambassadors of the League. It may therefore be supposed that Lee writes many falsehoods, and does not benefit the matters in course of negotiation. Communicates every particular to the State, that they may be better able to ponder the whole.

Besides the assertion made by the Chancellor Gattinara, that the French are negotiating a separate treaty with the Emperor, has heard the like through another channel, and understands that this Secretary Bayard is the bearer of a great offer, and has assigned them the term of a week for its acceptance, on the expiration of

* Dr. Lee entered Toledo on the 8th of January 1526 (see "State Papers," vol. vi. p. 522.).

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which he will depart instantly. The term ends on Monday next, and he certainly brought letters from his King to the Emperor, of whom he has had many audiences apart from the other ambassadors. He now says that he means at any rate to depart on Monday, and at present is intent solely on obtaining a safeconduct for himself and a courier, whom he means to send on in advance. This secretary, on his arrival, told him (Navagero) that the letters brought by him from his King to the Emperor gave thanks for his good treatment of the King's sons, and asked him for his own wife [Eleanor of Austria], assuring him of his good-will towards peace.

Valladolid, 30th January 1527.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 31. Summaries of Advices, v. ii. p. 233. Venetian Archives, Library.

20. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

In the presence of him (Venier) and the Papal Nuncio, Cardinal Wolsey exhorted the French ambassador to write to France that his most Christian Majesty should betake himself into Picardy to review his troops, and contrive in favour of his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre, to make some stir on the borders of that kingdom, the Duke of Guelders and Robert de la Marck in like manner making a demonstration against Flanders, so as to alarm the Emperor on every side. The Cardinal considers this an excellent mode of managing the peace, as on no account will the Flemings consent to war; and he urges the most Christian King to put forth all his strength so as to be victorious in Italy, he, Wolsey, foreseeing certain success, if the Pope remains firm; for to defend himself against those who seek to deprive him of everything, he ought to use all possible means, taking example from the Venetian Signory, and with so much the more heart, seeing how well disposed the King of England is for the defence and conservation of his Holiness; the Cardinal declaring that King Henry would not fail him, and that if, as he hoped, through the coming of the ambassadors, the marriage with France be speedily concluded, his Majesty will declare himself in favour (*in beneficio*) of the League, and perform the promises made by him heretofore.

There has arrived in London Don Juan Antonio de Mendoza, Chancellor of the Signor Giacomo (*sic*),* on his way as ambassador from the Emperor to the most Serene Ferdinand, to congratulate him on his election as King of Bohemia, and to the Princes of Germany, to interrupt the Diet which they are now about to hold for the purpose of electing a new King of the Romans.

London, 31st January.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 3, 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 78.

21. ANDREA ROSSO to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The King was hunting. The Duchess of Alençon had bedded (*si era aletata*) with the King of Navarre. Preparations were being made for entertainments, jousts, &c. The ambassadors appointed

* Don Juan Antonio de Mendoza, "*Chancellor of the Signor Giacomo*," passed through London on his way to the Archduke Ferdinand, at the close of January 1527, and must not be confounded with the Abbot Iñigo, whose arrival in London on the 4th of August 1526 is recorded in the Venetian Calendar, vol. III., p. 592.

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for England had not departed, and the King sent them orders to procrastinate to see if anything came from Spain.

Poissy, 3rd and 5th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 4. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. li. p. 126.

22. The DOGE and SENATE to DOMENEGO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador at Rome.

Had supposed that the Pope, on receiving information that the moneys sent him by the Kings of France and England were already on their way,—the relationship between the two Kings being also considered settled,—would have persevered in his just defence, which would in a few days have brought him to the close of the war.

Perceiving that he is inclined to make a truce on the terms proposed, cannot but declare that although his Holiness's object be good, and in accordance with that of his confederates, to obtain a valid peace, to remove the war from Italy, to pacify Christendom, and to free himself from expenditure, it is evident that this truce will kindle a greater war, from which they anticipate the ruin, not only of Italy, but of Christendom; and also that his Holiness and his money will have to defray the war's expenses, a result the contrary of that which he desires.

The Pope should consider that the most Christian King, invited and exhorted by him, not choosing to listen to the Viceroy's offers, made the alliance with the Signory, and sent his troops and the money to Rome, as is well known, whereas his Holiness now stipulates a truce with the Imperialists, without making the slightest announcement to the most Christian King; nor is there any doubt but that the latter and the King of England, who are one and the same, will have reason to resent this, and abandon the defence of Italy, which will remain a prey to the Imperialists. Do not comprehend what security the Pope can have, when the Imperialists insist on receiving from him not only the sum of money specified by his Holiness, but also Parma, Piacenza, and Cività Vecchia. This demand is of such great importance that the Pope should be cautious of endangering his dignity and that of the Apostolic See, and likewise his confederates and all Italy, which will evidently be the result of the aforesaid truce. The most Christian King approved of an unpaid truce,* by reason of the arrival of the Lansquenets and the coming of the armada ("*l'armata*") from Spain; but it was to include the confederates, and to be stipulated for a short term, so as to obtain rest during the winter, and in order that his Majesty might conclude his marriage with England, and, together with the King of England, continue the undertaking on both sides the Alps in the spring, which is now at hand. The Signory approved such a truce to be made with the assent of the confederates, and comprising them therein. But there having been proposed to his Holiness articles which not only do not comprise the most

* "Il Christ^mo Re laudò le treugue *senza danari*, per il descender de li Lanzichinechi."

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Christian King, but omit all mention of him,—the 6th article being hostile to his Majesty, as it stipulates the restitution of the places taken from the Genoese,—the Signory regrets the ambassador did not hint to the Pope their respect for the most Christian King, whose interest in the matter is most important, on account of his sons, and above all, the necessity for not infringing the confederacy between the State and him. This would cause his Majesty and the King of England not only to be displeased with Italy, but to bear her eternal enmity, a thing desired and sought above all by the Imperialists, who know that by separating France from Italy they may easily realize their projects for dominating her and the allies. Charge him, the ambassador, to beseech the Pope to be firm, for his own advantage and the dignity of the Apostolic See, and not rush headlong into what would be the manifest ruin of Italy and of Christendom.

Ayes, 220. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 6.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 4.
Summaries of Advices, v. ii. p. 233, tergo. Venetian Archives, Library.

23. Marco Antonio Venier to the Signory.

The King communicated to all the ambassadors the statement made by Don Juan Antonio de Mendoza, and, when speaking about the affairs of Italy, he turned towards the French ambassador, telling him that he perceived the most Christian King to proceed very coldly in this matter, and complaining that although it concerned not only the recovery of his children, but his kingdom likewise, and the honour and notable interest of the confederates, yet did his Majesty avail himself but slightly of his very powerful forces; so like a good brother and friend, such as he is to him, and no less anxious for his honour and advantage than for his own, he besought him to direct all his energy and power towards the very important Italian expedition, and not permit the incipient preparations of the Emperor to take effect, as it would then be more difficult to apply a remedy; and that whilst the Imperial forces are divided and feeble, he should not allow them to unite and gain strength, exhorting him to make an attack in the directions both of Flanders and Navarre by sea and land; and that the armada (*l'armata*) of the League, should endeavour not only to prevent the return to Spain of the ships which brought the Viceroy into Italy, but to go and set fire to them wherever they may be.

Don Iñigo has exhibited the mandate for negotiating and concluding truce and peace, whereby it is expressly stated that the other mandates in the persons of the Viceroy, the General of the Franciscans, Peñalosa, and Cesare Feramosca are not to be considered revoked; and when the King asked him what the Emperor wished, he replied peace, and that to effect it they should first stipulate a three years' truce, with this condition, that the military forces in both the armies in Italy be sent into Hungary against the Turks, at the cost of all the powers, each paying proportionally.

His Majesty says that the Diet which was to be held by the Princes of Germany for the creation of a new King of the Romans has been prorogued, and the Emperor promises to attend it.

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King Henry exhorts the confederates to be vigilant on this occasion, and not to await counsel from those whom the matter concerns less; coming to this conclusion, that they should be intent on benefitting their own interests, as his Majesty being aware of the Emperor's intentions, and seeing the course pursued by them, it will be of little use, or of none at all, if they take time to rouse themselves; and that with regard to himself, they may promise themselves all that can be desired from a Prince most friendly to them, and anxious for the common weal.

Whilst the King was at mass, Cardinal Wolsey, talking with Don Iñigo about the donation which the Spanish Cortes were to give the Emperor for the Turkish affairs, inquired whether now that Hungary is pacified, the new King having been elected,* and Sultan Solyman having returned to Constantinople, they will give him the sum offered, and Don Iñigo replied positively that they would not.

London, 4th February.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 5. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 10.

24. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GASPARO SPINELLI, Venetian Secretary in England.

Have lately received letters from their ambassador at Rome, dated the 30th ultimo, whereby they learn that the Pope,—notwithstanding the great promises made him and their present performance, exemplified by the money sent to him by the most Christian King and by the King of England for his support, and the prompt assistance and favour received through the French and Venetian troops,—has nevertheless determined to make a truce with the Imperialists, being induced thereto by great timidity; for after agreeing to a suspension of hostilities, to terminate on the 8th instant, he in the meanwhile sent a summary of the articles of the treaty to the State, urging them immediately to return him their power to enable him to ratify the treaty.

The Signory, having thoroughly considered the contents of these articles, a copy of which they enclose, and not finding any mention of the most Christian King or their other confederates, nor yet of the King of England, the chief protector and author of this League, have answered their ambassador according to the accompanying transcript, which he (Spinelli) is to show to the King and Cardinal, telling them, moreover, that as before the League was concluded the Signory adhered to their sage suggestions, so now they will do nothing whatever without the express knowledge and consent of the most Christian King their confederate, and of the King and Cardinal. To request the King and Cardinal not merely to persevere in their protection of the liberty and safety of Italy, but, should the Pope without the assent or knowledge of his confederates conclude this truce, that they will then devise such means as possible for the

* The Archduke Ferdinand was elected King of Bohemia in December 1526, and proclaimed King of Hungary early in 1527. (See L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, pp. 478-494. Ed. 1770).

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preservation of the liberty of Italy. The Republic knows they have this end at heart, and that they foresee the action of the Imperialists, who, unable to obtain by force of arms universal monarchy during the present League, have sought to dismember and dissolve it by sending Feramosca to the Pope with letters from the Imperialists to bring his Holiness over to their side by promises of a general peace and other measures beneficial for Christendom. These promises being utterly at variance with notorious facts, he (Spinelli) is to inform the King and Cardinal that should the Pope stipulate the truce with the Imperialists without the assent of the allies, the Emperor's united forces will immediately attack those of Venice, which is unable single-handed to resist, as the Imperialists will number upwards of 30,000 infantry and a large body of horse, a multitude which the Signory's army alone could not withstand. To entreat the King and Cardinal not to fail acting for the liberty and welfare of Italy, and especially for the Republic of Venice, which entertains the greatest respect for his Majesty and the Cardinal. To assure them that the State will never swerve from its confederacy with the most Christian King, which they firmly support. Hope soon to hear that his most Christian Majesty's marriage with the Princess of England has been concluded, a result honourable for both their Majesties, apposite for the common weal of Italy and of all Christendom, and beyond measure desired by the State.

The Imperialists say that the troops which left Milan had crossed the Po, and that the Lansquenets who lately entered Italy had re-crossed the Trebia, and were approaching Piacenza, threatening to attack it.

The Signory's forces with the Captain-General have crossed the Po, and in conjunction with those of France will be guided by the proceedings of the Imperialists.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6.

25. Marco Antonio Venier to the Signory.

Summaries of Advices, v. ii. p. 234. Venetian Archives, Library.

Cardinal Wolsey tells all the ambassadors that he has written to his ambassador in Spain, instructing him how he is to act to impede, if possible, the donation which the Cortes are now about to give the Emperor; having in like manner written to Germany to certain English partisans (*servitori di quella Maestà*), to persuade the Electors to elect one of themselves as the new King of the Romans, promising them the favour and assistance of the King of England. The Cardinal caused to be read to Venier the copy of the mandate given to Don Iñigo [de Mendoza], dated the 3rd of December, which is very ample, and contains the clause about the powers of the Viceroy and the others, saying it was beneficial for the Emperor, and detrimental for the contracting parties, which should be borne in mind.

He also said that Don Iñigo has written to the Lady Margaret to send him an experienced doctor of laws to draw up articles, he being unskilful in that art; and having to enter on the matter, it would be well for the French ambassador to mention, first of all,

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what the most Christian King intends to offer for the release of his sons.

London, 6th February.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 83.

26. Marco Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.

The King is inclined to war with the Emperor, and, should the marriage with France be concluded, will declare himself. It is suspected that the Emperor will carry on the war in Italy with the money which they say he will get for the war against the Turk.

The King of England exhorts the Signory to favour the Vayvoyd [of Transylvania], that he may make a violent attack on the Turk; and to try and burn the Emperor's fleet.

London, 6th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 25th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. pp. 99, 100.

27. Pelegrin Bragadin to his brother Nicolo.

An ambassador has arrived here from the King of England with 40,000 ducats, and letters of very great importance. Today he departed for Rome with the magnifico Messer Andrea Doria.*

Civita Vecchia, 6th February. *Registered by Sanuto on the 28th.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9. Summaries of Advices, v. ii. p. 234, tergo. Venetian Archives, Library.

28. Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory.

The English gentleman [Osborne Eihingham?], who was sent to the Emperor with the protest in the name of his most Serene King, has returned; D. Paulo da Renzo (*sic*) having in like manner arrived from Spain.

Poissy, 9th February.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 37.

29. Domenego Venier to the Doge and Signory.

In consequence of this last victory,† the Pope will apparently no longer concede the truce and pay money, and has sent Sir John Russell (the English envoy accredited to his Holiness) to tell the Viceroy that he will make the truce without [paying] money, but would prefer peace. The Pope would wish to attack the kingdom of Naples, and send the fleet to Gaeta with the infantry under Oratio Baglioni. The Pope said the Signory could now recover the towns held by them heretofore in Puglia, and should the most Christian King wish to take part in the undertaking he was at liberty to do so; if not, his Holiness and the Signory would attack the kingdom. But the Pope demands money from the State, leaving it to the Signory to specify the amount; and he awaits a reply to this proposal. The Pope is dissatisfied with the statements made to

* By a letter in "State Papers," vol. vi., part 5, p. 563, it appears that Sir John Russell arrived at Rome on the 6th of February 1527, but no mention is made of his being accompanied by Andrea Doria.

† Concerning the battle of Frusolone, see Guicciardini, vol. iv. p. 206 (ed. Friburgo, 1776).

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Feb. 4. Simon Dietrich, v. xliv. p. 88.

Feb. 6. Simon Dietrich, v. xliv. pp. 89, 100.

Feb. 9. Simonetta of Adriano, v. ii. p. 224; Despatches of Venetian Ambassadors, Library

Feb. 9. Simon Dietrich, v. xliv. p. 92.

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him by Monsr. de Langès on behalf of the most Christian King, who offered him the 10,000 ducats on the tenths, provided his Holiness would not make terms with the Emperor and follow up the present undertaking, but at length he gave him the money. The Pope has sent the mandate to his Nuncio in England, the Prothonotary Gambara, to negotiate a peace or truce there with the Emperor, saying that he could not do less than send it, as the other potentates have in like manner transmitted their powers. Has heard from a trustworthy person that the King of England wishes to give his daughter in marriage to the most Christian King, and, on receiving the powers to negotiate the agreement and peace with the Emperor, will contrive that Madame Eleanor become the wife of the Duke of Bourbon, leaving to Bourbon the Milanese. Sir John Russell and the General of the Franciscans are going back to the Viceroy to negotiate the truce without giving the money. The Pope desired the ambassador to write to the Signory not to divulge what he had told him, as everything was being stipulated at Rome.

Rome, 9th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 97.

30. Marco Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.

Had received the Signory's "power" authorizing him to negotiate the peace or truce with the Emperor, and conclude through the mediation of the King of England. Announced this first to the Cardinal, and then to the King, whom it gratified. The espousals are about to be settled. The French ambassadors who were expected have arrived at Boulogne, and will, it is supposed, cross on the 16th. The King has sent some gentlemen to meet them. The marriage will be made, and then the King will declare himself, and moreover wage war on the Emperor.

London, 11th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 11. Summaries of Advices, v. ii. p. 235. Venetian Archives, Library.

31. Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory.

Some members of the [King's] Council have assured Secretary Rosso that they are very well disposed to wage brisk war on the Emperor, as they see no other way; and that with regard to the marriage between his most Christian Majesty and the daughter of the King of England, they no longer raised any difficulty about it, by reason of the large commission given to their ambassadors, who have been sent to England for this purpose.

The English gentleman who came from Spain is gone back to England to give account to the King of the news brought by D. Paulo.

Poissy, 11th February.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 123.

32. Marc' Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.

The advices purport that the Emperor is fitting out a fleet in Spain, with the intention of coming on board of it to Italy.

London, 12th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th March.*

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 12.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. pp. 83, 84.

33. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

It is generally believed that the marriage of his most Christian Majesty with the daughter of the King of England will take place. The ambassadors destined by his most Christian Majesty (*da questa Maestà*) for England have departed, and the marriage will be made; most especially because his most Christian Majesty (*questo Re*) has heard of the Emperor's intention to reject the peace.

Poissi, 12th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13.
Summaries of Advices, v. ii. p. 235, tergo. Venetian Archives, Library.

34. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

D. Paulo da Renzo (*sic*) has been despatched more speedily than was intended, owing to letters from England acquainting them with the ill-will borne by the King and Cardinal against the Emperor.

D. Paulo departed immediately post for Rome in great glee, the Papal Nuncio having told him that the most Christian King sent him to the Pope to give him courage, and make him act vigorously, as his Majesty is sending for him forthwith to Cività Vecchia the squadron of heavy galleys; and in a few days Mons. De Langès will bring him 20,000 ducats, not as part of the ordinary subsidy, nor on account of Christendom, but for his Holiness to use the sum as he pleases, either to embark troops on board the armada and send it into the kingdom of Naples, or to increase his army against the Viceroy; his Majesty promising that he will soon attack the Emperor from the French frontier (*de lì*).

Was unable to obtain audience of his most Christian Majesty by reason of the marriage of the Lord Steward [Montmorency].

The ambassador from the Switzers will depart very well satisfied, and be followed by the Treasurer Morelet (*sic*) [Morette], with a considerable sum of money; nor does the Royal Council attend to anything but the war against the Emperor.

The marriage between the most Christian King's daughter, and the son of the Duke of Savoy is concluded, and the Duke's Ambassador has departed for the ratification.

Poissy, 13th February.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 84.

35. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The English ambassadors have departed. In the Council nothing is spoken of but war.

Poissi, 13th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 53.

36. DOMENEGO VENIER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The Pope has sent Sir John Russell to protest to the Viceroy, in the name of his King, that unless he, the Viceroy, withdraw into the kingdom of Naples, and cease to make war on the Church, the King of England will declare himself the Emperor's enemy.

Rome, 14th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th February.*

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 14. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. li. p. 130, tergo.

37. The Doge and Senate to Marc' Antonio Venier, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Cardinal Wolsey having urged him (Venier) to write to the Signory for the immediate transmission of a power authorizing him to conclude peace or truce in England through the mediation of his Majesty, to return thanks to the King and Cardinal for their communication. In addition to the power for concluding peace in England, transmitted recently through the secretary in France, they now send another power authorizing him to sign the truce, if necessary, according to the prudent intention explained to him by the Cardinal. Are convinced that the King and Cardinal will have regard for the State and the Signory's affairs, in accordance with that love which the Republic bears them. When the opportunity offers he (Venier) is to regulate his conduct according to such advices as he will receive from the Signory's ambassador in France with regard to the intention (*mente*) of the most Christian King, and proceed jointly with the French ambassador in London.

Enclose the summary of the success of the Papal army in the Campagna, for communication to the King and Cardinal. To add how advantageous and opportune the mission of Sir John Russell has proved, by reason of the 30,000 ducats consigned to his Holiness, and the efficacious counsel which he gave him to persevere in the League; the King moreover assuring the Pope amply, that he will not fail to supply him with money and all other assistance for the future. Are of opinion that this, in great measure, caused the Viceroy to retreat from Frusolone; and therefore the Pope changed his mind about the agreement with the Viceroy aforesaid, which stipulated the disbursement of a considerable sum of money and other iniquitous conditions, well known to the King and Cardinal. To beseech them, as this first aid reached Rome with so fortunate a commencement, to persevere therein. Have heard that the Pope has given orders to his Nuncio in England [Gambara] to pray and exhort the King and Cardinal to make provision so that in case of need his Holiness may have at Rome a certain good amount of money from the King, foreseeing that, besides supplying his wants, the fame of such a fund would cause his Holiness's enemies to be much more reserved in their attacks upon him. Should he (Venier) hear of such a demand made by the Nuncio, is to aid it; always expatiating on the excessive and unbearable expenses which the Signory is incurring for the Holy League, and chiefly for the support of the Pope and the Florentines, whereby the assistance of his Majesty is absolutely necessary.

The power which was to have accompanied this missive has been sent to their secretary in France, with orders for him to forward it, should the most Christian King approve.

Ayes, 182. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 9.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. li. p. 132.

38. Doge Andrea Gritti.

Power (*syndicatus*) to Marc' Antonio Venier, Ambassador in England, for proclamation of a truce and general peace with the Emperor,

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through the mediation of the King of England and the prudence and singular virtue of Cardinal Wolsey.

[*Original draft. Latin, 50 lines.*]

Feb. 14. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. li. p. 128.

39. The DOGE and SENATE to DOMENEGO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador at Rome.

Have heard of the successes of the Papal army, of the succour given to Frusolone, and of the retreat of the enemy, who were returning into the kingdom of Naples in confusion, having suffered a notable rout. To congratulate the Pope on this victory. His Holiness's affairs cannot but have a favourable result, Sir John Russell having also arrived in Rome at that same moment, bringing him the money sent by the King of England, and assuring him of his Majesty's good-will and support. From Florence the Signory's ambassador writes that the Government there is desirous of continuing the undertaking. The Pope is with reason firm in his detestation of the negotiation for truce on the iniquitous terms proposed to him, and will act vigorously.

The Pope may rest assured that although he may have thought the most Christian King proceeded reservedly, yet this was caused solely by the words uttered to the French agents at the Papal court, and frequently repeated by his Holiness's ministers, perhaps more forcibly than becoming, though all for a good end. The most Christian King is well inclined to aid his Holiness, and he (the ambassador) may promise the Pope this. To assure his Holiness that the Signory never wrote to France censuring him in the least, but, on the contrary, ordered their secretary to favour the Pope's interests like their own.

Are certain that the most Christian King, on hearing of the Pope's determination to resist and re-enforce his troops, will be ready to aid him, and that the King of England will act in like manner. The Signory is now writing to France and England, ordering their agents there to exhort the two Kings to give the Pope pecuniary succour.

Have seen the copy of the power (*mandato*) sent by the Pope to England for the stipulation of a truce. Have already transmitted to France a power authorizing their ambassador in England to make peace, and have desired their secretary in France to forward the document to the ambassador in England when instructed by the most Christian King.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. li. p. 129, tergo.

40. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA ROSSO, Venetian Secretary in France.

The Papal army having recovered the castles seized by the Imperialists, and his Holiness having received the Signory's letters deprecating a truce, and Robodange and Sir John Russell having also opportunely arrived with the money from France and England, the Pope determined to continue the undertaking, provided he be assisted by the confederates. Such, in truth, has been the constant wish of his Holiness, and what took place to the contrary proceeded

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from fear and want of money. He therefore earnestly demanded succour, which, if granted, he would then take no steps, save such as the confederates approved.

The Signory's ambassador at Rome writes, that Sir John Russell, according to the orders received from his King, was to proceed to the Viceroy and request him to desist from hostilities against the Pope, and to stipulate a truce, without any payment. The General of the Franciscans determined to accompany Russell, hoping that the Viceroy would consent to this suspension of hostilities, to which the Pope was always inclined.

To inform his most Christian Majesty that the Signory is resolved never to accept any truce whatever, even without money, unless with his consent. Have notified this to their ambassador at Rome for communication to the Pope, and also to the Bishop of Bayeux [French ambassador in Venice], who will have informed his Majesty.

The Pope has determined to send a power to his Nuncio in England, authorizing him to negotiate a truce, and exhorts the Signory to do the like. They therefore enclose a power, in the name of the Ambassador Venier, to make a truce; the other, previously sent by them through him, the secretary in France, merely authorizing the negotiation of peace. This power the secretary is to forward to England, if necessary, in conformity with the order of the most Christian King, whom the secretary will assure that their ambassador in England is instructed to proceed conjointly with his Majesty's ambassador, as required by the indissoluble confederacy between France and Venice.

Ayes, 198. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 16. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna copy, in the Correr Museum.

41. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

On the 12th, the Chancellor [Gattinara] invited the ambassadors to assemble at his house, as he was in bed with the gout. The ambassadors found there all the ministers who attended the first conference, with the exception of Monsieur de la Chau.

The Chancellor said that the Emperor had seen the powers and heard the statement made to him by his Council, and having discussed the whole, in order that his good-will might be known to everybody, he caused the reply to be committed to writing. The Chancellor then desired the secretary, Juan Allemani, to read the summary of this document, which, so far as he (Navagero) can remember, was as follows. After asserting the Emperor's wish for peace, it proceeded to examine the powers of the ambassadors. It stated that in the power given by the Pope, the preamble contained many false assertions, abusing the Emperor, and laying upon him the whole blame of the war of Italy, which was untrue, the blame, on the contrary, resting with the Pope and others who had wrongfully attacked the Emperor. That the cause assigned by the Pope for having made this League holy was not the true one, but that the real motive was to expel his Majesty from Italy; wherefore the narrative being false, the power was faulty, and indeed everything was contrary to its tenour. That it was also defective in its remainder, the word "*confœderatorum*" being used

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without any specification of them, whereas it was requisite to mention who they were. In conclusion, had the power been correct throughout, it became vitiated, like all the others, through the invalidity of the power given by the King of France, for he doubtless was a confederate; and his ambassadors, being incapacitated from negotiating anything, the others likewise were unable to act, all being bound by their powers not to negotiate anything without their colleagues. To prove that the French King's power was not valid, they alleged, besides many other fine reasons ("*bone cose*"), that it stipulated the consent, as a confederate, of the King of England, who was neither a confederate nor the protector of the League, so that the power thus became null. Many other things were said against this power of the King of France, but they were irrelevant, and directed rather against the King himself than against the power. Such strange and odious language was used against the King, he being accused of breach of faith and many other things, that he (Navagero) was surprised how, when talking about negotiating peace, they could come to offensive language, and rather commence kindling fresh discord instead of quieting that which was past. To the power from the Signory no other objection was made than to the one from the Pope, nothing however being said about the preamble.

The Chancellor then continued, that although the powers were invalid, and nothing valid could be negotiated, yet, by reason of his great wish for this general peace, the Emperor would reply to all four of the demands made in the name of the League.

First of all, as to what they said about a suspension of arms in Italy, the thing had been misunderstood, for the Nuncio's words were, that the Emperor "*relinqueret Italiam pacatam et liberam ab armis*," whereas they understood that hostilities would be suspended. To this it was replied, that the Emperor would not suspend hostilities for a short term, but was willing to make a truce for three years, immediately on the stipulation of which all the forces in Italy to march against the Infidels; and in the meanwhile all the articles of the peace to be negotiated, the Emperor referring all doubtful points for arbitration to persons of equity, who would decide without passion.

With regard to the duchy of Milan, they said it was an Imperial fief, and that, as the Duke was accused of high treason, the judgment appertained to the Emperor, nor had anyone to interfere in this matter. Notwithstanding, to gratify the League, and for the sake of accomplishing this general peace, the Emperor consented to have the case decided by an impartial arbitrator, though he considered it just that, until sentence was passed, the fortresses should remain in the hands of the Emperor, "*cujus erat justum dominium*."

Touching the release of the French Princes, in addition to the above-mentioned abusive language against the King of France, the King was reproached with many other things, and required to return to prison in person according to his promise. But, at the end, they said that even in this matter the Emperor would not

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fail to condescend to any fair adjustment, provided he saw a sufficient power for negotiating the matter, and could rely on the observance of the promises that might be made to him; and that, were this the only impediment to the general peace, he was willing to release the Princes without ransom, or to give money of his own, if convinced of the attainment of so great a blessing as the one always desired by him, namely, concord amongst Christians, and war against infidels.

As to satisfying the King of England, they said the Emperor was surprised that such a demand should be made by the confederates, the King being neither a party to the League nor its protector, as affirmed by his own letters; and that being indeed most closely linked with the Emperor, both by consanguinity and friendship, he, the Emperor, did not only not refuse to repay the King what he owed him, but acknowledged the debt; about which the parties were already agreed, the English ambassadors negotiating the matter, they and not the ambassadors of the League having already concluded it.

Of this reply the Emperor ordered a notarial copy to be given to the ambassadors, who refused to accept it, the reasons for the refusal being assigned by the Nuncio—to the effect that after the conference at Granada (6th September 1526?) the allies were informed of the Emperor's willingness to co-operate for a general peace; that the necessary powers had been transmitted, and were rejected by the Imperial Councillors, who made so harsh a reply that it seemed the commencement of fresh discord rather than of peace, not an amicable negotiation, but an invective; to which had they replied in like form, always dwelling on these punctilios, no good result would ever have been obtained. That they said the Pope in his statement censured the Emperor (a charge which the ambassadors do not admit); and that the cause which had induced his Holiness to join the League was not such as asserted by him; yet it could not but seem strange to the ambassadors that the Emperor's ministers should know the Pope's mind better than he did himself. Moreover, that the imputation made by them against the King of France appeared to be unsuitable, and much at variance with what the Emperor had often said, that he would not allude to the past, but speak about the future and concerning this peace, which he now left aside, and talked of nothing but the past, using nothing but very injurious and unbecoming language; which form of negotiation seemed very strange to the ambassadors; nor did they know why it was necessary to have this reply read to them in the presence of witnesses, and by a notary public, as this was rather the form for adoption when drawing up processes and private law-suits, which are conducted with every sort of cavillation and astuteness; but not to be employed when negotiating the affairs of sovereigns, and universal peace. So that, being commissioned to negotiate peace, and not to litigate, they declined accepting the reply in any way, by so much the more, as it made answer to certain things which had not been proposed by them, namely the suspension of hostilities, about which nothing had been said, but merely that Italy should be left tranquil.

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That should their Lordships, after more mature consideration, determine to give them any other reply better suited to their proposals and to the treaty for peace, the ambassadors would answer them, and prove that nothing was more desired by their Sovereigns than peace.

The Chancellor did not much relish this reply, it seeming to him contrary to his projects, and to what he expected; but he uttered a few words in rejoinder, saying well nigh the same things as in the written answer, merely adding that the ambassadors were to obtain more sufficient powers, on the receipt of which the peace should be negotiated, but that it was superfluous to discuss it at present, as nothing whatever could be concluded without a sufficient power. Apologizing for the offensive language against the King of France, he said that as his most Christian Majesty took no blame to himself for breach of faith, he did not know why the ambassadors should reproach him (Gattinara) for mentioning the fact. Navagero was surprised that the French ambassador made no rejoinder to this speech.

Everybody thus remaining mute, the Count of Nassau exclaimed, "Well now (*hor ben*), never did I give the Devil credit for such power as I perceive him to exercise at present. I know for certain that the Emperor, my master, wishes for nothing but peace, and you ambassadors say, and I am willing to believe it, that your Princes have the same desire; yet nothing is done."

Thereupon the ambassadors vouched for the good will of their Sovereigns, and the Emperor's confessor, the Bishop of Osma, asked leave of the other Councillors to say a few words, thus:—that he was much pained and surprised to see matters proceed in this manner; that the negotiation was brought to a good pass, and yet all the parties withdrew, instead of persevering for the attainment of a good result. That in the written reply, although there were many strange phrases, yet did it also contain much good; for the love of God, he begged that the offensive words might be cancelled and forgotten by both sides, and that they would proceed to what was beneficial. That he knew for certain that the will of the Emperor was excellent, and that he was thoroughly disposed towards peace, as moreover shown by the reply which had been read to them. That the ambassadors had proposed four conditions with which to commence negotiating the peace, and to each of them the Emperor replied, having already settled one and facilitated the others; the treaty should therefore be continued, as the other terms likewise would be arranged, and the acrimonious words be left aside. That his Majesty had already disposed of the affair of the King of England, being ready to pay what he owes him, which was one of the demands made by the ambassadors; and with regard to the other about a suspension of hostilities, or that Italy should be left tranquil, it had also been answered that the Emperor was content, and that it seemed to him that this would be effected by a three years' truce. If the ambassadors disapproved of this plan, they might speak and devise another, but not abandon the negotiation. With regard to reinstating the Duke of Milan, and restoring the French Princes to their father, the answer to those demands was

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of such a sort as to show that his Majesty would grant them, if suitable means were found. Nor did the Emperor say that he refused anything; on the contrary, he found a way for the adjustment of all demands; so the negotiation ought not to be relinquished, and they should continue discussing the points, one by one. If the mode and language were offensive, and seemed acrimonious, let them be consigned to the flames, and thus disposed of.

Does not know how far the Chancellor approved of this speech, but it certainly seemed to please the majority of the Councillors.

The ambassadors consulted together (having previously agreed not to answer one syllable without the consent of all), and the Nuncio and I, perceiving what was offered us, and that the [verbal] answer differed greatly from what had been read, proposed continuing the negotiation. The French ambassador did not choose any further reply to be made, and we were therefore bound to abide by his will. This is what has taken place hitherto.

This French ambassador is so irritated by what was said against his King that he is quite furious, and in his present humour will no longer listen to peace; and, he being averse, we can do nothing more, each of us being commissioned to do nothing, save by mutual consent.

Whenever the ambassadors of the League met in consultation they invited the English ambassadors to attend and give them advice about everything. The [Papal] Auditor [Ghinucci] attended their conferences lately, communicating the result to Lee, and both together sent to tell them to do what seemed fit to them, as they (Ghinucci and Lee) had no advice to give, both because they had no commission from their King, and because they would not act contrary to what had been enjoined them by the Emperor.

The Secretary Bayard is about to depart, very dissatisfied and quite convinced that the Emperor does not choose to make peace, and cajoles everybody. He declares that on his (Bayard's) return to France the King will wage war by land and sea. Hopes for this, as it may perhaps at length bring peace. Until the Imperialists meet with reverses, does not know what to expect. Even were the peace about to be concluded, brisk hostilities could not fail to be beneficial. Does not know what to say about the Emperor's intentions. Is rather inclined (judging from results) to think that he makes fair promises to all, and that the peace desired by him is such that, if possible, he might make himself master of the world. Amongst the Emperor's ministers many are very well disposed towards peace, though everything is thwarted by the Chancellor, who drew up the reply as aforesaid, so that he (Navagero) was much deceived in his original opinion of him. Does not know whether he acts thus because he is averse to peace, or to further his own personal interests, or because he desires to do everything himself. He asked leave of the Emperor to come to Italy, and obtained it; announces his intention to depart at the end of March, and quotes daily the prediction of an astrologer, that no valid peace or truce will be made in Italy before June, implying that he is the person to make this peace, as he will then be in Italy. With this vanity he embarrasses the whole world, and is most obstinate in any opinion

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he forms. The course pursued by him is much disapproved by his colleagues in the ministry, but he still pursues it. Gattinara is the person who rules everything.

The French Princes have been removed from Burgos, and are being taken to Segovia. The Government has dismissed well nigh all their attendants, on the plea of having discovered some plot for their escape, and found false keys, etc. This the French ambassadors deny, and say that these excuses are devised for the purpose of confining them more closely, and thus inducing the King of France to consent to any agreement.

Valladolid, 16th February 1527.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 18. Navagero Despatches. Cicogna copy, in the Correr Museum.

42. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

The Secretary Bayard did not depart hence until yesterday. The Cortes have commenced their sittings, and there is a difficulty about making them disburse any money, unless assured of its being expended against the Turks. The Emperor is gone post to Segovia to meet the Empress, who is expected to make her entry into this city on Saturday. The Emperor will perhaps remain abroad hunting some days longer. Is daily more and more convinced that several matters were negotiated with the Emperor apart by Bayard, who has admitted the fact, saying, however, that what he treated was not against the League, but merely concerned the release of his King's sons. The Emperor's ministers assert the contrary, and persons in authority have promised to show him (Navagero) the articles in Bayard's own handwriting.

The Emperor's proceedings will depend on the news from Italy. They believe their forces there to be such that they will meet with no opposition whatever, which renders them so elate that they think they can command the universe. If disappointed, they will become more conciliatory (*humani*), and perhaps entreat what they now reject.

Valladolid, 18th February 1527.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 97.

43. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The King has despatched an envoy to England to conclude the marriage, so that war may be waged in every quarter.

Poissi, 18th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. pp. 97, 99.

44. The SAME to ——.

Account of the oration delivered by him at his first audience of the King of France at St. Germain on the 14th February.

Commended the Pope, the most Christian King, and the King of England—the last not as a confederate, because it would have displeased him, but desiring that his Majesty should be their confederate and a party to the League. When speaking of Cardinal Wolsey, styled him that Lucifer who invariably follows the course of his sun, as he in like manner accompanies his most serene Henry,—ever

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a most invincible Lucifer, one of the brightest stars in heaven, and a divinity ("*un nume*") on whom the greatest reliance might be placed on earth, as the Cardinal exercised no less authority over human affairs than the King himself.

Will urge the proposed supplies, and the mission of the envoy to the King of England, as also of another to the Pope with 20,000 crowns for his Holiness should he not have made the truce, but, if made, the sum to be sent to Venice for the war in Lombardy. The King of England also sends 30,000 crowns to the Pope on account, on the same terms as the most Christian King.

Poissi, 18th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. pp. 280, 281.

45. ——— to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

In former letters alluded to the Pope's brief to the Emperor, who considered the expressions in its preamble very offensive. The reply was too vituperative, and contained yet harsher language with regard to France. It purports that, as the mandates forbid any mention of peace without the intervention of the English and Florentine ambassadors, the former of whom will take no part in the conference, whilst the latter has no authority to act, nothing valid can be stipulated. Nevertheless, that the world may know the Emperor's wish for the general peace, he offers to make a three years' truce, and that to pacify Italy all the troops now there be sent against the Turk. Touching the Duke of Milan, the Emperor will be content to give him back his territory, with the exception of the fortresses; and as the Duke and his subjects are the vassals of the Emperor, the latter claims to appoint judges to inquire whether the Duke has erred. Should he be acquitted, the Emperor will restore the fortresses to him.

Respecting the money due to England, the Emperor says that they are agreed, and that there is no need for the League to interfere.

Concerning the most Christian King's sons, the Emperor will release them at the peace on payment of a fair ransom.

The ambassadors did not think fit to accept this reply, on account of the aforesaid preamble, and the Chancellor [Gattinara] owing to this refusal caused an act to be drawn up by a notary and witnesses. And thus ended the negotiations for the general peace.

At Valladolid nothing is heard of Italian affairs, there being no letters save those of the merchants. The Imperialists are of opinion that the Lansquenets having arrived in Lombardy, and the Viceroy being in defenceless Italy, they will conquer the whole of it.

The Cortes at Valladolid have not yet commenced. It is expected that a considerable sum will be obtained, at least from the prelates and gentry of the three estates; but it is a tedious affair.

The Emperor has given him leave [to depart], and had his safe-conduct made out.*

Valladolid, 18th February 1527. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th April.*

[*Italian.*]

* The foregoing letter, although anonymous, was evidently written by Soardino, the Mantuan envoy at the Court of Charles V.

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Feb. 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. pp. 123, 124.

46. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

His most Christian Majesty has instructed the ambassador who is to go to the King of England to persuade and stimulate him to attack the Emperor in Flanders, but not until France shall have invaded Navarre.

Poissi, 19th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 141.

47. MARC' ANTONIO VENIER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The Secretary Gasparo Spinelli is gone to the sea-side to meet the French ambassadors, and the King has sent for his daughter, the Princess, to London, to show her to them. Their arrival is much wished for, in order to conclude the marriage, for which the King is extremely inclined.

London, 19th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 174.

48. MARC' ANTONIO VENIER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Cardinal Wolsey has told him that the agreement which his King would wish to make between the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty is as follows:—

The Emperor to give one of the French Princes to the King of England, the King of France paying a million of gold for his ransom. That subsequently the Emperor should release the other, the King giving him another million and merchants' security for the annual payment of 100,000 ducats. That the most Christian King should take for wife the Princess of England; and that Madame Eleanor, the Emperor's sister, should espouse the Duke of Bourbon. The Duke to be Viceroy of Naples, and the most Christian King to restore him the territory which he possessed in France.

London, 24th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 176.

49. MARC' ANTONIO VENIER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Conversations with Cardinal Wolsey, concerning current affairs and the Pope. The French ambassadors, who were expected for the conclusion of the marriage, had not yet arrived, but were at Calais, detained by a storm, though their baggage came across in another vessel. They are anxiously awaited by the King. The Cardinal would approve a truce between the King [of France?] and the Emperor; and the King [of England?] will send to insist on his making peace, and leaving Milan to the Duke, as otherwise he, the King, will wage brisk war on him.

The Cardinal also told him (Venier) in what way the peace should be made.

London, 24th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th March.*

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 25.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 102.

50. DOMENEGO VENIER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The Englishman, Sir John Russell, departed yesterday morning on his way to Venice. On arriving at . . . . . his horse fell, and having broken his leg, he has returned to Rome.*

Rome, 25th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 1st March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. li. p. 135, tergo.

51. The DOGE and SENATE to DOMENEGO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador at Rome.

Received his letters announcing the return to the Pope of Sir John Russell, accompanied by D. Cesare Feramosca, who proposed to him a truce on the terms detailed, and that his Holiness gave ear to them without dissent. This proceeding is so unexpected by the Signory, that it astonishes and disturbs them extremely, as they do not consider it in reason that when the Almighty demonstrates his protection to his Holiness and the Apostolic See by victories gained over the Viceroy on land and sea, and also by the coming into Lombardy of the army of the League under the Count of Caiazo, the Pope should cool, owing to the deceitful (*captiose*) offers of a truce, when he ought boldly to persevere in the undertaking, which must succeed, provided he support it and be true to himself. The most Christian King has ordered Peter of Navarre to take the heavy fleet ("*l'armata grossa*") to Cività Vecchia immediately, and is sending to the Pope forthwith, by Monsieur de Langès, 20,000 crowns, not on account of the monthly subsidy, nor yet as part payment of the tenths, but for his Holiness to make use of as shall seem best to him.

The Pope will have heard of the excellent bias towards the undertaking of the English King and Cardinal, and that assistance from his Majesty may not only be hoped for but relied on, as announced in detail by the Signory's ambassador in England, the King and Cardinal being quite determined to make war on the Emperor in every quarter. Nor does his Majesty fail constantly to stimulate the most Christian King to make provision, the marriage being considered settled, as the ambassador will perceive by the enclosed summaries, although they are certain that the Pope will have received notice of this from his Nuncio in London.

To beseech the Pope to persevere in his resolve to continue the undertaking. His Holiness should not negotiate a truce, unless with the approval of the most Christian King, who aids the Pope with money. The English King does the like, and both their Majesties intend to attack the Emperor beyond the Alps ("*di là da monti*"), the most Christian King exhorting the King of Navarre, the Duke of Guelders, and Robert de la Mark to wage similar hostilities, as in the aforesaid summaries.

Ayes, 189.

[*Italian.*]

* In the Russell correspondence ("State Papers," vol. vi., part 5.) this accident is not recorded.

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Feb. 26.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 10,

52. The Doge and College to Gasparo Spinelli, Venetian Secretary in London.

Are glad to perceive the offices in which the King and Cardinal persevere for the benefit of the Holy League. To give thanks to the King and Cardinal accordingly.

To inform the King and Cardinal that the Pope has again resumed the negotiation with the Imperialists for a suspension of hostilities, according to the enclosed articles. The truce is not only inopportune, but extremely injurious to all Italy. Have instructed their ambassador at Rome as by enclosed copy, which he (Spinelli) is to communicate to the King and Cardinal, giving them fully to understand that the Signory holds in due account their firm resolve to assist the Pope and the Holy League, and now more than ever, both because the projects and ambition of the Emperor have become notorious, and also by reason of the attention paid by the State to all the proceedings and suggestions of his Majesty and his right reverend Lordship.

Besides exhorting the Pope to persevere, the Signory's army and that of the Florentines did not fail to succour him. The State moreover promised him money, because his Holiness had great need of it, and said that for this reason it was impossible for him to resist. The inconvenience caused the Signory by this outlay, owing to their vast expenditure, is known to the world. To state this to the King, and to beseech the Cardinal to persevere in his religious office of aiding the Pope with money. The effect produced at Rome by the arrival there of his first 30,000 ducats was great indeed.

Is also to expatiate to the King and Cardinal on the intolerable cost incurred by the State for the maintenance of the army, the two fleets, and the Signory's cities, which require to be garrisoned.

The Signory can certainly not continue resistance, unless his Majesty relieve the Pope in such wise as to enable them to dispense with such gross expenditure.

On the Spanish army marching from the territory of Piacenza towards that of Parma, Count Guido Rangone quitted Piacenza with a good number of horse and foot, and went to Modena, whither the army aforesaid is reported to be marching. From Parma, four companies of Venetian foot and six others, with the Papal forces, the Marquis of Saluzzo and the Signory's Proveditor Vitturi, together with the French forces, and a good number of Venetian horse, have marched towards Reggio, intending to anticipate the enemy. The rest of the Venetian army, on either side the Po, has been desired to comply with any requests soever made by the Papal agents. The Signory regrets that their Captain-General should for upwards of a week have been ill from double tertian fever. Having withdrawn to Gazuol, a place not very far from the Po, he is treated with all care by able physicians, and hopes soon to recover; his malady was redoubled through anxiety. Have desired the whole army to cross, and continue its march in favour of the Pope and the Florentines as necessary. The Count of Gaiaza (*sic*), who served the Imperialists throughout the present war, has lately gone over to the Pope, taking

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with him 130 horse and 1,200 infantry, all picked troops; by reason of his valour and skill this is a good thing. To communicate the whole to the King and Cardinal. Letters from Rome, dated the 23rd, inform them that Sir John Russell, who was present at the above written negotiation of the truce, is coming in haste to Venice.

[*Italian.*]

March 2. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 163.

53. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador, with an Englishman sent from Rome by Sir John Russell about the truce between the Pope and the Viceroy for one year, made proposals, and exhibited the articles by which time was given to the Signory to join until the 20th instant, and to the most Christian King up to the 20th April; the Lansquenets to return to Germany. The exordium of the articles sets forth that the most Christian King failed to make his promised monthly payment of 20,000 ducats to the Pope, who stands at a monthly cost of 100,000 ducats, and that in consequence of not being assisted the latter makes truce.

[*Italian.*]

March 2. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 107.

54. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The Bishop of Bayeux [Ludovic Canossa] came into the College. The instructions brought from Rome in the name of the English ambassador, Sir John Russell, were read to him. Bayeux thanked the Signory for the communication. He wished the Signory to write to Rome, that should the Pope make the truce, a clause be inserted to the effect that the French and Venetian forces might recross to this side of the Po without impediment. He was told that the Signory would consider the matter. Bayeux then said that he would go to Ferrara to prevent the Duke from joining the Imperialists, and offer him for wife Madame Renée, the sister-in-law of the most Christian King, with the appointment of Captain General of the League. He will depart tomorrow, and go by water from Francolino.

[*Italian.*]

March 3. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 109.

55. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

Present, the Papal Legate, Bishop of Pola, the English ambassador with the Englishman from Rome, and the Florentine ambassador. The Legate spoke of the truce with the Imperialists. The Doge, in the name of the College, said he would await letters from Rome, as the Pope on receiving advices from France might change his mind.

[*Italian.*]

March 3. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 111.

56. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador said the Duke of Urbino is always promising to act, but does nothing, and suggested his moving from under Milan.

[*Italian.*]

1527. March 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 192.

57. MARC' ANTONIO VENIER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The French ambassadors arrived; they have conferred with Cardinal Wolsey, and spoke of the marriage. The Cardinal would wish first to negotiate the peace withthe Emperor. The ambassadors were to have audience of the King, and the Cardinal wished to know what subsidy the most Christian King would give the King of England were he to attack the Emperor.

London, 4th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 112.

58. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador announced his intention of going to Ferrara to persuade the Duke not to oppose the League.

[*Italian.*]

March 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 116.

59. NOTE by SANUTO.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary] Casal went to Ferrara to induce the Duke to join the League, and make terms with the Pope.

This step was taken with the knowledge of the College, and with the consent of the ambassadors of the League.

[*Italian.*]

March 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. pp. 43, 44.

60. * * * * * to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

Nothing said about peace between the ambassadors of the League and the Emperor. Frequent despatches are sent hence to England to convince the King that the Emperor will make peace. The Emperor having again ("*nuovamente*") requested the King of England to make a defensive alliance with him, the King answered that, having to stipulate the general peace, he could not consent. The Emperor then asked for time to repay the money due from him to the King until the King of France ransomed his sons, when he would pay such a sum as would satisfy the King of England, and place in his hands as security the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, with certain places in Flanders. The King of England replied that he would be paid by the Emperor, and not by France, and he would not accede to the terms proposed.

They also endeavoured to make the King of England believe that they would place the negotiations for peace in his hands; an arrangement at variance with the supposition that the affairs of Italy would terminate as intended by the Emperor.

Such are the negotiations now in course between the Emperor and England. The English ambassador [Dr. Edward Lee] told the writer that the King of England knows they send him nothing but words from Spain; and the Emperor is undecided, waiting to hear what shall be proposed in Italy, and the result of the Spanish Cortes now sitting.

Valladolid, 7th March 1527. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th May.*

[*Italian, unsigned.*]

1527.
March 8.

61. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

Navagero Despatches, Cicogna copy, in the Correr Museum.

The Spanish ministers who have accompanied the Empress much regret their absence from Madrid when the powers were produced; all blame the Chancellor [Gattinara]. All are anxious for peace with England. The English ambassadors [Lee and Ghinucci] have lately received letters thence, purporting that Don Iñigo de Mendoza had arrived there from the Emperor, but that his communications were dissappointing. The answer given to the English ambassadors, touching the negotiation of the peace in England, referred everything to Don Iñigo, who spoke but in general terms, and said he had no commission about details. This surprised the King of England, and he requested the Emperor to decide at once, the King not choosing any longer to continue verbiage, and procrastination was unsuited to the need of Christendom.

Lee and Ghinucci have had conferences with the Emperor on this subject, and send a courier to England, but their decision is unknown. The Auditor [Ghinucci] says his King will no longer procrastinate. From the other ambassador [Lee] nothing can be elicited; he is a man who believes all that is told him, and is very close ("*molto secreto.*")

The Auditor [Ghinucci] is a good Italian and anxious for peace. His coming is calculated to produce some decision. If any decision has been formed it has been sent to Don Iñigo, and not communicated to the English ambassadors. It possibly may be conveyed by Mons. De Praet, who departed lately on his way to his own home in Flanders, and the Emperor has chosen him to go by way of England, perhaps for this purpose. The Chancellor is still determined on going to Italy, and says he means to be at Barcelona by Easter. He thwarts the peace to his utmost, thinking to conclude it himself hereafter in Italy and gain credit. He declares that the peace is not to be made by any other hands than his, and this he professes to have had from an astrologer, who told him lately when the powers arrived that nothing would be concluded in Spain, but that the peace would be stipulated in Italy by a jovial man ("*un homo joviale,*") who, the Chancellor says, is himself. This phantasy so confirms him in his opinion that he thinks the event will certainly come to pass. The Chancellor has printed an apology in defence of the most Christian King and his own reply to the same, and also a letter from the King to the Electors of the Empire, with certain marginal annotations by himself (the Chancellor) in confutation of the letter's contents, adding certain spiteful observations, to induce fresh hatred rather than peace.

Valladolid, 8th March 1527.

[*Italian.*]

Mar. 9, 11.

62. MARC' ANTONIO VENIER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 218.

The three French ambassadors had audience of the King, and were referred to the Cardinal, when they requested the conclusion of the marriage. The Cardinal demanded that, should the King of England renounce the title of King of France, the possessor of the French crown should pay him annually 50,000 crowns, and requires

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a mandate to this effect. For the conclusion of the marriage, it is also necessary that the most Christian King should be released from the promise made by him to Madame Eleanor; to effect which, they determined that one of the three ambassadors, namely, ...* should return to France to the King to obtain this declaration and commission from him.

Subsequently, Cardinal Wolsey, at the request of the Imperial ambassador, sent for the Papal, French, Venetian, and Milanese ambassadors, to negotiate the peace. He inspected the mandates of each of them, and having perused that of Venier, he said the Signory had a good and [well ?] conditioned Chancery.

The Milanese ambassador had no mandate, but said the business need not be delayed, as in the meanwhile it would arrive; and with regard to that of the Florentines, the Papal ambassador promised their assent to what should be determined.

Thereupon the Cardinal took the mandates, and the negotiation for the peace is to commence.

There is also need of the mandate from the most Christian King concerning the 50,000 ducats annual payment, which he is willing to make, for the title of King of France now held by the King of England, who will renounce it; the ambassadors' present power relating solely to the negotiation of the marriage.

The King of England seems desirous of negotiating the peace, which Don Iñigo told him the Emperor desired, but would not consent to the Duke's having the Milanese.

London, 9th and 11th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 138.

63. Audience in the Venetian College Hall.

The English ambassador came into the College on his return from Ferrara. He said he had spoken to the Duke, urging him to join the Pope and the League. The Duke replied that he had made promises to the Emperor, so that he neither will nor can break his word; adding, that for his own part he had not failed to be a good Italian, but the Pope rejected his terms when he, the Duke, wished to make an agreement.

[*Italian.*]

March 11. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. iii. p. 5, tergo.

64. Venetian Embassy in England.

Council of Ten and Junta.

Motion for payment by the cashier of the Council, from the limitation fund destined for ambassadors, of the arrears of expenses incurred for couriers by the Signory's ambassadors in England, Rome, and Florence, as by their accounts passed by the College, forming a total of ducats, 111; grossi, 13; piccoli, 7.

Ayes, 28. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

* Blank in MS.

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Mar. 15, 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 173.

65. DOMENEGO VENIER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The Pope has concluded the truce with the Imperialists for eight months, allowing the Signory time to become a party to it until the 25th instant, and the term for the adhesion of the most Christian King being prolonged until the 25th of April. Cesare Feramosca has departed for the Duke of Bourbon's camp, to execute the agreement (*"per exeguir lo accordo"*); and Sir John Russell has quitted Rome and is gone to the Viceroy, who in six days will come to Rome. The Pope said to him (Venier) that he had been compelled to conclude the agreement, because France gave him words [only], and that the Signory did not send on troops. His Holiness purposes despatching an envoy to the King of France. The Pope is aware that he has done wrong, but maintains he could not do otherwise.

Note by Sanuto.—All Venice was full of this intelligence, and much dispirited at the Pope's having acted thus, when the war prospered in every direction.

Rome, 15th and 16th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 175.

66. TRUCE between the POPE and the IMPERIALISTS.

Suspension of hostilities for eight months between the Pope and the Emperor, and likewise between the most Christian King and the Signory, should they give their consent, within such suitable period as left to them.

Should the King of England and Cardinal of York, in whose hands is the negotiation of the peace, have made any arrangement, in accordance with this present, it is to be observed in addition to the present treaty, so far as the additional articles correspond, but if at variance they are understood to be cancelled.

Should the King of England choose, he is appointed conservator, protector, and trustee of this truce, as also referee (*interprete*), in case any question should arise between the parties. Within one month from the day of the stipulation, the parties shall name their confederates, to whom moreover from the day of their nomination the term of two months is allowed to join it, and one month to the citramontanes.

Rome, 16th March 1527. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 168.

67. SUMMARY of a REPORT of FRANCE made to the SENATE by the Venetian Secretary, ANDREA ROSSO, on the 18th March 1527.

On his departure the most Christian King desired him to tell the Signory that in case the Pope make terms with the Emperor, he (the King) will abide by the League, and attack the kingdom of Naples and give the Republic a good part of it, and that the King of England would consent.

[*Italian.*]

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March 18. Sforza Archives, Milan.

68. MARC' ANTONIO VENIER to FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE OF MILAN.

Returns thanks for his letter dated 14th February. Has done everything to further the Duke's interests with the King and Cardinal. The Duke is now in favour both with the King and Cardinal, which result will be confirmed by the Duke's "power" lately received. The Duke will have been acquainted with everything through his ambassador, D. Augustino [Scarpinello].

London, 18th March. [*Signed*] Servulus Ex^tie^ vestræ, Marcus Antonius Venerius.

[*Original, Italian.*]

March 18. Sforza Archives, Milan.

69. UBERTO DI GAMBARA, Papal Nuncio, to FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE OF MILAN, in Cremona.*

Has received the Duke's letter thanking him for his services. The Duke's ambassador here, a man of great ability, is acquainted with his (Gambara's) proceedings, and has received from him an ample reply to the statement made in private in the Duke's name.

London, 18th March 1527.

[*Original, Italian.*]

March 19. Sforza Archives, Milan.

70. AUGUSTINO [SCARPINELLO], Milanese Ambassador in England, to FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE OF MILAN.†

The Magnifico Salamanca and his two colleagues sent by the King of Bohemia had audience of his Majesty at Greenwich on the 14th. One of them [John Faber] delivered a public oration after the German fashion. He set forth the genealogy of the Turk [Solyman II.], and his power; the peril which thus threatened the Christian commonwealth; the calamity which had befallen the kingdom of Hungary, and its loss, through the forays of the Turkish garrisons in Belgrade and other places. Recourse was therefore had to the King of England, as "*Defender of the Faith*," and kinsman of the King of Bohemia [and Hungary]. The reply on behalf of his Majesty [made by Sir Thomas More] purported that he had never ignored the power of the Turk, and therefore of late years, in the midst of victory over his enemies, he abstained from pursuing them, and, ceding many of his rights, made peace. That having done so, he laboured incessantly to pacify the other Christian Princes; it seeming to him that this was the only way to meet such danger. That the loss of Hungary, both by reason of the public detriment and that incurred personally by King Ferdinand, grieved and grieves his Majesty as becoming, nor before that loss did he fail expressing his readiness to give assistance; so that if all men, and especially those whom it most concerned, had done their utmost, Hungary would not have been lost. In the next place he considered the recovery of that realm to be beyond the forces of him, the King

* Amongst the printed letters of Baldassar Castiglione there is one to Uberto de Gambara, dated Valladolid, 30th January 1527, in which it is stated that the Pope was perfectly content that Henry VIII. and Wolsey should negotiate the peace. (See Castiglione Letters, vol. 1. p. 170, edition Padua, 1769.)

† There is a transcript of this letter in the Library of the Public Record Office (vol. xiv.).

March 18. 68. Mure, Antonio Vespia to Francesco Sforza, Duke Milan. of Milan.

Returns thanks for his letter dated 14th February. Has done everything in further the Duke's interests with the King and Cardinal. The Duke is sure to favour both with the King and Cardinal which result will be confirmed by the Duke's "grace" lately received. The Duke will have been congratulated with everything through his ambassador D. Angelino [Sacrapopolo].

London, 18th March. [Signed] Servitor Ioh. Venetus. Moren Antonius Vespius.

[Original. Italian.]

March 18. 69. Dawson to Cranmer, Privy Seal. Sends to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, in Germany.*

His received the Duke's letter thanking him for his services. The Duke's ambassador here, a man of great ability, is acquainted with his (Cranmer's) proceedings, and has received from him an ample reply to the statement made to prevail in the Duke's mind.

London, 19th March 1527.

[Original. Italian.]

March 18. 70. Agostino [Scaramuccia] Milanese Ambassador in England to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.

The Magnifico Salamonio and his two colleagues sent by the King of Bohemia had audience of his Majesty at Greenwich on the 14th. One of them [John Paul] delivered a public oration after the German fashion. He set forth the generosity of the Turk [Soliyman II.] and his power; the peril which the threatened the Christian community; the calamity which had befallen the Kingdom of Hungary, and its loss through the flight of the Turkish garrisons in Belgrade and other places. Therefore they therefore had to the King of England, as "Defensor" of the Church, and kinsman of the King of Bohemia and Hungary. The envoy on behalf of his Majesty [made to the Hungarian] replied that he had never ignored the power of the Turk, and therefore of late years, in the midst of victory over his enemies, he abstained from pursuing them, and ceding many of his rights, made peace. That having done so, he laboured incessantly to pacify the other Christian Princes; it seeming to him that this was the only way to meet such danger. That the loss of Hungary, both by reason of the public detriment and that incurred personally by King Ludovico, grieved and grieves his Majesty as becoming, nor before that loss did he fail expressing his readiness to give assistance; so that it all men, and especially those whom it most concerned, had done their utmost, Hungary would not have been lost. In the next place he considered the recovery of that realm to be beyond the force of him, the King

* A memo of the patent given at Dresden 12th January 1527, in favour of Dawson is in Theiner de Cive. ben. dand Vitaliciis 2nd January 1527, in which is recited the Duke was specially created that Henry VIII. and Wolsey should negotiate the peace. (See Creighton Letters, vol. i. p. 176, edition Tudor, 1904.)

† There is a transcript of the letter in the Library of the Public Record Office (vol. xxv).

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of England, even if united with those of any other sovereign; and that the undertaking required a confederacy of all the Christian powers, which, so far as he could comprehend, was impeded solely by the Emperor; wherefore the King of Bohemia should apply to his brother alone, and exhort him to this union, and at length to desist from such obstinate prosecution of that hatred which he bears his enemies; and that he should content himself with the numerous kingdoms which God had given him, and respect those of his neighbours; together with many other expressions to this effect, uttered in accordance with the candour and integrity of his Majesty of England.*

On the 15th received the Duke's letters, which were of great importance on account of the King and Cardinal Wolsey, who are well inclined to the Duke. Presented the letters on the 16th with the power, on the advice of the Venetian ambassador (who was with him at the Court), and also the letter of credence, apologizing for the delay in the performance of so due an office, and beseeching the King to persevere in his support of the ducal dynasty.

The King replied that he was sorry that the reasons which had prevented the Duke from performing so loving an office were so sound,† and that in England such measures as he deserved had been taken for his preservation. At this point Cardinal Wolsey said to him (the ambassador), "*Nonne intellexisti ab Oratore Veneto et Nuntio Apostolico, hanc Majestatem statuisse quod omnino Dominus Dux tuus sit Dux Mediolani?*" Replied that he understood it most perfectly, having written accordingly to the Duke, and now presented himself to the King to return such thanks as in his power; and that, although aware that so great a benefit and such extreme graciousness exceeded all gratitude, he was there nevertheless to kiss the King's feet. Then, when in the act of prostrating himself, they raised and graciously embraced him; the two together [the King and Wolsey], repeating that the Duke was to be at ease, as they would not fail to do what was necessary; and they expressed openly their good disposition towards the Duke's maintenance (*conversatione*).

Recent advices from Rome are full of suspicion lest the Pope make truce with the Viceroy for one year, to be continued for three more at his Holiness's option, and the Pope alone (*solum le cose di quella*) and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily to be comprised in the suspension of hostilities, without mention of Lombardy and Milan. This arrangement is at variance with the terms hoped for from the Emperor, who could only be induced to agree by three motives—dread of the Turk, the necessity for the defence of Flanders, and the kingdom of Naples; which motives alone caused that slight disposition towards peace of which the Emperor assured England.

* This answer, made by Sir Thomas More to John Faber (afterwards Bishop of Vienna), has been abridged by Hall at p. 120 of his Chronicle (edition, London, 1809), where it is given in six lines. It is possible that Scarpinello's version of the speech was compiled to the taste of Francesco Sforza.

† Concerning the imprisonment in October 1525 of Morone, the prime minister of the Duke of Milan, by the Emperor's General, the Marquis of Pescara, see Guicciardini, who also gives an account of the subsequent reverses of Francesco Sforzo in vol. 4. (ed. Friburgo, 1776), p. 59 and following.

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This present suspension of hostilities gives the Emperor fresh power, and while England is thwarted in pacific negotiations the Emperor becomes master of Italy. Fresh Spanish troops will re-enforce the veterans of Spain, and Lansquenets, accustomed to serve without pay, but living by plunder, who will ransack not only the confederates but the whole world.

Cardinal Wolsey asked him whether the truce would be advantageous. Replied that it would be injurious for the whole League, and especially for those who had been despoiled of their signories and territory (*signorie e beni*); and that whether the Pope made the truce or not, he, to the detriment of the losers, would not again take the field. Cardinal Wolsey rejoined, "*Per Deum! nos cogimur resumere nobiscum si Cæsar recusaverit honestam pacem*," adding that some suspension of hostilities was necessary, so that during the interval peace might be negotiated, and also lest any engagement intervene to retard the wish for peace as entertained either by one side or the other;* and he said he strongly suspected that a victory would render the King of France insolent.

The Cardinal also said the Frenchman would not willingly make peace. Remarked that, if the King and Cardinal were possessed of any sure means for making a fair peace, they should not lose the opportunity.

It is supposed that the French King is averse to peace for the sake of accomplishing one of three projects—either by war to make himself master of the kingdom of Naples, to release his sons without paying ransom, or to recover the kingdom of Navarre for his sister. Should he succeed and obtain the kingdom of Naples, Italy would be no less in danger of his domination than of the Emperor's. But to make peace is to ruin the world ("*è cosa da ruinar il mondo*"). The Pope, perhaps suspecting these French projects, has withdrawn, but he ought not to produce this mischievous result. The Venetians should not second the French so strongly as to prevent a fair peace, for the Apostolic Nuncio [Gambara] says that, owing to the Signory [of Venice], England will agree to whatever France chooses, and, should the Pope withdraw, Venice will continue the undertaking.

Are still endeavouring to overcome the difficulties about the marriage [of the Princess Mary to King Francis]. On the day before yesterday the most Christian King's Chamberlain (*Cameriero*) arrived. His instructions are not known. By a letter from the Apostolic Nuncio it is learned that the most Christian King will adjust these difficulties.

The Duke's letters to the King and Cardinal were opportune, as also the power (*mandato*). The letters to the Nuncio and to the Venetian Ambassador were also to the purpose. This last has been and is always intent on the Duke's preservation. He requests the Duke to continue to show gratitude and trust.

With regard to the Duke's hint as to what means can secure the protection of the King and Cardinal, is of opinion that at present the means are few, by reason of the Duke's want of power;

* The sack of Rome commenced on the 5th May 1527, and thus were Cardinal Wolsey's anticipations verified.

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but, as for the King, it would be requisite to supply him with horses, arms, hawks, and the like, and offer Cardinal Wolsey the pension of 12,000 ducats, as proposed by the League, giving in like manner a pension to Vuncifil [Sir Robert Wyngfield, or Sir William Fitzwilliam?], who is held very dear by the King and Cardinal; but the Duke is so overburdened on every side that he knows not what he can promise. Requests him to notify his commands, and will do the best he can.

Recommends Martin Grippa, now in the service of the Nuncio Gambara.

At this very hour the King with his (or rather our) Cardinal, aware of the inconvenience which would ensue from the Pope's secession as aforesaid, have determined to supply his Holiness with the sum required for the expenses of two months, lest he pursue the course towards which he is said to incline. In the meanwhile the result of the marriage and the peace will be witnessed, although France, as already stated, desires war.

London, 19th March 1527.

Postscript.—Requests the Duke to have the letters for the King and Cardinal addressed externally with all their titles. It would also be well to write occasionally to the Secretary Bucintorch [Brian Tuke?], as it may be of great use.

[*Original, Italian.*]

Mar. 19, 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. pp. 189, 190.

71. Domenego Venier to the Doge and Signory.

Letters received from the King of England, dated 20th February, announcing that the Emperor had written to the Viceroy, desiring him to make an agreement with the Pope on any terms, as the Emperor would subsequently render himself monarch of Italy. The French ambassador [Sir Gregory Casal], the Lord Albert of Carpi, the English ambassador, and the Venetian went to the Pope to tell him this, and persuade his Holiness not to conclude this truce. The Pope replied that necessity compelled him thus to do, adding, "*quid scripsi scripsi.*" The Venetian ambassador rejoined, telling the Pope that he would be deceived, and that on the departure of the French and Venetian troops, Bologna and Tuscany would remain ungarrisoned. The Pope then said, "Write to the Signory not to withdraw the troops until after the departure of the Lansquenets." The Pope is writing to Andrea Doria, the commander of his fleet, to come away, and no longer to molest the kingdom of Naples; desiring also the Signor Renzo [da Ceri], or rather the Legate Cardinal Triulzi, to disband the troops, so that the Papal camp will be dispersed. The Pope will also send Paulo da Rezo to France to apologize to the King.

Rome, 19th and 20th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 285.

72. Marc' Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.

(Note by Sanuto that he will transcribe a summary of the letter; but he apparently omitted to do so.)

London, 20th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th April.*

[*Italian.*]

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March 21.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 179.

73. Audience in the Venetian College Hall.

The English ambassador came into the College, and said the Signory should write to his King to join the League with the most Christian King and Venice, as the marriage will be concluded; and that he considered it certain the King of England disapproved of the Pope's having thus stipulated the truce.

[*Italian.*]

March 21.
Sforza Archives, Milan.

74. Augustino [Scarpinello], Milanese Ambassador in England, to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

The King and Cardinal had determined to defray for two months more the Pope's expenses, lest he make a perilous truce with the Viceroy. Went to Cardinal Wolsey with the Nuncio [Uberto di Gambara] to lay before him the state of the Pope's affairs, and the general mischief which would ensue were he to make such an arrangement.

The Cardinal replied angrily, that he was very dissatisfied with the Pope for not having due respect in his resolves either for his confederates or his friends, and above all for the King of England, who had always most piously and obsequiously revered and does revere his Holiness and the Apostolic See, having furnished such subsidy as was deemed expedient by him for the time; giving no little hope of not failing the said See. The Nuncio said he did not believe the Pope would do anything without the consent of his Majesty, and his confederates; and was of opinion that should his Holiness have done anything, it was not without an understanding with Sir John Russell ("*Cavalero Rosanello*"), but by his consent. The Cardinal rejoined, "*Neque Ego, neque Rex meus dedit talem facultatem Rosanello,* unless he found his Holiness's affairs in some great need, it being said at the time that the Pope wished to interpose his Majesty's name and authority for some fair suspension of hostilities with the consent of all the confederates. But the need being now at an end, and the consent of the confederates lacking, I cannot but blame his Holiness's counsel, and regret having promised my King so much with regard to the Pope's good faith."

Discussing thus the disadvantages of the business and their remedy, the Cardinal,—who together with his King are born but for the common weal, and intent on the freedom of Italy ("*studiosi de la libertà commune*")—said he would contribute money for the Pope's expenditure during two months, provided his Holiness and the other confederates promised not to make any arrangement with the Emperor without the King's intervention. Then, turning to Messer Joan Joachino [Passano] and Monseigneur d'Austria (*sic*), the one ambassador from the King of France, the other his envoy who arrived lately, and who were there perhaps on other business, the Cardinal said to them, "*Rex vester est in causâ huju smod incommodi si sequetur,* not having chosen to consent to the peace nor yet to wage so brisk a war as to prevent his confederates from being compelled to make terms with the Emperor." Joan Joachino,

* A transcript of this letter will be found in the Library of the Public Record Office (vol. xiv.)

1527. after commending the support given by the King and Cardinal to the Pope, said that the necessity for the Pope's secession appeared to him less than his wish to withdraw from hostilities; but that were heso to do the King of France promised himself victory, the results of the war, most especially in the kingdom of Naples, being such as were reported, and because his King could spend an additional four millions for the undertaking; and that if he had not hitherto inclined towards peace it was with great reason, as his affairs were not at so low an ebb, nor those of the Emperor so prosperous, as to make France surrender; the Emperor's tenure of his realms being uncertain, as likewise the amount of money which it was proposed to give him according to the treaty of peace.

Cardinal Wolsey rejoined that the results of the present war, and of others which preceded it, were not in accordance with so high a tone, and that if the affairs of the League were such as represented by Joachino, he (Wolsey) thought the Pope's bias would be different to what it is; adding, "I am well informed that the most Christian King is in close and constant negotiation with the Emperor, and has determined at any rate to marry Madame Eleanor. In God's name be it so. My King is perfectly satisfied with this, as it satisfies and pleases the most Christian King, being very certain that for the Princess of England there will be no lack of a good and fitting marriage. But, should the most Christian King, as we perceive, make an agreement with the Emperor, we request him not to desert his friends and confederates, most especially my King, who, although not expressly named in the confederacy against the Emperor, has nevertheless incurred his enmity through what he has done for the especial benefit of the King of France." The Cardinal added many other things worthy of his loyalty towards his King and the other confederates. The two French agents, in reply, positively denied this negotiation, promising such good faith as is due from their King to his confederates and friends, and most especially to the King of England. The Cardinal continued, exhorting them to use their good offices with their King for the peace, this being the object of the war; nor should recourse be had to arms either from too great hatred, or from the hope of personal advantage.

The Nuncio having heard the offer of pecuniary supply, on the aforesaid conditions, went again to Cardinal Wolsey, urging him that, in case the King of France should refuse to promise not to make terms with the Emperor without the intervention of England, his Majesty would be content with the mere promise of the Pope and the Venetian Signory; and thus was the affair settled.

Concerning the current difficulties about this marriage, understands that England promises to give France the same dower as was promised to the Emperor, payable should France not inherit the crown of England ("*si non contingat successio regni*"); and to avoid all cause for future war between England and France, England is willing to cede her claims upon France for 50,000 ducats per annum to the children born of the marriage, France also conceding salt for the use of England.

The most Christian King replies that he does not care for any other claims than his own on his own realm, nor will he accept the pro-

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posal; neither, were he inclined to do so, would his subjects allow him to render the kingdom tributary for 50,000 ducats annually, though by reason of his friendship and brotherhood with the King of England he is willing to grant him the salt during the King of England's lifetime. The English ministry replied that they did not seek to render France tributary, but that the children born of this marriage should have subsistence upon revenues derived from their paternal kingdom. The matter has been debated hitherto with small hope of adjustment, unless the most Christian King make such a fair concession as lies in his power.

Does not know how to interpret the Frenchman's boldness in refusing peace, coupled with the aforesaid negotiation with the Emperor, unless it be a feint to lower the terms of the marriage, nor whether France wishes for war, being able without it to get back his sons on paying the ransom offered through Paulo da Reggio. Thinks King Francis has a higher aim than security for the freedom of Italy when boasting openly that he will attack Naples on his own account.

Advices have been received in London from Spain, dated the 13th ultimo, those of the Nuncio purporting that negotiations are on foot, but with no foundation; and that the Spaniards will neither allow the Emperor to depart thence, nor give him money, save for the recovery of Hungary, the funds to be dispensed by Spanish treasurers, and not otherwise.

London, 21st March 1527.

[*Original, Italian.*]

March 21.

Commemoriale, v. xxi. p. 36, tergo.

75. Doge Andrea Gritti.

Power (of attorney) for the Venetian ambassador in England to admit the King into the league between Venice and France.

[*Original minute, Latin, 46 lines.*]

March 21.

Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta). v. lii. p. 4, tergo.

76. The Doge and Senate to Sebastian Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in France.

The most Christian King ought not to reject the truce, by reason of the benefit which would result to the common undertaking, as time would be had for making preparations. By assenting to the truce, the confederacy will retain the Pope, as otherwise he and his adherents will be hostile. The most Christian King in the meanwhile will conclude his marriage with the King of England ("*concluderà il matrimonio suo con el Ser^mo Re de Angelterra*"), who will have to join their confederacy; and as the Emperor holds him in such account as due to his great power ("*le valide force sue*"), the Imperialists styling him the conservator of this truce, his Majesty appears to incline towards it, according to the letters of the Signory's ambassador in England.

The Emperor, being aware of the union between the Pope, France, England, and the Signory, will be compelled to augment his forces, and think of the release of the French princes by means of a general peace, which will be effected through the aforesaid truce.

Should he, the ambassador, therefore, perceive that the most Christian King inclines towards the truce, he is to encourage him

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in this opinion; but if his Majesty is averse, to beware of saying what might throw doubt on the Signory's determination to adhere to his Majesty.

Should the King incline to the truce, to send a copy of this to the Signory's ambassador in England.

[*Italian.*]

March 21. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lii. p. 5.

77. The DOGE and SENATE to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France.

As the marriage between his most Christian Majesty and England may be considered settled, hope the English King will join the Signory's confederacy, and therefore authorize him (the ambassador) to stipulate the League with his Majesty of England.

[*Italian.*]

March 21. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lii. p. 6, tergo.

78. DOGE ANDREA GRITTI.

Power to Sebastian Giustinian, Venetian ambassador in France, authorizing him to renew and reform the treaty between his most Christian Majesty, including therein the Duke of Milan, and negotiating the entry into it of the King of England.

[*Latin*, 41 *lines.*]

March 21. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lii. p. 7.

79. The DOGE and SENATE to MARC' ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in England.

The assurance that the King and Cardinal cannot be more warmly disposed to benefit Italy is an alleviation to the unexpected news of the truce concluded between the Pope and the Imperialists. The Signory never imagined that he would stipulate it; it was not reasonable to suppose the Pope would again trust in those who had so frequently plotted against him. The League was in such a position that had his Holiness persevered for a few days, victory would have been certain. The Signory's armada ("*armata nostra*") was at the gates of Naples. The neighbouring places had either surrendered or been taken, and the entire population disorganized. The insurrection of the county of Tagliacozzo and the capture of many other places in the kingdom (of Naples) effected by the Signor Renzo da Ceri had produced a favourable impression, which was augmented by the subsidies from France. England and the Signory had sent to his Holiness a large part of the promised 30,000 ducats. The Signory's army had also crossed the Po. The Pope's towns and those of the Florentines were well garrisoned, and the Spanish army in the Bolognese territory was in difficulty from the great scarcity of provisions and mutiny in the camp.

Notwithstanding, the Pope made an agreement with the Imperialists, as by the enclosed copy.

By the articles, place is reserved for his most Christian Majesty and the Signory. They have written to France to ascertain his wishes, it being their intention to persevere in the French alliance, with the hope that he will not fail to give them speedy assistance and subsidies. As the Imperialists, having detached the Pope from the League, will turn all their forces against Venice, should his most Christian Majesty and the Signory refuse their assent to the truce

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Venice single handed could not resist such an attack, and would need the assistance of France and England. Do not doubt that his Majesty (Henry) will grant it. Trust that the close matrimonial tie which has been contracted between his Majesty and France will render him prompt to afford the State effective aid.

Ayes, 190. Noes, 9. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

March 21. Sforza Archives, Milan.

80. AUGUSTINO SCARPINELLO, Milanese Ambassador in England, to FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE of MILAN.

Letters have been received from the English ambassadors in Rome [Sir John Russell and Sir Gregory da Casale],* and also from the Pope, stating the necessity of the latter for his making terms with the Imperialists, and promising mutual assistance, according to a copy of the articles enclosed, which show that the agreement is to that effect, and not a truce as entitled. Thereupon the King and Cardinal desired the Nuncio to send again to the Pope, acquainting him with their contribution, and exhorting him to resist and not risk his person, as the Emperor might be compelled to make fair terms. Should there be no necessity for the agreement, the Pope is to declare what he can stake for the present venture. The King and the confederates will then decide, and either supply the Pope with forces or consent to his providing for his own need. The King will do his utmost to conclude the marriage with France, and, if that be effected, there will be no lack of means to enforce a fair and general peace. Should the marriage not take place, it has been determined not to abandon the most Christian King, but to league with him and the Venetian Signory in order to stay the exorbitant power of the Emperor, whether the Pope be agreed with him or not. As England has opposed the supremacy of France, so will the King of England resist that of the Emperor.

The Duke will appreciate the magnanimity of the King and Cardinal.

Considering the pressure (*pressura*) in the kingdom of Naples, and the small success in . . . . and Lombardy, had thought it difficult to get the peace out of the clutches (*artiglij*) of the Emperor, whose ambassador in England, with the ambassadors of the King of Bohemia, were urging it. Subsequently he began to hope that therein the King and Cardinal would seek the Duke's restoration. But as the Pope makes peace from fear and for his own interest or present security, knows not what to say, unless God provide through the King of England.

Much surprise caused by the omission in the articles of any place for the Duke, and that no mention should have been made of him.

The affair of the marriage seems to be drawing to a close.

Requests the Duke to send him money, and to write frequently to Cardinal Wolsey.

London, 21st March 1527.

[*Original, Italian.*]

* See "State Papers," Vol. VI., Part 5, pp. 563–565.

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March 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 285.

81. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Has persuaded the King to exert himself to carry on the war in Italy briskly and speedily, as the forces of the allies dwindle more and more daily. Hostilities would be invigorated by his Majesty's contributing more valid subsidies.

The King said that on completing the marriage negotiation with England he will send 15,000 infantry into Italy, or money wherewith to raise them.

The ambassador will do his utmost to effect this.

Dated 24th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 24. Commemoriale, v. xxi. p. 37, tergo.

82. The ITALIAN LEAGUE.

Power (of attorney) from Francesco Sforza Visconte, Duke of Milan, authorizing the modification of the league stipulated during the preceding months ("*superioribus mensibus*") between himself, the Signory of Venice, and the Florentine Republic.

[*Original transcript, Latin, 44 lines.*]

Mar. 27, 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 290.

83. MARC' ANTONIO VENIER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The marriage will take place. When the King heard the Pope proposed making terms with the Emperor, he sent for the Papal Nuncio, the Prothonotary Gambara, to whom he used violent language against the Pope, and said he would wage war on the Emperor, and that he had sent money to his Holiness thus to do until the Emperor should consent to a general peace.

The Archduke's ambassador, Salamanca, has had audience, demanding assistance from the King for the war against the Turk. His Majesty told him he was willing to give pecuniary assistance, provided the other Christian powers would make peace together, and wage joint war against the Turk.

London, 27th and 28th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. pp. 216, 217.

84. REPORT made to the SENATE on the 29th March by Carlo Contarini, late Ambassador to the Archduke of Austria, now King of Bohemia.

Alluded to Martin Luther and to his rites, and, wishing to speak about them, the Doge (Andrea Gritti) said, "Enough of this."

[*Italian.*]

April 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 232.

85. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador exhibited letters from his brother, Sir Gregory Casal, at Rome, with advices in conformity with those received by the Signory. He wishes a general peace to be made. The Doge agreed with him.

[*Italian.*]

April 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 233.

86. PERUSAL of LETTERS in the VENETIAN SENATE HALL

The Senate sat in the afternoon, and amongst the letters read was one dated 28th March from Rome about events there, written

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by Sir Gregory Casal to his brother the Prothonotary, both English ambassadors.

Sir Gregory, together with Sir John Russell, had spoken to the Pope, complaining of two things,—one, that the Cardinal Triulzi had been taken as a hostage to Gaeta, a place held by the Viceroy; the other, that the Pope had given the Viceroy 50,000 crowns, promising a further payment, whereas the King did not wish any money to be disbursed.

The Pope replied that Cardinal Triulzi went to effect the restitution of the towns taken in the kingdom of Naples, and to get the fleet recalled from the Neapolitan territory, on accomplishing which he would return to Rome. With regard to the presents, the Pope had them given in the name of Filippo Strozzi, and his Holiness said that this would be the commencement of peace.

[*Italian.*]

April 2. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

87. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

Acquaints the State with the negotiations of Paolo d'Arezzo sent to the Emperor by the Pope on a secret mission. He was to negotiate the Pope's coming to Spain,* should it be desirable. Discussed the matter with the Nuncio, who disapproved the measure utterly. He said it was proposed by the Pope, one or two days after the Colonna faction had blockaded him in Castle St. Angelo,† when he capitulated with Don Ugo [de Moncada] under compulsion. Subsequently Paolo d'Arezzo remained a long while in France, and affairs in Italy were completely changed. The Nuncio therefore inferred that the Pope had changed his mind, and was of opinion that if the Pope wished to come, the other Christian powers would not allow him to do so.

Paolo d'Arezzo persisted in his own opinion. He said he well knew what the Pope wished, having heard it from his own lips; that were the promise made he knew for certain that on his return to Rome he should bring the Pope to Spain, wherefore he chose to make this promise and did so ("*perciò che voleva far questa promis-*" *sione, et così fece.*") The Nuncio would make no promise whatever, and laid the whole responsibility on Paolo d'Arezzo. The business was conducted with very great secrecy, and the Emperor wrote an autograph letter to the Pope, and sent orders to the Viceroy, desiring him, should the Pope set out for Spain, to withdraw all his troops into the kingdom of Naples, and in no way to molest the Papal territories; a similar command being given by him likewise to the Colonna faction.

In order that the thing might not be known to so many persons, they did not announce it distinctly to the Duke of Bourbon, but merely desired him to obey the commands given him by the Viceroy in the Emperor's name, with regard to a matter which his Majesty

* This proposal is but slightly alluded to by Guicciardini (vol. 4. p. 182, Ed. Friburgo, 1776). The Pope was to go by sea, and to meet the Emperor at Narbonne. The measure was of such great political importance that the particulars given by Navagero appear to me worth recording.

† On the 20th of September 1526. (See Sanuto Diaries, vol. xlii. p. 512.)

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chose should take effect in Italy; and the Viceroy was to command him likewise to abstain totally from interference with the affairs of the Church.*

This Don Paulo was himself the bearer of these letters to Rome, and departed with the belief that he should certainly be able to accomplish this business.

He had no hope whatever of peace, because he believed the Imperialists to be averse to it. The Emperor promised him not to say anything about the matter, not even to the Chancellor. This promise was not kept, for on Don Paulo's departure Gattinara said that he would not let him depart in error, and with the belief that the Emperor did anything without his (Gattinara's) knowledge, and then acquainted him (Don Paulo) with all that he had negotiated.

Perhaps Don Paulo acted thus to gain favour with the Emperor, hoping for great reward should he realize this project. Little can be done by him in a matter so contrary to all reason.

Valladolid, 2nd April 1527.

[*Italian.*]

April 2. Ibid.

88. The SAME to the SAME.

The Chancellor [Gattinara] departed hence on the 30th ult., very dissatisfied. The Emperor gave him leave for three months to go and fulfil a vow at Monserrato, though Gattinara made the demand for the purpose of proceeding subsequently straight to Italy, where, as always said by him of late, he means to withdraw to his own home, and he has taken with him all his effects with the intention of not returning. Many persons expect the Emperor to recall him, and that if recalled he will return. Does not know what he will do, nor whether he will be recalled, because the Emperor's character is such that he never chooses to let it appear that he has need of any person. It is certain that the Chancellor departs very dissatisfied, and besides many other reasons he went away because he received no present whatever from the Emperor. He spends much, and daily contracts fresh debts, so that he can no longer defray such vast expenditure. His debts are estimated at 24,000 ducats. He will be a great loss to the Court.

The sons of the King of France were not taken to Segovia as reported, but are still at Villa Lapando (*sic*), distant eight leagues from Valladolid, a place belonging to the Constable [of Castile], who has charge of them.

Valladolid, 2nd April 1527.

[*Italian.*]

April 6, 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. p. 338.

89. MARC' ANTONIO VENIER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The betrothals have been concluded, and two ambassadors are to be sent, one from France and the other from England, to the Emperor, to demand the release of the French Princes on payment of a fair ransom; in case of refusal the ambassadors will

* "Totalmente si astenesse dalle cose della Chiesa."

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declare war Cardinal Wolsey moreover desired him (Venier) to write to his colleague in Spain [Andrea Navagero] to join them in this office, and told the Papal Nuncio in London to give similar instructions to the Nuncio with the Emperor.

London, 6th and 7th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th April.*

[*Italian.*]

April 11, 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 39.

90. MARC' ANTONIO VENIER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The marriage is being negotiated, and the articles are in the hands of the French ambassadors for revision, so that in two or three days they will be signed, which being done, the ambassadors will be sent to the Emperor; namely, on behalf of the most Christian King, the Bishop of Tarbes, now in London; and for the King of England, Figuglielmo.* They are to announce the conclusion of the espousals, demanding the release of the French Princes for a fair ransom, and that the Emperor leave Italy quiet and free. Twenty days to be given for his decision, on the expiration of which term, should he not accept the conditions, the two ambassadors are to declare war. The English say they will act, and send troops and money. Nobody expects the Emperor to join the Italian League. The Kings of England and France are to have an interview on the other side of the Channel ("*di là dil mare*"), both for the conclusion of this marriage, and for his English Majesty's cession of the title of King of France. England has obtained that, after the death of the present King of France, France is to pay annually and for ever ("*in perpetuo ogni anno*") to this present King of England 10,000 crowns of the sun, and a pension of 40,000 crowns, to commence on the birth of the Princess of England's son, for his use; the payment not to be made unless she have a male heir. The decision about the marriage has been effected sooner than was expected, and the Pope's surrender accelerated it, the King of England suspecting that the Signory would give way likewise. Should affairs be such as they are represented, there is a fair hope of success.

This letter having been detained until the 16th, announces that it has been determined to sign the marriage articles on the morrow; and on the octave of Easter, at Greenwich, Cardinal Wolsey will sing mass, and the agreement will be published with solemnity and rejoicing, the like being done in France.

The interview between the two Kings will be effected with fewer persons than on the last occasion, for the avoidance of expense.

London, 11th and 16th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. pp. 276, 277.

91. SOARDINO to [the MARQUIS of MANTUA?].

Bourbon urges the Emperor and entreats him to make peace with France on such terms as he can. Bourbon is not aware of any other remedy for the Emperor's affairs in Italy.

* *i. e.* Fitzwilliam; but it was Sir Francis Poyntz who was sent with the Bishop of Tarbes to the Emperor.

April 11, 16. Senate Diaries, v. xiv. p. 22.

April 13. Senate Diaries, v. xiv. pp. 219, 221.

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Letters have been received from the King of England to his ambassadors,* desiring them to tell the Emperor that the French urge him greatly to give his daughter to the most Christian King; but he answered, he must ponder the matter well. Also that as the Pope, France, and the Venetians have lately sent him ample powers to his satisfaction, referring themselves entirely to him for the stipulation of peace, he therefore requests the Emperor to send him similar powers, that it may be known that he does not fail to further the conclusion of peace. The ambassadors have spoken to the Emperor, but were unable to obtain one word to warrant a hope of peace. Possibly the Emperor will reply in another form at the second or third audience, and will perhaps await news of Bourbon's having joined the Viceroy, hoping that when united they may yet perform great results. In the meanwhile it is published by both great and small ("*grandi e piccoli*") that the Cortes now sitting will not give the Emperor money, so he will obtain none. He is ill-disposed towards the Grandees, who, on their part, are still more dissatisfied with him, and this animosity is universal throughout Spain, and the Emperor reciprocates it.

[Valladolid?], 13th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd June.*

[*Italian.*]

April 13. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

92. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

The English ambassadors have lately received a courier from their King, and had audience of the Emperor, to whom they announced all the negotiations in course between England and France, to prevent him from entertaining suspicion, especially with regard to the marriage of the Princess Mary, whose hand has been asked for by the King of France.

The Auditor [Ghinucci] informed him (Navagero) that they had told the Emperor he should now determine about this general peace amongst the Christian powers, his resolve being alone wanting, all the other allied sovereigns having evinced their good will, of which the King of England entertained no doubt, because he had inspected the powers sent by each of the sovereigns for the negotiation of this peace, and found them most ample and indicative of the good will of all of them.

Of these powers the English ambassadors had received copies, which they read to the Emperor, requesting him now to decide. The Auditor says the reply was so cold that he is at last convinced the Emperor does not intend to make peace; that previously he (Ghinucci) always suspected that they were being cajoled with words, and that the Emperor did not mean what he said, but that he is now quite sure of this; that all their efforts to make him form any resolve were vain, so that he (Ghinucci) despaired of peace, though his colleague [Lee] was so credulous a person ("*si buona persona*") that he still allowed himself to be deluded, and would not be undeceived; and that this would perhaps somewhat

* Lee and Ghinucci.

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delay the despatch of their courier to England, as his colleague still wished to await another reply from the Emperor.

Valladolid, 13th April 1527.

[*Italian.*]

April 16. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lii. p. 15.

93. The DOGE and SENATE to DOMENEGO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Rome.

That his Holiness should not resume the war causes the Signory heartfelt regret. Cannot believe the Pope will not rather exterminate the Imperialists than abandon his own cause.

To declare to the Pope the firm and excellent will entertained by the Signory towards his Holiness, and the express order given by them to their Captain-General to advance for the defence of the Pope and the Florentines.

To communicate the present despatch to the French and English ambassadors.

Ayes, 189. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

April 16. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lii. p. 15 tergo.

94. The DOGE and SENATE to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France.

As regards the proposed restrictive clauses of the confederacy, are of opinion that any further addition is unnecessary. The Signory authorize him, the ambassador, to ratify the restrictive clauses and the articles. To request his most Christian Majesty to send aid speedily, the State being in manifest peril. Were pleased to learn his intention of attacking the Emperor in Flanders, and that the Duke of Guelders should do the like. The King of England will join the attack after the marriage, which they hear was considered settled by his most Christian Majesty.

[*Italian.*]

April 16. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lii. p. 17 tergo.

95. The DOGE and SENATE to MARC' ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in England.

On the 21st ultimo the Signory heard of the truce. Determined not to give any answer until acquainted with the French King's intention, as they act in accordance with him. Therefore, having been informed that his Majesty will not become a party, and requires the Signory to render their confederacy with him more stringent, as after the agreement between the Pope and the Imperialists all their forces will be directed against the Signory, have made a reply to the articles proposed by the most Christian King, and desire their ambassador in France to transmit it to him (Venier), that he may submit it to the King of England and the Cardinal.

The ambassador to expatiate to the King on the peril to which Italy is exposed. The Pope has deserted his confederates, especially England, by making terms with the Viceroy. He now finds himself not only deceived by the Imperialists, but in the depths of despair. He sees his territories in the Bolognese and Romagna laid waste; and himself compelled to disburse 200,000 crowns through the Strozzi and Salviati banks, as reported, whereas they had at first

April 16. Instructions to Sir Gregory Casale, Knight, Ambassador to the Signory of Venice.

Valladolid, 16th April 1527.

[Italian.]

April 16. Instructions to Sir Gregory Casale, Knight, Ambassador to the Signory of Venice.

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[Italian.]

April 16. Instructions to Sir Gregory Casale, Knight, Ambassador to the Signory of Venice.

Valladolid, 16th April 1527.

[Italian.]

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promised to make the agreement for 60,000 crowns; and he is under the fear lest, after payment of the money, the Spaniards keep him under greater subjection than ever.

The only remedy is that the Kings of France and England should provide for the Signory, which does not fail exhorting his Holiness to resume hostilities and not to purchase his own slavery with his own money, and throw himself into the arms of those who have so often completely betrayed him, but rather to avenge Italy, and save his country from such imminent bondage.

The Signory's army has already crossed the Po, and advanced into the Bolognese, with the intention of proceeding further according to the movements of the enemy.

Feel confident that having the King of England, with his wisdom and power, in their favour, the result cannot fail to be prosperous.

To beseech the King and Cardinal now to uphold the safety and liberty of Italy, by joining the Signory's confederacy forthwith.

Ayes, 164. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian.*]

April 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. xliv. pp. 337, 338.

96. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

On the conclusion of the marriage with England, which is considered settled, the French and English Kings will meet at Calais or Boulogne before the day of the Ascension, when everything will be ratified.

Poissi, 17th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th April.*

[*Italian.*]

April 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 39.

97. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Had succeeded in prevailing on the French King to send pecuniary and military succour to Italy. Perceiving by the Signory's advices that the enemy was prospering, went to his Majesty, setting forth the need, and exhorting him to make valid provision. Expatiated on the nature of the war in Italy, a war not waged against an Emperor, but against the Duke of Bourbon, the King's most bitter enemy—a fugitive, pauper, exile, without either territory or domicile, to the shame of the Apostolic See, of his Majesty, and of the Venetian Signory, as well as of all Italy; so that his Majesty should do his utmost against the invaders. This language moved the King so much that he immediately desired remittances to be made, and wrote to the Switzers to descend instantly, &c., saying that he would not fail.

Advices from England, dated the 16th (April), state that the marriage of the Princess to his son has been concluded, as will be declared at the conference to be held between the two Kings, each of whom has appointed an ambassador to the Emperor, to demand peace and the release of the French Princes. If these be refused, they are to announce war to him; the terms being, that the King of England is to attack Flanders with 10,000 infantry, 1,000 light horse, and such artillery as necessary, together with a very powerful fleet, carrying 10,000 infantry paid by the King of England, and 1,500 by the most Christian King; the attack to take

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place at the beginning of next June. The most Christian King will invade from the French side, entering the Flemish frontier* with 2,000 spears, 20,000 infantry, and such ordnance as requisite.

The two Kings will have an interview before Whitsuntide, either at Calais or Boulogne, according to such arrangements as shall be made by them. The articles have been signed by the King of England and the French ambassadors, who transmitted them for ratification, which has been effected in ample form by his most Christian Majesty; and this confederacy and marriage is to be published in England on the Sunday of the Apostles [Saint Philip and Saint James's day, 1st May]; the like being done on the same day here, in Paris, provided the ratification from England be received previously. This act will be performed with every mark of rejoicing.

All the Flemings have been expelled and banished England, so that they are prevented trading and are unable to export merchandise of any sort from the island.

Had received the Signory's letters concerning the truce made by the Pope with the Imperialists, and desiring him to inquire whether the King was inclined to be a party to it. Being aware of his Majesty's bias, did not make the communication, knowing that nothing could displease him more than to hear about the truce; and had he (Giustinian) made the proposal, all the provisions for the war, made by his Majesty for the Signory's advantage, would have been delayed.

Paris, 23rd April. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 24–27. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 72.

98. Marc' Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.

The King has appointed one of his gentlemen, Monsignor Paris (*sic*) [Sir Francis Poyntz],† to go with two heralds and the Bishop of Tarbes to the Emperor to declare war against him; and has determined to invade Flanders with 30,000 infantry, 10,000 on his own account and 20,000 to be paid by the most Christian King, in addition to which there will be the fleet.

The proclamation [of the marriage, etc.] cannot be made on Sunday, Cardinal Wolsey being indisposed; so the ceremony is deferred.

London, 24–27 April. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 26 to May 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 72.

99. Sebastian Giustinian to the Doge and Signory.

The King of England will send two heralds with the ambassadors to the Emperor with orders, should the Emperor refuse to admit them into his presence, that the act be considered a declaration of war. The commanders of the armies have been already appointed, and the proclamation of the agreements will be made on the Sunday of the Apostles.—Paris, 26th April.

* In the original, "*questo Re romperà di qua a li confini di la Franza*" (sic). Evidently a mistake for Flanders, and I translate accordingly.

† See "State Papers," vol. 6, part 5, pp. 585, 588.

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The two ambassadors, the Englishman [Sir Francis Poyntz] and the Frenchman [Bishop of Tarbes], had departed post [from London?] for France, on their way to the Emperor in Spain with the orders already mentioned; and the Bishop of Bayonne and Dom. Gaspar Tormano are to leave shortly for Germany, to thwart the election of the Archduke Ferdinand as King of the Romans.—1st May.

In these waters ("*questi mari*") the most Christian King had a ship of 2,000 butts and six galleons, the King of England having an equal naval force; with which and with the vessels of the fleet ("*dil' armata*") they will infest the enemy's entire line of coast.—Paris, 4th May.

Registered by Sanuto, 15th May.

[*Italian.*]

May 1.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 1.

100. Domenego Venier to the Doge and Signory.

The Pope is raising 8,000 infantry for his defence against the Imperial camp. Out of the sum promised him by the Romans his Holiness has received 12,000 ducats, and he has despatched infantry captains with money to raise men. The Cardinals also were taking such part as became them. His Holiness was sending to France, Lorenzo Toscham, together with Sir John Russell, the English envoy, who will then proceed to England on account of the new League made, and to give assurance that the Pope will be a good Italian.

Rome, 2nd May (*sic*). *Registered by Sanuto, 1st May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 1, 2, 3.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 74.

101. Letters from the French Court.

A gentleman had arrived from England with news of the preparations for the publication of the agreement between France and England. On St. George's day the King permitted the French ambassadors* to see the Princess and pay their respects to her. The Princess spoke to them in French and Latin, and wrote; they also made her play upon the harpsichord.

Two heralds were to acquaint the Emperor with the agreement made by the two Kings, and to demand the release of the French Princes on payment of a fair ransom, and, in case of refusal, to declare war. It has been settled to invade Flanders; the English King giving 10,000 crowns and 1,000 horse to the King of France for this purpose.

The Bishop of Bayonne is going as ambassador from the King to a Diet of the Imperial Electors in Germany.

Paris, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd May. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 3.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 73.

102. Sebastian Giustinian to the Doge and Signory.

The marriage has been signed, and is to be published on the day of the Apostles; after which they will proclaim the League between

* Gabriel de Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes; Francis, Viscount of Turenne; Giovanni Gioacchino di Passano, Lord of Vaux; and Jean Brinon, Chancellor of Alençon and President of Rouen.

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the Signory and his most Christian Majesty, who is sending money into Italy for a levy of 2,000 harquebusiers, to be sent to France for the service of the League against the Flemings.

Paris, 3rd May. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 5—11. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 187.

103. Marc' Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.

Narrates the conclusion of the marriage and the entertainments given.

London, 5th, 7th, and 11th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd June.*

Note by Sanuto, that the particulars correspond with those of a copious letter from the ambassador's secretary, which he will transcribe hereafter.*

[*Italian.*]

May 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 53.

104. Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, to Andrea Loredano, Venetian Bailiff and Captain of Crema.

The League has been concluded between France and England, the most Christian King having promised either to espouse the English Princess, or else to give her to his second son, the Duke of Orleans. The marriage is to take place immediately on the return of the two envoys sent to Spain, one in the name of the most Christian King, and the other on behalf of his English Majesty, urging the Emperor to join the League and release the French Princes for a fair ransom, and to restore the Milanese to the Duke. In case of refusal the envoys are to proclaim war, and on their return the two Kings will hold a conference between Calais and Boulogne.

Besides the money for the payment of his troops, the most Christian King has sent 75,000 crowns to Venice, and as many more are to be remitted within a week; and should the Signory think it advisable, he is willing to subsidize 10,000 Switzers.

Cremona, 7th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 10th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. pp. 194–198.

105. Gasparo Spinelli, Venetian Secretary in London, to his brother Lodovico Spinelli, in Venice.

On the 4th instant all the ambassadors, with the exception of the Emperor's, were summoned to Greenwich, where, in the presence of the King and the chief personages of the Court, the French ambassador, the Bishop of Tarbes, delivered an oration, which was answered by the Bishop of London, who, on the morrow, Cardinal Wolsey being unable to officiate from indisposition, sang mass with the usual ceremonies; after which at the high altar, where the missal was opened by the Cardinal, the French ambassadors swore in his hands ("*in mano dil Rmo Cardinal*") to observe the perpetual peace now concluded with the King of England, he on his part swearing in like manner.

Two of the ambassadors, namely the prelate and the soldier, dined with the King, the others dining together apart.

On rising from table they went to the Queen's apartment, where the Princess danced with the French ambassador, the Viscount of

* See 7th May, No. 105.

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May 5—11. Reale Diario, v. xiv. p. 187.

May 7. Senato Dispacci, v. xiv. p. 85.

May 7. Senato Dispacci, v. xiv. pp. 126–132.

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Turenne, who considered her very handsome ("*molto bella*"), and admirable by reason of her great and uncommon mental endowments; but so thin, spare, and small ("*cosi magreta et scarma et picola*") as to render it impossible for her to be married for the next three years.

Then yesterday * there was a joust, the challengers at the tilt ("*al campo*") being four,† the competitors ("*concorrenti*") sixteen, each of whom ran six courses; a very delectable sight, by reason of the prowess of the knights. The joust ended with the day, not without rain, which rather impeded the jousting.

The King and the Queens,‡ with some 200 damsels ("*damigelle*"), then went to the apartments which I informed you in a former letter were being prepared [on one side of the list-yard at Greenwich] for the reception of the French ambassadors, the rest of the company following them. The site adjoined the other chambers from whence the King and the nobility view the jousts. They were but two halls, about thirty paces in length, and of proportional height and breadth. The centre of the ceiling of the first hall was entirely covered with brocatel of no great value, but producing a good effect; the walls were hung with the most costly tapestry in England, representing the history of David; and there was a row of torches closely set,§ illuminating the place very brilliantly, being ranged below the windows, which were at no great distance from the roof. The royal table was prepared in front of the hall, with a large canopy of tissue ("*soprarizo*"), beneath which was the King, with the Queens, his wife and sister, at the sides. Then came two long tables, at one of which, on the right-hand side, were seated the French ambassadors and the Princes, each pairing with some great lady. At the other table, to the left, the Venetian ambassador and the one from Milan placed themselves, with the rest of the lords and ladies. At no great distance from the two tables were two cupboards, reaching from the floor to the roof, forming a semicircle, on which was a large and varied assortment of vases, all of massive gold, the value of which it would be difficult to estimate, nor were any of them touched; silver gilt dishes of another sort being used for the viands of meat and fish, which were in such variety and abundance that the banquet lasted a long while.

The door of this hall was in the form of a very lofty triumphal arch, fashioned after the antique, beneath which were three vaulted entrances; through one passed the dishes for the table, through the other they were removed, and on each side of the centre one, which was the largest, stood two enormous cupboards bearing the wine to be served at table. Over the triumphal arch was a spacious balcony for the musicians, bearing the arms of the King and Queen,

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* 6th May, according to the date of Spinelli's letter. In Hall's Chronicle (pp. 721, 722, ed. London, 1809), mention is made of the mass at Greenwich on Sunday, 5 May, and of the jousts, but of these last he does not state the precise date, giving, however, the names of the challengers, and adding that whilst they tilted "yt rained apace."

† Namely, Sir Nicholas Carew, Sir Robert Jernyngham, Sir Anthony Browne, and Nicholas Harvy. (See Hall, as above.)

‡ Katharine, and Mary Queen Dowager of France.

§ "Little torchettes of white waxe." (Hall.)

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with sundry busts of Emperors, and the King's motto, "*Dieu et mon droit*," and other Greek (*sic*) words. Could never conceive anything so costly and well designed ("*ben ordinata*") as what was witnessed on that night at Greenwich.

On rising from table all were marshalled, according to their rank, along a corridor of no great length to the other hall, which was of rather less size than the first. The floor was covered with cloth of silk embroidered with gold lilies. The ceiling, which was well nigh flat, was all painted, representing a map of the world ("*mapamondo in Alpa forma*"), the names of the principal provinces being legible; there were also the signs of the zodiac and their properties ("*le loro proprietà*"), these paintings being supported by giants. Along the sides of the hall were three tiers of seats, each of which had a beam placed lengthwise, for the spectators to lean on, nor did one tier interfere with the other. Above these tiers were in like manner three rows of torches, so well disposed and contrived as not to impede the view.

Within the space for the spectators, on the right-hand side, in the first tier, the ambassadors were placed, in the second the Princes, in the third those to whom admission was granted, they being few. On the opposite side, in the same order, were the ladies, whose various styles of beauty and apparel, enhanced by the brilliancy of the lights, caused me to think I was contemplating the choirs of angels; they, in like manner, being placed one above the other. Two-thirds of the distance down the hall, an arch of a single span had been erected, its depth being five feet and a half [English measure], all gilt with fine gold, the inside of the arch being decorated with a number of beautiful figures in low relief. The magnificence of this arch was such that it was difficult to comprehend how so grand a structure could have been raised in so short a space of time. In the centre, to the front ("*nel fronte nel mezo*"), stood the royal throne ("*soglio*"), on which the King sat, the two Queens being seated below at his feet.

All the spectators being thus methodically placed, without the least noise or confusion, and precisely as pre-arranged, the entertainment commenced. One thing above all others surprised me most, never having witnessed the like anywhere, it being impossible to represent or credit with how much order, regularity, and silence such public entertainments proceed and are conducted in England. First of all, there entered the hall eight singers, forming two wings, and singing certain English songs; in their centre was a very handsome youth alone, clad in skyblue taffety, a number of eyes being scattered over his gown; and having presented themselves before the King, the singers then withdrew in the same order, there remaining by himself the youth, who, in the guise of Mercury, sent to the King by Jupiter, delivered a learned Latin oration in praise of his Majesty; which panegyric being ended, he announced that Jupiter, having frequently listened to disputes between Love and Riches concerning their relative authority, and that being unable to decide the controversy, he appointed his Majesty as judge, and requested him to pronounce and pass sentence on both of them. Thereupon Mercury departed, and next came eight young

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choristers of the chapel, four on each side; those to the right were all clad in cloth of gold, much ornamented, and the first of them was Cupid ("*Amor*"); the others to the left were variously arrayed, and their chief was Plutus ("*la Richeza*"); in the centre walked one alone, in the guise of Justice, who sang.

In this order they presented themselves to the King, before whom Justice commenced narrating the dispute between the parties, in English, and desired Cupid ("*Amor*") to begin with his defence, to which Plutus ("*la Richeza*") replied, each of the choristers on either side defending their leaders, by reciting a number of verses. The altercation being ended, Cupid and Plutus determined that judgment should go by battle, and thus, having departed, three men-at-arms in white armour, with three naked swords in their hands, entered from the end of the hall, and having drawn up under the triumphal arch, an opening was made in its centre by some unseen means, and out of the arch fell down a bar, in front of which there appeared three well-armed knights. The combat then commenced valiantly, man to man, some of them dealing such blows that their swords broke. After they had fought some while, a second bar was let down, which separated them, the first three having vanquished the others, fighting with great courage; and the duel ("*duello*") being thus ended, the combatants quitted the hall in like manner as they had entered it. Thereupon there fell to the ground at the extremity of the hall a painted canvas [curtain], from an aperture in which was seen a most verdant cave ("*antro*") approachable by four steps, each side being guarded by four of the chief gentlemen of the Court, clad in tissue doublets and tall plumes, each of whom carried a torch. Well grouped within the cave were eight damsels of such rare beauty as to be supposed goddesses rather than human beings. They were arrayed in cloth of gold, their hair gathered into a net, with a very richly jewelled garland, surmounted by a velvet cap, the hanging sleeves of their surcoats ("*camisa*")* being so long that they well nigh touched the ground, and so well and richly wrought as to be no slight ornament to their beauty. They descended gracefully from their seats to the sound of trumpets, the first of them being the Princess, hand in hand with the Marchioness of Exeter.† Her beauty in this array produced such effect on everybody that all the other marvellous sights previously witnessed were forgotten, and they gave themselves up solely to contemplation of so fair an angel. On her person were so many precious stones that their splendour and radiance dazzled the sight, in such wise as to make one believe that she was decked with all the gems of the eighth sphere. Dancing thus they presented themselves to the King, their dance being very delightful by reason of its variety, as they formed certain groups and figures most pleasing to the sight. Their dance being finished, they ranged themselves on one side, and in like order the

* "Lords wyves, whiche had *circottes of scarlet with narow sleves*." (See Hall, p. 803; coronation of Anne Boleyn, June 1533.)

† Elizabeth Grey, daughter and heiress of John Viscount Lisle, first wife of Edward, Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, who had no children by her. His second wife was Gertrude, daughter of William Blount, Lord Mountjoy.

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Six masks then entered. To detail their costume would be but to repeat the words "cloth of gold," "cloth of silver," &c. They chose such ladies as they pleased for their partners, and commenced various dances, which being ended, the King appeared. The French ambassador, the Marquis of Turrene, was at his side, and behind him four couple of noblemen ("*signori*"), all masked, and all wearing black velvet slippers on their feet, this being done, lest the King should be distinguished from the others, as from the hurt which he received lately on his left foot when playing at tennis ("*allo palla*") he wears a black velvet slipper. They were all clad in tissue doublets, over which was a very long and ample gown of black satin, with hoods of the same material, and on their heads caps of tawney velvet. They then took by the hand an equal number of ladies, dancing with great glee, and at the end of the dance unmasked; whereupon the Princess with her companions again descended, and came to the King, who in the presence of the French ambassadors took off her cap, and the net being displaced, a profusion of silver tresses as beautiful as ever seen on human head fell over her shoulders, forming a most agreeable sight. The aforesaid ambassadors then took leave of her; and all departing from that beautiful place returned to the supper hall, where the tables were spread with every sort of confection and choice wines for all who chose to cheer themselves with them. The sun, I believe, greatly hastened his course, having perhaps had a hint from Mercury of so rare a sight; so showing himself already on the horizon, warning being thus given of his presence, everybody thought it time to quit the royal chambers, returning to their own with such sleepy eyes that the daylight could not keep them open.

As the Bishop of Tarbes is departing tomorrow morning in haste, I will not be more diffuse. He will be accompanied by Master Poyntz [Sir Francis Poyntz] and Clarencieux, king-of-arms, to do what I wrote in a former letter. On their departure each of the ambassadors received a gold cup from his Majesty.

London, 7th May 1527. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 64.

106. Lunardo Moro, Venetian Lieutenant of the Friuli, to the Doge and Signory.

Has received a letter from the Community of Venzon, whose captain understood from the nephew of the Abbot of Verni (*sic*), that the English ambassadors (*sic*) * paid their respects to the Archduke Ferdinand at Prague, and according to report made him great offers of favour. The fortifications of Vienna were being continued. The reporter of this intelligence is going to Venice, where he lodges habitually in the house of the Albani on the Campo of

* There was but one ambassador, Sir John Wallop. See two of his letters to Cardina Wolsey, "State Papers," vol. vi, part 5, pp. 572–575, and pp. 581–583.

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S. Bortolomeo. Possibly the Signory may be able to elicit something more from him.

Udine, 8th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 12. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

107. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

The Chancellor is at Barcelona waiting to take his passage into Italy; many expect him to be recalled. The business of the Court suffers much from his absence. Many couriers have been sent to and fro between him and the Court, as if a variety of negotiations still depended on him, though such is the Emperor's character that he never declined the resignation of any person, nor does he think that he has such need of the Chancellor as to be unable to do without him; so he will easily allow of his departure.

Lately when the Nuncio was urging the despatch of a private matter, the Emperor requested him to take patience until he got a Chancellor. He has said the like to many others, showing that he does not mean to recall Gattinara; but it seems surprising that he should allow an old servant of such ability to go away dissatisfied. It also appears strange that Gattinara, after writing disrespectfully against the King of France and the Pope, and rendering everybody his enemy, for the sake of the Emperor, should now quit him, and without any commission go to Italy, where he can exercise no authority. Many persons are of opinion that he may have some secret commission from the Emperor, and that he is sent to follow up the negotiation for a Council, of which he, Gattinara, has said so much in his writings, and which the Emperor thinks the safest way to make himself master of the Church and of Italy.

The Chancellor has always advocated this scheme, being of opinion that he would be appointed judge, both by reason of his influence with the Emperor and his knowledge of canon law, in which he believes himself supreme.

Should Gattinara go to Italy without any commission, he could do nothing more imprudent than quit the Court (where he is well nigh all powerful) at the present moment. Has already sent to the Signory a printed book containing what Gattinara has written against the King of France in reply to an "apology" written in France, and to a letter by the King to the electors of the Empire, together with the articles of the Holy League. He has since published another book, in which are two briefs from the Pope, and the Emperor's answer to them, as also the written reply to the Nuncio, the French ambassador, and Navagero on the receipt of their mandates to negotiate the peace, which they refused to accept. This book also contains a letter, in which, as likewise in the reply to the briefs, there are expressions against the Pope and the Church of such a sort that nothing worse could be expected from Luther. In the reply made to the ambassadors he has suppressed two paragraphs which existed in the original, the one containing gross abuse of the King of France. Gattinara, nevertheless, perseveres in vituperation, and suppressed it in the printed version only because the ambassadors complained greatly of it, and for the sake of justifying himself with the Cortes and the Grandees, by showing

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them that the failure of the peace did not proceed from the Emperor, hoping thus more easily to obtain some money from them.

The second paragraph omitted by him was the reply made to the ambassadors concerning their demand for payment by the Emperor to the King of England of what he owed him. In addition to what is printed, the written statement purported that the Emperor did not deny the debt, but on the contrary owned it, and although the discussion of this matter did not appertain to the confederate ambassadors, as at Valladolid the King had his own ambassadors, with whom there would be no dispute whatever, the Emperor, nevertheless, to prove that he in no way failed to further the general peace of Christendom, was also content, for the sake of the confederates, to do what they required. The passage has now been expunged. The reply was given in the presence of the Emperor's councillors and of witnesses, and by a notary public.

Now sends the entire book, showing the reply and the rest of the statement, whereby the Signory will comprehend what trust can be placed by the Pope in persons who profess such a disposition towards him in writing and in print, and choose it to be known to the whole world. It is a novelty that now-a-days the Christian powers should do battle no less by writing invectives against each other than with the sword. The Nuncio complained to the Emperor of his having allowed such things to be printed against the Pope, and received for answer that the Chancellor asked his permission to reply to the apology composed in France to excuse the King for his breach of promise. That the Emperor granted this, and then allowed him to answer the Pope's briefs, having been told that a reply was necessary in vindication of his rights, but that he had charged his confessor and the Archbishop of Bari to see that it was devoid of offensive expressions. That subsequently the Emperor heard and perceived that his wish had not been complied with, and that, touching the King of France, he did not care the least, but had complained greatly of what was written in such form of the Pope, most especially on perceiving that more was said against his Holiness than against the King of France; but that now he, the Emperor, could only regret it, and assured the Nuncio that what took place was without his consent.

Is of opinion that the transaction was the result of very mature consultation, and that this mode of proceedure by means of notarial acts, and by printing the whole, indicates extreme malice, the object being more and more to justify the Emperor's rights, so as to enable them (should they get the upper hand, which God forbid) on firmer grounds to summon a Council, or to take such other steps as they aspire at.

The Emperor and his ministers disapprove so much of the eight months truce made between the Pope and the Viceroy, that they censure the Viceroy to the utmost, and praise the Duke of Bourbon to the skies, solely because they think he will not keep it. The Emperor told the Nuncio that he does not much like the truce, because the term is so short; that he would have wished it to last

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for at least two years, and that he also suspected the Duke of Bourbon would not observe it; a proof that he wishes him to do. The Emperor's confessor also says so much about this and speaks so strongly against the Pope, as to render it very evident that the truce and peace desired by the Imperialists, so long as they have any hope of obtaining their ends, is to admit of no equals, choosing everybody to be subject to them, and themselves to be the masters of Italy and of the world.

Nothing has been heard about this truce save by letters from the Viceroy. Neither the Emperor nor the Nuncio have received any letters from the Pope. The Emperor tells the Nuncio that the King of France has stopped two Papal couriers and seized their despatches, including those addressed to Salviati, the Legate at his Court. Further advices are anxiously expected, most especially concerning the truce, whether France and the Signory have accepted it, and whether the Duke of Bourbon has returned into Lombardy.*

Valladolid, 12th May 1527.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 61.

108. Audience in the Venetian College Hall.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] came into the College, and said the best thing would be for the armies to march upon Rome to free the Pope, and that last evening he had written to the King and Cardinal in good form.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 66.

109. The Doge and Signory to Marc' Antonio Venier, Venetian Ambassador in England.

(Read to the Senate by the Secretary, Nicolò Sagudino.)

To persuade the King to provide for Italy, as the Emperor aims at universal monarchy.

Note by Sanuto, that the letter was well worded, and commended by the whole Senate, and that he would transcribe it hereafter.

[*Italian.*]

May 15. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lii. p. 28.

110. The Doge and Senate to the Venetian Ambassador in Florence.

Received yesterday his letter of the 12th, announcing receipt on that day at Florence of the news of the disastrous loss of Rome.

The Government of Florence will be aware of the very powerful preparations being made by the most Christian King to invade Flanders and other territories on his frontiers, conjointly with the King of England, in virtue of the new confederacy and marriage stipulated between the two crowns.

Ayes, 228. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

* The Duke of Bourbon had been dead a week when this letter was written; he received his death wound under the walls of Rome on Monday the 6th of May 1527.

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May 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 80.

111. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Giovanni Casal] came for news. The letters from the Signory's ambassador in England, and the advices from France, were communicated to him, as also the resolve formed yesterday in the Senate to send the army towards Rome, which he commended greatly.

[*Italian.*]

May 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 193.

112. MARC' ANTONIO VENIER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Viscount Rochford, late Sir Thomas Boleyn, and Sir Anthony Browne, brother of the Treasurer of his Majesty's Chamber ("*fradello dil Thesorier dilla Camera dil Re*"),* are gone to France as ambassadors from the King, and an embargo has been laid on all the ships in the Thames for the conveyance of Cardinal Wolsey, who is going to confer with the most Christian King.

The Cardinal said to him that it would be better to attend to the affairs of Italy, rather than to attack the Emperor in Flanders.

London, 18th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. pp. 189, 190.

113. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Spoke warmly to the King in council about the affairs of Italy, and considering the need of additional forces, it was determined with the English ambassadors that his Majesty ("*quella Maestà*") should remit money into Italy for 10,000 infantry, or send down 10,000 Lansquenets of Golder (*sic*) [Guelders?] or of the Black Band, and that he should send 600 spears at his own cost into Italy, that they may cut the enemy's standing corn. This determination was caused by his (Giustinian's) earnest representations deploring the calamities of Rome, and by his insisting on the necessity for succouring Italy. The most Christian King is about to go to Boulogne for a conference with Cardinal Wolsey, after which they will have an interview with the King of England; and the business being concluded, he will proceed to Lyons, in order to be near Italy, and to provide everything necessary for the war. His Majesty will go at the beginning of June to meet the Cardinal, the King of England crossing over to France in the middle of the month, whereupon Wolsey will repair to such place as shall be determined on to negotiate the general peace, should the Emperor consent to it; if not, they will wage most violent war on him in Flanders. Should peace be made, the Emperor's sister, Madame Eleanor, will become the wife of the most Christian King, and the Princess of England marry the Duke of Orleans; but, in the event of war, the English Princess is to marry his most Christian Majesty.

Paris, 23rd May. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd June.*

[*Italian.*]

* Sir Wiston Browne obtained the reversion of the Treasurership of *Calais* by patent, 4th April, 4 Hen. VIII. (See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. 2, part 2, No. 3527.)

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May 23.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 193.

114. Advices from France.

On the 21st the news of Rome and of the death of Bourbon arrived.*

The King on his part will do what he can to be revenged, and hopes that the King of England will act in like manner. Before the arrival of the Bishop of Tarbes from England, it was reported that his English Majesty had determined to send [into Italy?] 10,000 infantry on his own behalf, and to contribute rateably ("*alla ratta*") to the other expenses.

It is surprising that although fifty hours have now elapsed since the receipt in Paris by way of Venice of the news from Rome, nothing has hitherto been heard from any other quarter. It is, however, hoped that the allied armies will have freed the Pope and Cardinals. The King said positively, on the 22nd, that after the [session of?] Parliament the King of England will go to Lyons,† and that both Kings will be there shortly.

Paris, 23rd May. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 23.
Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

115. Andrea Navagero to the Signory.

Announces the birth on the 21st, at 4.30 p.m., of the Emperor's son and heir, to the joy of all Spaniards, by reason of the love they bear their sovereign on account of his extreme justice and goodness. He now obtains what was wanting to secure his dynasty.

From England the arrival of the Bishop of Tarbes and Sir Francis Poyntz, is expected hourly, to settle the peace with the Emperor.

Valladolid, 23rd May 1527.

[*Italian.*]

May 27.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 223.

116. Marco Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.

Received the Signory's letters announcing the entry of the enemy into Rome.

London, 27th May 1527. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 3.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 192.

117. Audience in the Venetian College Hall.

The English ambassador announced that the marriage had been concluded, and that at the end of May Cardinal Wolsey was to go to Boulogne for a conference with the most Christian King, at which it would be decided whether the Princess of England is to become the wife of his most Christian Majesty, or of his son the Duke of Orleans, now a prisoner in Spain.

[*Italian.*]

June 3.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lii. p. 37.

118. The Doge and Senate to Sebastian Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in France.

It is necessary his Majesty should come to Lyons "immediately after the interview with the King of England, as he will thus favour

* The sack of Rome and the death of the Duke of Bourbon took place on the 6th of May 1527.

† In the original, "vole andare a Lione."

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the undertaking. Pleased to hear of the determination of the English King to pay 10,000 Lansquenets for Italy. The name of the King of England will be a great assistance to the undertaking. The ambassador to urge the English King to send the 10,000 Lansquenets with all speed.

To congratulate the most Christian King and his serene mother on the marriage between his Majesty and England.

Ayes, 214. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

June 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 250.

119. Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, to the English Ambassador, Sir Gregory Casal.

Touching the demand made by Casal to the Marquis of Saluzzo, and to him (the Duke), requiring them to specify in writing what they offer for the security of Tuscany, until the arrival of the succour expected. For himself and for the Marquis, promises to defend the Florentine territory, provided the forces which he (Casal) now . . . . . .* be increased to the amount of 16,000 infantry. The pioneers (*guastadori*) and other provisions, including victuals, to be such as are necessary for such an undertaking, payment being arranged so that no hindrance arise on that account.

Should the Florentine Signory, however, fail in any way, the Duke will consider himself released from this obligation.

From the Army of the League, near Viterbo, 11th June 1527. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 250.

120. Gioani Simonetta to the Duchess of Urbino.

On that morning, moved from Viterbo to the Lake of Bolsena. The commanders-in-chief had held frequent consultations, discussing everything in detail, especially the defence of Tuscany, to which the Duke [of Urbino] had pledged himself, as by the enclosed copy of a writing given to the English ambassador [Sir Gregory Casal].

From the Army at the Lake of Bolsena, 13th June 1527. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 13. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File no. 7.

121. The Doge and Senate to the Venetian Proveditors-General, Pisani and Vitturi.

The most Christian King has appointed Mons. de Lautrec his commander-in-chief of the Italian expedition. He has also provided considerable pecuniary supplies; so that, perceiving such warmth on the part of his Majesty, and with the hope of support from the King of England, the Signory anticipates success.

Ayes, 205. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

* Blank in MS.

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June 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 237.

122. PISANI and VITURI, Venetian Proveditors in the Camp at the Baths of Viterbo, to the SIGNORY.

The English ambassador, Sir Gregory Casal, arrived there from Rome on his way to Venice, returning to England.

No date. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 241.

123. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] said he yesterday received letters from his brother, Sir Gregory Casal, English ambassador at Rome, who had arrived in the camp, and was coming to Venice, on his way to England.

[*Italian.*]

June 17. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, Correr Museum.

124. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

The news of the entry of the Imperial army into Rome, the cruelties it is said to have committed, their besieging the Pope in Castle St. Angelo, and their disregard for the truce made by the Viceroy, has seemed very strange at Valladolid, and greatly displeased all the chief personages, both spiritual and temporal. The chief of them, such as the Archbishop of Toledo, the Duke of Alva, and others of like rank, remonstrated with the Emperor. Some of them spoke so freely that many think more was said than necessary.

The Emperor assures the Nuncio that he much regrets these circumstances, and speaks him as fair as possible, but as yet takes no steps. Neither is anything thought of here at present, save jousts of various sorts and cane games, and as many entertainments as possible, to celebrate the birth of the heir apparent; the Emperor himself taking part in every joust and every game. Tournaments and castles for assault, and a thousand other things, are also in course of preparation; so it is said these rejoicings will last for another month, and that when the Empress is in a state to attend them, more entertainments will be given than before.

Many of the grandees were of opinion that after the news from Rome, the Emperor should have suspended these rejoicings lest they be assigned to other causes than the true one. This they mentioned to his Majesty, who did not think fit to stop what was already commenced, and so they continue.

The death of Bourbon is now announced for certain, and with the exception of a few Flemings, the whole court rejoices at it extremely. Many are of opinion that this event will greatly facilitate the negotiation for peace.

The Bishop of Tarbes and Sir Francis Poyntz have not yet arrived. The safeconduct was forwarded to them in France, and on the day before yesterday the messenger returned for a fresh one, the period specified in the first having expired. He says the Bishop of Tarbes had been sent back to England, and when the messenger departed, was expected within two days at Bayonne; Sir Francis Poyntz being already there. The messenger was despatched with

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the safeconduct immediately, and the ambassadors are expected at Valladolid within a week at the furthest.

The Prince of Spain was christened on the 5th, by the name of Philip. The Queen of France [Eleanor of Austria, Queen Dowager of Austria, affianced to Francis I.] was godmother; the Constable [of Castile, Don Iñigo de Velasco], the Duke of Alva, and the Duke de Bejar, godfathers.

Valladolid, 17th June 1527.

[*Italian.*]

June 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 271.

125. Note by Sanuto.

On the evening of the 22nd June the English ambassador to Rome, Sir Gregory Casal, arrived in Venice. He lodged with his brother, the Prothonotary Casal, at San Giorgio.

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 287.

126. Audience in the Venetian College Hall.

The English ambassador, Prothonotary Casal, and his brother, Sir Gregory, late ambassador at Rome, came into the College, and Sir Gregory discoursed.

[*Italian.*]

June 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 290.

127. Audience in the Venetian College Hall.

The Prothonotary Casal and his brother, Sir Gregory, ambassador from the King of England, came into the College and discussed current events. Sir Gregory will depart for France in four days.

[*Italian.*]

June 27. Commemoriale, no. xxi. p. 40.

128. The Italian League.

Renewal of the League between France, the Signory of Venice, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentine Republic.

Specific declaration to the effect that the present contract does not cancel or change the contents of the preceding leagues with regard to the King of England and the Cardinal Legate Archbishop of York, whatever was agreed to ("*conventum*") for their convenience and profit ("*ad commodum et utilitatem utriusque*") being ratified.

[*Original minute, Latin, 4½ pages.*]

July 3. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 405.

129. Marco Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.

Cardinal Wolsey departed on that day with a magnificent retinue, and will cross the Channel to confer with the most Christian King.

London, 3rd July. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 424.

130. Sebastian Giustinian to the Doge and Signory.

His Majesty was to depart on the . . . . for the interview with Cardinal Wolsey. He (Giustinian) would accompany him.

Paris, four letters, the last dated 4th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd August.*

[*Italian.*]

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July 5. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File no. 7.

131. Decree of the Senate.

Sir Gregory Casal, late English ambassador with the Pope, being about to return to England,—put to the ballot, that a present be made to the aforesaid Sir Gregory of silver utensils and cloths of silk, to the value of about 200 golden crowns.

Ayes, 179. Noes, 12. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

July 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 340.

132. Audience in the Venetian College Hall.

The English ambassador came into the College Hall, and said his brother had departed on his way to France and England.

[*Italian.*]

July 12. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 350.

133. Audience in the Venetian College Hall.

The English ambassador came into the College, and spoke about giving stipend to Zuanne Saxadello and Count Guido Rangoni.

[*Italian.*]

July 12. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File no. 7.

134. The Doge and Senate to Sebastian Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in France.

The most Christian King being about to hold a conference with Cardinal Wolsey, desire him (the ambassador), therefore, to perform such good offices with the Cardinal and others, as may benefit the Signory's affairs.

Sir Gregory Casal, late English ambassador at Rome, has quitted Venice, where his brother, the Prothonotary, is ambassador for England. Sir Gregory will pass through the French court. To visit him, and make every possible loving demonstration in his favour; he having done all that could be desired to aid the undertaking. To take an opportunity of announcing this to his most Christian Majesty, that he may bear goodwill towards Sir Gregory and favour him.

Ayes, 180. Noes, 5. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

July 12. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 2.

135. The Council of Ten and Junta to Sebastian Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in France.

Have remarked two paragraphs in his letters of the 30th ultimo, the one addressed to the Senate, the other to the Chiefs of the Ten. By the former they learn that the Rev. English ambassador [Clerk, Bishop of Bath] said to him, that although the payment of the 10,000 Lansquenets was made with his King's money, yet those troops cost the most Christian King an equal amount of blood (*tamen costano allo Christ^ma Maestà tanto sangue*). As they do not comprehend the meaning of this, desire him to explain it. In his second letter, addressed to the Chiefs of the Ten, he mentions its having been said to him by the aforesaid ambassador, that at length the general peace would be made; he being of opinion that the duchy of Milan would be left to the Emperor, etc. The Ten comprehend the ambassador's reply, but although he believes that the opinion expressed by the English ambassador was personal, yet it seems to

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them that had he (Giustinian) been more reserved, he would perhaps have learnt further particulars.

The Council of Ten and Junta warn him to keep on the watch, and endeavour to elicit as much as possible about these important events, most especially concerning the interview between the King and Cardinal Wolsey, and whatever else may come to his notice.

Should he not have spoken to the most Christian King with regard to the above written project for leaving the Milanese to the Imperialists, he is not to say anything further about it; but should his Majesty drop any hint on the subject, or should he (the ambassador) hear on good authority that the negotiation is on foot, in that case he is to perform such offices as to his prudence shall seem fit, demonstrating how injurious it would prove to Italy and to France, and above all to the Signory, were the Imperialists to have the Milanese.

Ayes, 34. Noes, 1. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

July 16. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

136. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

The Duke of Bourbon's obsequies were performed in great state during five days, in the presence of the Emperor, who takes every opportunity of apologizing for his non-observance of the truce made by the Viceroy with the Pope, and lays the whole blame on the army. He says he has letters from the Prince of Orange, strongly vindicating Bourbon, declaring that he marched upon Rome most unwillingly, and that instead of leading the army, the army led him. These excuses are admitted but by few, and very few indeed are the persons of the Court who do not rejoice exceedingly at his death, abusing him in such terms that worse could not be used against the greatest villain that ever existed.

After the entry of the Imperial army into Rome, reports varied for many days. At one time it was said the Pope had been succoured by the forces of Venice and the League, at another that he was a prisoner. Finally, the worst proved true, to the regret of all persons of account in Spain. A few Flemings and certain bankrupts rejoice at the result. All the rest lament it.

Does not know what passes within the Emperor's breast, but, according to report, he evinced sorrow on receiving the letters and some persons say that he wept. On the morrow, he forbad the performance of the jousts, or of any of the many entertainments which had been prepared, and a number of stages and castles on the *Plaza Mayor* and other places in the city were dismantled, after having been erected for a variety of entertainments and tournaments, announced for the whole week preceding St. James's day [25th July]. Notwithstanding, after the receipt of the news, on the very day of its arrival, they did not put off the cane game, in which the Emperor himself took part, feigning ignorance of what was known to everybody. Some persons account for this by saying that those who had incurred the expense were unwilling it should be in vain. Believes the reason to be that the Emperor had not yet determined to postpone the rejoicings, but that after the cane

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game, at the suggestion of those grandees who had already made the same attempt previously, he thought fit at least to make this demonstration of regret for so dire a catastrophe as that which had befallen the Church.

The French and English ambassadors, the Bishop of Tarbes and Sir Francis Poyntz, have at length arrived. Went to meet them, and has visited them frequently. They presented themselves to the Emperor, of whom the English ambassadors [Lee and Ghinucci] had first of all a separate audience, as arranged between them, exhorting his Majesty to peace, requesting him, should fair terms be offered, to accept them. They said their King had chosen to send one of his gentlemen with the Bishop of Tarbes, as the conditions proposed by France seemed reasonable to him, and nothing was wanting but the Emperor's consent.

The Emperor, as usual, made a most gracious reply. Subsequently all the ambassadors together announced the proposals brought by the Bishop of Tarbes, who was spokesman. He used very bland language, and declared that the King of France wished for nothing but peace with the Emperor.

The terms are as follows:—They promise two millions of gold, one payable in ready money, the other in three years. On payment of the first million, the French King's two sons to be released. For the other million they offer as security some of the chief personages of France, who are to remain in hostage, so that the Emperor would be guaranteed not merely for one million, but for three or four. Should he be able to suggest any more valid security, France offers it to him. Is willing to admit the claim of Flanders upon the county of Artois, during the Emperor's lifetime; will also cede the pension and prerogatives demanded by him in the kingdom of Naples, and his claims on the duchy of Milan; the Duke Francesco Sforza to acknowledge its investiture from the Emperor, and to pay his Majesty such sum as agreed upon, or as shall be agreed upon between the Emperor and the Duke. The King will give back Hesdin, if the Emperor restore Tournai. They moreover require that out of the two millions of gold, payment be made to the King of England of what is due to him from the Emperor.

To these proposals, the Emperor replied that he would desire his Council to confer with the ambassadors, inspect their powers, and commence the negotiation. That with regard to money he held it in small account, and would not allow such a consideration to interfere with any agreement for peace, although his expenditure had been great, and he therefore needed pecuniary supplies. He expressed surprise at being now offered less than had been offered at the beginning, in France, by the King and Madame the Regent to the Viceroy, who was told they would give two millions of gold, and pay the debt due from the Emperor to the King of England.

The French ambassadors replied that they knew nothing whatever about this affair with the Viceroy, but that they had never offered more than a million and a half; and never, until now, did they promise a million of ready money.

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The matter rested thus for the moment, and some days passed before the Council sent for them.

In the meanwhile the President of Bordeaux [Calvimonte] communicated what is aforesaid to him (Navagero), desiring him to acquaint the Nuncio with the whole. The President also said that they were charged to ascertain, within 20 days, whether the Emperor would or would not accept these terms. This they did not announce, to avoid irritating his Majesty, but on the expiration of the period, should he not have formed any decision, they would obtain one at any rate, being instructed to tell the Emperor, that if these proposals did not please him, he should state absolutely what he required. In conclusion the President said that the demand would be sent to their Kings, and everything decided in a few words.

Whilst delaying the audience of these ambassadors, authentic intelligence was received from Rome of the surrender (*dedition*) of the Pope, and of the agreements made between his Holiness and the Imperialists; so the ambassadors determined to go again to the Emperor, both to speak to him in the name of their Kings about the Pope, and to urge their own despatch. After telling the Nuncio what he was to say touching the Pope, they then went to the Emperor, who, in general terms, spoke them fair about his Holiness; and with regard to their own despatch, caused them on the morrow to be called before the Council, with which having held several conferences, they elicit that the object is to delay, in the hopes of sowing suspicion amongst them, or that something else may occur whereby to thwart all the projects devised by the most Christian King to render the King of England hostile to the Emperor. The last reply received by them from the Council purported that the Emperor neither accepted nor refused the proposed conditions; but that he likewise on his part chose to give a note of what he wished; that the ambassadors would then reply; and that in the course of discussion, some mode of adjustment would perhaps be contrived. This reply seems in fact to aim at delay.

Before the arrival of these ambassadors, when speaking with the Nuncio about Roman affairs, the Emperor said to him that at any rate he hoped at length to be reconciled to the Pope, and to be a good son to him; but that he did not think it possible for him ever to be at peace with the most Christian King. Subsequently, after the arrival of the ambassadors, the Emperor said to the Nuncio that they had come with more lies than ever, and more than ever did they seek to deceive him. It is also sought to sow suspicion between these English and French ambassadors. The Emperor makes it appear that he is nowise dissatisfied with England; and he has several times sent for the English ambassadors apart from the rest, and sends daily to their dwelling Mons. De Praet who is a member of his Majesty's Council, and the secretary, Don John L'Allemand. The English have always communicated everything to their French colleagues, and have done nothing without their consent.

All this seems but little in favour of peace, though the French ambassadors say they have good hope of it. Does not know on what it is based, but for some time past a Franciscan friar, Avemaria, has

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been here, and conferred several times with the Emperor, secretly negotiating peace between his Majesty and France, yet nothing was concluded. Has been told that the English ambassadors, besides their public negotiations, offer to effect the observance by the most Christian King of all the promises made by him to the Emperor, with the exception of the surrender of Burgundy. This would be the ruin of Italy. Does not believe that the King of France will choose to place himself so utterly at the Emperor's mercy, though the wish to get back his children is great. Is therefore afraid that he may abandon Italy and make terms for himself; but if the report of Mons. de Lautrec's having come with 30,000 infantry be true, it would warrant a feeling of greater security. Has also some reliance that these agreements will not take place, by reason of the small trust placed by the Emperor in the most Christian King, and on account of the very great hatred he bears him; yet it would be well to keep on the watch in a matter of such importance, and be suspicious of everything. Permission was given to the French and English ambassadors to despatch a courier, and after frequent consultations, they availed themselves of it.

Valladolid, 16th July 1527.

[*Italian.*]

July 17. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

137. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor's demands have been presented to the English ambassadors separately, and not to those of France, who, however, obtained a copy of them, which they are sending by the present courier. Has been unable to see the articles, but has been promised a sight of them tomorrow or next day.

In two or three days Mons. Migliau will depart for Italy. He is the most in favour of all the young men in attendance on the Emperor, and son of the late Mons. De Vere, who was much favoured by King Philip.

He goes to Rome to acquaint the Pope and Cardinals with the Emperor's regret for what has taken place, to comfort them, and to give them good hopes in his Majesty's name. Does not know whether his mission has any other cause. It is also said that another person is being sent to England, and Mons. De la Chau to France; cannot, however, vouch for this to the Signory. The negotiations of the English and French ambassadors render him suspicious. They have attended the Council frequently, have daily held very long consultations amongst themselves, and do not communicate anything. They are sending the present courier in great haste, and say that nothing whatever has been decided. Don John L'Allemand goes every day to the house of the English ambassadors in the Emperor's name, and the French ambassadors go daily to L'Allemand, and secretly by night remain closeted together for two or three hours. The mission, moreover, of Mons. La Chau to France, should it take place, is not understood by him.

Valladolid, 17th July 1527.

[*Italian.*]

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July 18. **138.** Marc' Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 424. Repeats the account of Cardinal Wolsey's departure across the Channel for the interview with his most Christian Majesty, accompanied by many noblemen and some thousand horse.
London, 18th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd August.*
[*Italian.*]

July 22–25. **139.** Sebastian Giustinian to the Doge and Signory.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 15. Details conversations held by him with Cardinal Wolsey, etc., and with the members of the Royal Council, who had remained at Amiens. They require the Signory to pay half the cost of the Lansquenets, and to disband their infantry. In reply the ambassador urged the reasons of the Signory, and said that the King had promised to pay the Lansquenets. They rejoined that Sir Gregory Casal told them the Signory's infantry was good for nothing. They also spoke ill of the Signory's captain-general [the Duke of Urbino].
Amiens, 22nd, 24th, and 25th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th September.*
[*Italian.*]

July 23 & 30. **140.** Marc' Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 457. During three days fasts had been solemnized and processions made for the release of the Pope. Moreover at Calais a proclamation* had been issued, establishing the free fair (*fiera franca*), as at Antwerp and Bruges; this being done according to the treaty with the most Christian King. Cardinal Wolsey arrived from Calais at Boulogne, and made his entry with great honours, triumphal arches having been erected; and there were the figures of a Lansquenet and a Spaniard, threatening to slay a woman, to whom a cardinal gave his hand, signifying that the Spaniards sought to rule Italy, and that Cardinal Wolsey would be the person to release her.
London, 23rd and 30th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th August.*
[*Italian.*]

July 24. **141.** The Duke of Urbino, Captain-General of the Venetians, to his Ambassador in Venice, Baldo Fabritio.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. pp. 402, 405. In justification of his proceedings, refers to what can be said by Sir Gregory Casal, who, having come from Castle St. Angelo to the camp, demanded an explanation. This he (the Duke) said he would give in the presence of the whole Council, so that he (Casal) might ascertain the exact truth.
They went accordingly to the house of the Marquis of Saluzzo, where all being assembled, the Duke narrated all facts to Casal, which were confirmed by those present, as can be certified by Sir Gregory, who, being a gentleman, will not report otherwise. The statement can also be confirmed by the Proveditor Pisani and by the noble Vituri.

* The proclamation here alluded to was printed A.D. 1846, by the Camden Society, at pp. 102–109 of "*The Chronicle of Calais*," and the editor, John Gough Nichols, F.S.A., gives the reference, "*MS. Harl.* 442, *f.* 77."

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With regard to his (the Duke's) opinion, that he should clear himself from similar imputations with the most Christian King and the King of England, whose Majesties Fabritio wrote are dissatisfied with him with regard to that matter, perceiving that the well-grounded declaration of his sincerity and good will does not suffice, and to avoid the imputation of asking leave to withdraw from the Signory's service, and descending to particulars with those most illustrious [Venetian] Lords touching what he wrote to Fabritio, and in conformity therewith,—adds that a very clear proof of his wish to do the Signory service was afforded by his withdrawing across the Po, by his crossing the Alps (*le Alpi*) [query, Appenines?]* and by his doing what can be testified by so many in the tumult at Florence.† And, in short, Fabritio is to entreat the Signory to ascertain the whole thoroughly, and to hear those who can give true information, as many things are said and not done, and many are done and remain unmentioned.

Ponte Novo, on the Tiber, 24th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 27. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

142. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

Departure of Mons. de Migliau on his way to the Pope, accompanied by the Nuncio's chaplain.

Report that the Emperor will send his ultimatum to Rome by the General of the Franciscans,‡ who arrived lately from Rome, after having been captured by Moorish corsairs, who made him pay a ransom of 4,000 ducats. They drew one of his teeth, and bastinadoed him cruelly. He is a very worthy man, and speaks freely to the Emperor, to whom he said boldly, that unless his Majesty did his duty by the Pope he could no longer be styled "*Emperor*," but "*Luther's Captain*," as the Lutherans, in his name, and under his flag, perpetrated all their atrocities. The Emperor places great trust in him, and if well inclined as reported, his mission might produce some good effect, as he perhaps aims at becoming Cardinal, and will exert himself the more. He is very popular in Spain, and related to the Count of Benevente and many other grandees, who all vied with each other to pay his ransom, and gave the 4,000 ducats.

The French and English ambassadors are still daily negotiating a variety of matters, but he does not hear that they have yet settled anything. Has been unable to obtain the copy of the clauses given to them by the Emperor, but understands that they are the same as were concluded with the most Christian King at Madrid. Mons. de Tarbes told him that he and his French colleagues had lately been summoned by the Emperor apart, to receive at his hands a

* The Duke of Urbino passed the Appenines on the 25th April 1527. (See Dennistoun's Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, Vol. II. p. 436.)

† The Republican faction seized the Palazzo Vecchio, but the Duke of Urbino quelled the insurrection, and maintained the established government, thus keeping good faith with the Pope, notwithstanding the injuries received from him.

‡ A Spaniard, Francisco Quiñones. Sir Francis Bryan, date Rome, 26th January 1529, styles him "a horesun flateryng Fryer." (See State Papers, Vol. VIII. Part 5. p. 149.)

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written reply to their demands. This they refused to accept, save in company with the English, having been commissioned not to negotiate any matters separately one from the other. The English being then sent for, confirmed the assertion, so the written reply was given to them all together. Mons. de Tarbes read to him (Navagero) its substance, which, so far as his memory serves him, was to the following effect:—The Imperialists, first of all, recapitulate the proposals made by the ambassadors, as mentioned in his former letters, but without saying anything about Queen Eleanor. The Imperialists pronounce them paltry (*picioli*) and meagre, and reply that the peace having been once settled at Madrid, on becoming terms, between the Emperor and the most Christian King, the Emperor's Councillors are of opinion that they ought to be observed. Should it be said that the King acceded to all demands in order to get out of prison, but that it is not in his power to grant them, those which are incompatible should be specified, and if they are recognised to be such, the Emperor will be content to find some other mode of satisfaction, but is of opinion that such terms as are possible should be observed, in order that the treaty of Madrid may not prove utterly vain.

The Imperialists then add that as the English ambassadors choose to have the reply jointly, they are informed that the Emperor will do whatever may seem fair to the King of England, knowing that his Majesty, as his good friend and uncle, is impartial, and mediates solely from his wish for the general peace; wherefore certain clauses were lately consigned to them, showing what the Emperor thought fair, and these they might take as a reply, and negotiate on this basis; nor would the Emperor fail to do his duty, should the King of England be able to bring the matter to any good conclusion. This much touching French affairs. With regard to what the English ambassadors demanded for their King individually, that the Emperor should pay what he owed him, the debt had never been denied by his Imperial Majesty; nay, he had always told the English ambassadors that he would pay it, and now again replied that whenever requested by the King of England he would give him what was due.

This is the summary of the reply. Subsequently the ambassadors conferred several times with the Council, but he (Navagero) does not understand that they came to any further conclusion. Was told today by Mons. de Tarbes that he is not without hope of peace, and that the Imperial Councillors told him many of the clauses had been inserted *pro formâ*, and would be omitted; that the important points should be urged, and that they ought now to come to particulars. The Bishop of Tarbes thinks that, from his want of money, the Emperor will easily come to some agreement. Is of opinion that the coming of Mons. de Lautrec into Italy would perhaps produce more effect than anything else, and that, should his forces be as numerous as reported, the Emperor's position would be more perilous than it ever has been hitherto. This fear may perhaps produce some good effect. Other persons at Valladolid are of a different opinion to the Bishop of Tarbes; they think that

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the Emperor evinces a wish for peace, solely for the sake of gaining time; soothing the most Christian King by fair promises, to prevent him from doing what he might do, always in the hope of getting back his sons without war. This is the opinion of some of the English ambassadors here. Knows not what to say, and can but acquaint the State with everything. Nothing more is said about the mission of Mons. De la Chau to France, nor of any other person to England.

It is reported that the Cardinal of York has arrived at Calais, and was to meet the most Christian King at Amiens. The Imperial Councillors at Valladolid say in secret that the Cardinal intends to separate the Church of England and of France from that of Rome, making himself the head of it, saying that as the Pope is not at liberty, he is not to be obeyed in any way; and that even were the Emperor to release him, he could not be considered free, unless all his fortresses and the whole of his territory, now in the Emperor's hands, were restored to him. I cannot affirm whether this be true, or reported with a view to alienate the Pope from the two Kings.

Valladolid, 27th July 1527.

[*Italian.*]

July 27, 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 470.

143. Sebastian Giustinian to the Doge and Signory.

When the King heard that his offer of two millions of ducats for the ransom of his sons had been refused by the Emperor on the plea that more money and other terms had been offered to him heretofore, he said, "We will wage war upon him so much the more briskly, in such wise as to make him perforce wish for peace."

His most Christian Majesty was on the eve of departure for the interview with Cardinal Wolsey, and he (Giustinian) would accompany him.

Paris, 27th and 28th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 457.

144. Gasparo Spinelli, Venetian Secretary of the Ambassador Venier, to his brother Lodovico Spinelli.

I went to Sion to visit the Rev. Richard Pace, who leads a blessed life in that beautiful place. He wears his clerical habits, and is surrounded by such a quantity of books, that for my part I never before saw so many in one mass. He has rendered himself an excellent Hebrew and Chaldæan scholar, and now, through his knowledge of those languages (*queste lettere*), has commenced correcting the Old Testament, in which, as likewise in the Psalms, (*nel psalterio*) he found a stupendous amount of errors. He has also corrected the whole of the Ecclesiastes, and in a few days will publish them. He is now occupied with the Prophets; and the work will assuredly prove most meritorious, and render him immortal. When the first part is printed, I will endeavour to obtain it.

London, 30th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th August.*

[*Italian.*]

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July 30.
Navagero Despatches, Cicogna copy, in the Correr Museum.

145. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

Since his last of the 27th, the English and French ambassadors have continued their negotiations; having been several times with the Council. They meet together daily, and are now sending a courier to France. Does not know the cause, nor what decision they have received, nor what they are expecting thence. They communicate nothing. By going frequently to them, and discussing various topics, he seeks to elicit something; but address is requisite, lest it seem that he seeks to learn what they wish to keep secret. They perhaps imagine that any communication made during his visit implies an account of their proceedings. Each nation has a different nature, and therefore one must be satisfied with what can be got. Acquainted as he is with the nature of the Ultramontanes, this reserve would not matter much to him, did he not suspect that, in order to get his sons, the most Christian King may be induced to conclude something to the detriment of the Signory. This causes him to remain in great suspense, which must continue until he learns the final decision. The Bishop of Tarbes is still of opinion that some agreement will be made, while all the others say the contrary. He says that they have come to many particulars, and, amongst the rest, spoke several times about the duchy of Milan; the Imperialists declaring that the King of France must not interfere with what belongs to the Emperor, or prevent him from doing justice on a vassal, should he have erred. The Bishop of Tarbes hopes nevertheless for an adjustment, notwithstanding the many difficulties raised. Suspects that, should there be no other obstacle, the most Christian King will desert Duke Francesco for the sake of getting back his own children, possibly with the idea of not keeping all his promises hereafter; but in the meanwhile Italy might suffer greatly.

The King of England will perhaps not allow any of these arrangements to take place. This gives him (Navagero) greater assurance than anything else; though he cannot but have great apprehensions, seeing that now the chief aim of all parties is to attend to their own interests, for which they sacrifice those of their friends.

The Bishop of Tarbes will go tomorrow or next day to Villalpando to see the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans. He asked the Emperor's permission, and obtained it.

Having written thus far, understands that the despatch of the present courier is owing solely to the Bishop of Tarbes, who has got it into his head that the peace is in a fair way of being concluded. The Imperial councillors, foiled in their attempt to create suspicion between the French and English, have commenced (especially the Count of Nassau and Mons. La Chau) giving the Bishop of Tarbes better promises than ever. When all the ambassadors are together, they adhere to the terms written by him (Navagero), and the Emperor's words to them are merely general. What they tell Mons. de Tarbes in private, purports that they know the Emperor's will to be excellent, and that he will withdraw many of the clauses proposed by him, as he assuredly wishes to have peace by all means. Like all his countrymen, who think that what they wish is certain to take place, Mons. de Tarbes has such hopes of peace, based solely on these expressions, that he chose to send off the present courier.

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The French and English ambassadors all together debated whether the courier should be despatched, and the most prudent of them were of the contrary opinion; but Mons. de Tarbes insisted, saying that the despatch can do no harm in any way, which is not the case; as this hope of peace given to the most Christian King by an ambassador of his own in whom he trusts, may cause his Majesty to cool about sending Mons. de Lautrec into Italy, which might prove very detrimental both to his Majesty and to the confederates. Is of opinion that the Emperor's fair promises proceed from fear of the march into Italy of Mons. de Lautrec. Should the Imperialists hear of his acting vigorously against them, they will perhaps come to a satisfactory conclusion. The war should be carried on as briskly as possible, negotiating the peace contemporaneously, and repaying fair words with fair words; but to stay the war from this hope is the greatest error that can be committed. Would to God that the most Christian King had done what was requisite betimes! The world would not have lost a Pope, and matters would be in a better state than they are; though much may still be done. The coming of Mons. de Lautrec is the more important, as the Emperor's affairs were never in greater peril than at present. Should the remedy be delayed by this new and sudden hope of peace, he (Navagero) knows not what to expect. The Imperialists on their part act very cautiously; it does not seem to him that they meet with a suitable return. Should tread in their footsteps, and meet them with their own artifices. Instead of acting thus, after seeing a thousand times that fair words are not deeds, the words are credited more than is desirable. All that he writes to the Signory on this subject is authentic, as he has it from a person of the utmost trust, who knows everything, and who is of the same mind about the affairs of Italy as himself and every good Italian.

The English ambassadors have been thrice to the Emperor concerning the Pope's affair; speaking to him as if they were accredited by his Holiness and not by the King of England; yet they could only obtain general expressions, notwithstanding the Emperor's respect for his Majesty, most especially at the present moment, when he would have him for his friend; a very sure sign that in this matter he does not intend to do any of the things which are hoped for by many, and which they say he will do; for should he be disposed to release the Pope, and restore everything to him (as he told and tells the Nuncio), it is incomprehensible why the grant, which he would make spontaneously, should not be sold by him to the King of England; making it appear that he does so for his Majesty's sake, and gratifying him so much the more.*

The English ambassadors here, when speaking to the Emperor about the release of the Pope, exhorted him to send the duplicate of the instructions for Mons. Migliau by way of France through

* Navagero thought it would have been more politic on the part of the Emperor to represent the release as a concession made to Henry VIII., and not his own spontaneous act. In the original, "Perchè certo se di sua voluntà fusse disposto di liberar Sua Santità "et tornarli il tutto, come ha detto, et dice al Noncio, non so io perchè quel che faria da se, "non volesse vender al Re d'Inghilterra, et mostrar di farlo per Sua Maestà, et gratificarlo "tanto più."

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D. Jacomo Hieronimi, who was sent hither by Cardinal Salviati, telling him that as the sea voyage was dangerous, and might be protracted, this would secure everything. His Majesty refused to do this, and said, amongst other things, that he would not trust his letters to others. They replied that the letters might be written in cipher, so that the only danger to be apprehended was their loss. The Emperor rejoined, that besides the written commission, Mons. Migliau had received many more instructions by word of mouth, which could not be given to this other individual. From these words it is very evident that little trust can be placed in the written instructions. Will, nevertheless, endeavour to ascertain them from the Nuncio.

Valladolid, 30th July 1527.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

146. The SAME to the SAME.

The Emperor has sent a very bland letter to the Pope, announcing the mission of Mons. Migliau.

The Emperor is naturally slow, and in the present business he is very doubtful as to what he ought to do, it seeming to him on the one hand fair to release the Pope, whilst on the other hand he does not feel sure of securing his Holiness's friendship.

The French ambassadors went yesterday to Villalpando to see the most Christian King's sons.

Letters received today by several merchants from Lyons announce that Mons. de Lautrec has returned to the Court, because he does not choose to proceed into Italy with less than 25,000 Switzers.

Valladolid, 1st August 1527.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 457.

147. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The most Christian King and Cardinal Wolsey are at Amiens, with much pomp and pageantry. The Cardinal said to Giustinian that the Signory had taken Ravenna, and that spoliation of the Church was not to be tolerated.

Amiens, 5th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 457.

148. HIRONIMO DA CANAL, Secretary of the Venetian Ambassador in France, to the PROTHONOTARY FONTANA.

On the 28th ult., announced the departure of the King and court from Paris, and that they [Giustinian and Canal] were to follow, as they did, on the afternoon of Tuesday the 30th, travelling 16 long miles, and sleeping at Caserta (*sic*); the weather being very hot. On the 31st, rode upwards of 40 miles, in cold and rain, and dined at Clermont, a very fine castle, where the renowned Orlando alighted. Supped and slept at a small place called Bertual [Breteuil], and by reason of the crowd accompanying the Court, had rather bad accommodation in all the places aforesaid. Dined at Bertual on the 1st of August, and after a journey of 22 miles, entered

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Amiens three hours before sunset. The town is large, but built after the fashion of the country, as the houses are all of wood, and by reason of the concourse of French and English there is a scramble for quarters ("*vi è una furia di allogiar*"). They [the ambassador and secretary] are very well lodged, he (Canal) having a good chamber, with tapestries and ornaments; and the house has a garden. The proprietor and his wife withdraw into one single chamber, leaving them the rest of the house, where they have stabling for two mules and a horse; the rest being at a village beyond the town, there not being accommodation within for so many horses. Describes the position of Amiens; it is strong, and its streets are cleaner than those of Paris. The chief church, dedicated to the Virgin, is the most beautiful in France, although built merely of porous stone ("*pietre di tuffo*"); but the architecture, which it would require time to describe, is good, and the church contains many very beautiful Flemish pictures.

The King made his entry on the 3rd, without further ceremony, and was followed by his mother and the other ladies.

Yesterday, the 4th, his Majesty invited all the ambassadors, with the exception of the Legate Salviati, to accompany him in the afternoon to meet Cardinal Wolsey, and at 2 p.m. the King mounted on horseback. He was preceded by all his gentlemen, and a little in advance of him were the Princes and Lords of the kingdom. On a line with his Majesty to the left was the Queen of Navarre, and behind, the ambassadors; then came the whole of his Majesty's guard on horseback. The Switzers were on foot, to the right and left, on a line with the King, but they halted at the gate.

His Majesty proceeded upwards of a mile outside the town, the whole company being booted and in their doublets; and on espying the King, Cardinal Wolsey put his mule to her full speed, and raising his hat from his head, and also his coif, embraced him; his Majesty returning the salute, cap in hand. They remained a short while thus in conversation, the Cardinal in the course of the colloquy frequently doffing both one and the other, and the King with his hand endeavouring to make him put them on again.

Besides the other prelates, Cardinal Wolsey was accompanied by the Cardinals of Lorraine and Vendôme; and on arriving at Amiens, there were numerous discharges of artillery; the soldiers of the guard being scattered about, some with muskets, some with bows, and some with arbalasts. Within the town were some five stages, with representations of the union between the King of England and his Majesty, everybody being agreed on this point, namely, that the general peace should be accomplished, which the writer prays God to grant.

The King and Cardinal having neared their respective palaces, his Right Rev. Lordship insisted on accompanying his Majesty, which the King resisted, whereupon there was some little altercation. The King at length carried his point, and they proceeded towards the Cardinal's palace, and being midway in the street where it was situated, the Cardinal again made resistance cap in hand, and so many times that they were overmuch. His Majesty insisted on reaching the palace, and having arrived, the Cardinal besought permission to accompany him, which being denied, he put his mule

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to her speed for a good distance, in the direction of the royal palace, but his Majesty would not stir. Thereupon the Lord Steward* and other noblemen besought the Cardinal to desist, as the King would never stir from where he stood; so the Cardinal was compelled to return, and dismounting, went to his Majesty cap in hand, and stood awhile by his horse's side returning thanks for the very great honour done him. Then the King departed, and all went to their quarters.

Hopes this interview will prove to the great benefit of Christendom.

Amiens, 5th August. "Received on the 20th." *Registered by Sanuto, 18th August (sic).*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 17. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

149. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

On the day before yesterday the English ambassadors received a courier, who brought a short letter for the French, the most Christian King referring himself to his own courier, who was to be sent off in three days, by which opportunity they expect many advices and some decision.

They no longer speak with such great confidence of their hopes of peace, postponing everything until the arrival of the expected courier.

The Auditor [Ghinucci] has received letters from Cardinal Wolsey to go to him at Amiens for employment on some business of his; so he will depart post in two or three days.

The instructions for Mons. de Migliau have not yet been despatched, and he is still awaiting them at Barcelona. They are now being sent by the present messenger. Mons. de Migliau will be accompanied by the General of the Franciscans, who departed hence a few days ago for Barcelona. Has been told by the Nuncio that by this decision the Emperor charges the Viceroy to reinstate the Pope, and give him back everything as before the attack on Rome, and the greater his demonstration of goodwill towards the Pope the better will his Majesty be pleased. This the Viceroy is to effect with the greatest security possible, and therefore, being on the spot, everything is left to him. The result of this commission will be seen hereafter.

The plague at Valladolid having somewhat increased, the Emperor is going to a distance of seven or eight leagues hence, either to Palencia or some neighbouring place. He dismisses the rest of the Court to go where it pleases for a fortnight, and will then decide on returning hither or going elsewhere, according to circumstances.

Valladolid, 17th August 1527.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 466.

150. The DUKE OF MILAN to ———.

Has received letters from France dated the 8th instant. The most Christian King had been at Amiens to confer with Cardinal Wolsey,

* Anne de Montmorenci.

Aug. 17. Navarro Despatches, Cleopatra Copy, in the Cesare Museum

Aug. 18. Senato Diario, v. xiv. p. 499.

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and they had letters from Spain with news that the Emperor was sending M. de Migliau to Rome to release the Pope and the College of Cardinals, retaining possession of the territory as security.

Lodi, 18th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18, 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 7.

151. HIRONIMO DA CANAL to ————.

(*Private letter, seen by Marin Sanuto*).

The female artisans and women servants of Amiens go about with purple caps on their heads, and in kirtles of the same colour, or black, in the priestly fashion, like those worn at Rome ; so on seeing them he could never help laughing. Recommends his correspondent in like manner to laugh with their mutual friends at the new fashions witnessed.

On the 18th high mass was sung, the King and Cardinal Wolsey being present ; and after the mass, in the presence of the ambassadors, they swore to the perpetual peace between his most Christian Majesty and the King of England. Hopes that the Cardinal will have come in a propitious hour.

On the 19th Cardinal Wolsey invited the most Christian King to dinner, together with the personages named hereafter, under the cloth of estate, which was of tissue. At the centre of the table the most Christian King sat, on whose right hand was his mother, "Madame," and on his left, at a little distance, Cardinal Wolsey, beside whom was the King of Navarre. At the head of the table, to the left of Madame, and at a little distance, sat Madame Renée, sister of the late Queen of France, and by her side was the sister of the King of Navarre ; then came the consort of Mons. de Vendôme, and two other ladies. The quantity of viands was stupendous. Cardinal Wolsey's attendants served cap in hand, and, when bringing the dishes, knelt before him in the act of presenting them. Those who waited on the most Christian King kept their caps on their heads, dispensing with such exaggerated ceremonies. The dinner lasted upwards of two hours. The King, after having been in council with Cardinal Wolsey and "Madame," proceeded to fulfil a vow made to our Lady of Liansa (*sic*), from which place he will go to Compiegne, whither Cardinal Wolsey and the ambassadors will follow him, after remaining at Amiens a few days longer.

Amiens, 18th and 19th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

152. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

The Auditor [Ghinucci], now departing for France, is the bearer of the present letter.

The French ambassadors are expecting the return of the courier despatched by them a long while ago. In conformity with the orders brought by him, they will negotiate the conclusion of the peace, of which the Emperor seems more desirous than ever.

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The messenger with the commission for Mons. de Migliau and the General of the Franciscans, who are awaiting it at Barcelona, did not depart until yesterday.

Is assured by the Nuncio that the Emperor charges the Viceroy to restore the Pope not only to his freedom and station (*dignità*) as of yore, but also to his territory, not keeping either fortresses or hostages, or anything whatever, lest it be said that he does not enjoy his entire pristine liberty. It is certain that the Emperor expresses himself thus, and many believe him. He (Navagero) is rather sceptical on this point, by reason of various obstacles, but shall be glad to find himself deceived.

Although the plague continues, the Emperor has suspended his departure for Palencia because the Prince has the scarlet fever or small-pox; but as many of the great personages have departed, and very few remain, the danger here will be less, and the Emperor will perhaps stay where he is.

Valladolid, 19th August 1527.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. Deliberazioni Senato(Secreta), File 7.

153. The Doge and Senate to Sebastian Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in France.

Have remarked the rather troubled tone in which Cardinal Wolsey spoke to him about the Signory's seizure of Ravenna. He (the ambassador) replied prudently and truthfully, but the Signory desire him to add that it was necessary to secure that city lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy.

Should Cardinal Wolsey or others speak to him again on the subject, he is to defend the Signory's proceedings; they are convinced that the indignation expressed by the Cardinal was instigated by malignants.

Concerning the matrimonial negotiation with England, should his opinion be asked as to whether it is more desirable for the Princess of England to marry the most Christian King, rather than his son, to reply that he wishes the alliance to take place with whichever of the two may prove most beneficial to the French Crown, not commending one mode more than the other, unless aware what is the wish of the most Christian King, to whom he is to defer throughout.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19. Mantuan Archives.

154. Henry VIII. to Federico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.

Thinks that the motive whereby not only he (the King) but also all good princes have been moved to seek their self-defence, will have so roused him (the Marquis) to favour the public quiet, to extinguish the general and too contiguous conflagration, and to re-establish the ecclesiastical authority, that he will need no exhortations from any one to check this mischief before it spreads further. Will not, however, expatiate on the grief experienced by him (the King) for such unheard of enormity as the crime now perpetrated, to avoid aggravating his (the Marquis's) sorrow. Requests him solely to oppose to his utmost the barbarous fury of those most iniquitous men, and with his authority and power to

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Aug. 20. Deliberations of Geneva (Council). File 7.

Aug. 19. Marriage Articles.

1527.

countenance (*tueri*) and assist the party (*partes*) of the confederates to the utmost in this very important cause, which concerns the individual salvation (*salus*) and preservation of all men. His most Christian Majesty, and the King himself, by reason of their piety and duty, and of the faith (*fidem*) which they owe to God, have undertaken to give assistance, omitting nothing which can facilitate this determination, formed for universal tranquillity; and he (the King) entertains such hope, by reason of his fraternal affection for the Marquis, and on account of similar love reciprocated by him, that the King is convinced he will follow his counsels and exhortations; assuring the Marquis that happen what may (*in omnem eventum*), he (the King) will have at heart his personal conservation and that of his family and principality (*status*), as if it concerned his (the King's) own affairs. The Marquis will comprehend this more fully from the letters of Cardinal Wolsey, Legate *a Latere*, and from the statement of the Prothonotary Casal, to whom the King requests him to give entire credence.

Palace at Newhall (?)* 19th August 1527.

[*Signed*] Henricus Rex. [*Countersigned*] Petrus Vannes.

[*Original, Latin.*]

Aug. 21. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 21.

155. Marco Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.

Sends the proposals of the French ambassador to the Emperor and the Emperor's reply.

London, 21st August. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 22.

156. Camillo of Spilimberg to Michiel Barbarigo, son of the deceased Doge Agostino, in Venice.

The pageants performed here (in France) were few; the reason not known, unless it be the straights to which the most Christian King is reduced.

On Cardinal Wolsey's arrival at Calais, his Majesty sent the Cardinal of Lorraine to accompany him to Amiens, and at two leagues distance from that city the King in person, with his whole Court and the Burgesses of Amiens, met him; the horsemen 5,000 in number, their apparel and horses of the best. The King and Cardinal embraced, his Majesty expressing in the warmest terms the love he bore the Cardinal, and his yet greater affection for the King his Lord. The Legate Salviati and the Cardinal De Bourbon then placing the King and Cardinal Wolsey between them, proceeded together into the city by a wide street, decorated on either side with tapestries; and at length, on arriving near the lodging of Cardinal Wolsey, the King insisted on accompanying him thither. The Cardinal's lodging is extremely handsome, decorated throughout with cloth of silver tissue and brocade, and on the cloth of silver were the arms of St. Francis in cloth of gold; and each chamber had its cloth of estate.

When the Cardinal dismounted, the King departed immediately; and nothing more was done on that evening.

* "Ex regia nostra apud Newhalam."

1527.

On the following morning, and for five consecutive days, they sat in council. Last Sunday the King and Cardinal Wolsey went to Our Lady's church here, in Amiens, and had mass sung with all possible solemnity, especially from the number of musicians, and, as was done in England, the parties swore to the peace between them on the termination of the Gospel; after which it was proclaimed to the trumpets' sound, and with great applause both from English and French. The mass being then finished, Cardinal Wolsey accompanied the King home, and then returned to his lodging, and kept the Legate Salviati, the Reverend Gambara, and many others to dine with him; after which the King invited Cardinal Wolsey to supper, and at the appointed hour his Majesty conducted the Cardinal in the unceremonious French fashion, and insisted that his right reverend Lordship should wash hands with him; whereupon the King seated himself at table between "Madame" [Louise], who was on his right hand, and the Cardinal, who sat to the left, and the three supped together without instrumental music and with but very little singing; nor were there any games nor any comedy, but plenty of such good fare as abounds in France.

Cardinal Wolsey then returned to his own lodging, and next morning invited the King and "Madame" to dinner, handsomer than the supper received by him; and he showed them more gold and silver than the King. And when the banquet was ended, his Majesty descended into the courtyard, where all the noblemen, his followers, were assembled, and mounted on horseback, "Madame" travelling in a litter covered with black velvet; Cardinal Wolsey likewise taking to horse, and accompanying them beyond the town; the King proceeding to the shrine of Our Lady of Compieta (*sic*), some 50 miles distant from Amiens; and thus ended the French pageants. Had I not anticipated something better, I should not have quitted my most noble Lord the ambassador.

Amiens, 23rd August. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26.
Commemoriale, v. xxi. p. 61.

157. COMMISSION (*Sindicatus*) * from CARDINAL WOLSEY, in the name of the King of England, to SIR GREGORY CASAL.

Henry VIII., King of England, having named him (Wolsey) his lieutenant, authorizing him to negotiate and conclude all leagues and conventions, and to delegate any person qualified (*idoneam*), he (Wolsey), relying fully on Sir Gregory Casal, Royal Councillor of his Majesty aforesaid, appoints him delegate; giving him authority to present himself to Alphonso, Duke of Ferrara, and to negotiate and conclude with him any league, convention, alliance, and protectorate whatever; and declaring that all matters concluded by Sir Gregory with Duke Alphonso will be ratified and confirmed by the King.

* Shakespeare, in King Henry VIII., Act III., Scene 2, alludes to this document thus:—

(Surrey) "Item, you sent a large commission,
"To Gregory de Cassalis, to conclude
"Without the King's will, or the State's allowance,
"A league between his Highness and Ferrara."

1527.

In testimony he (Wolsey) caused these his letters patent to be drawn up, signed, and authenticated by his pendent seal ("*sigillique nostri jussimus appensione communiri*").

Dated in the City of Amiens, 26th August 1527.

[*Signed*] T. Carlis Eboř. [*Countersigned*] Petrus Vannes.

[*Original transcript, the document itself having apparently been exhibited by Sir Gregory Casal or his brother, the Prothonotary, to the Signory of Venice, who had it registered in the Commemoriale. Latin, 28 lines.*]

Aug. 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 39.

158. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Narrates conversations with Cardinal Wolsey and the members of the French Privy Council (*consiglio Regio*), who wish the Signory to pay the Lansquenets.

The King had not yet returned to Amiens. The news from Genoa had been received, much to the satisfaction of Cardinal Wolsey and of the members of the Privy Council.

They have sent to Spain to announce to the Emperor the peace made and proclaimed between England and France, expressing a wish that he should be a party to it.

Amiens, 29th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 3.

159. ANDREA LOREDAN, Venetian Bailiff and Captain of Crema, to ———.

(*Private letter seen by Marin Sanuto.*)

Advices from France mention the hope of an adjustment between the Emperor and the most Christian King, through the interview between his aforesaid Majesty and Cardinal Wolsey. A considerable sum of money had arrived from England for payment of the Lansquenets, and the most Christian King despatched this money immediately to Mons. de Lautrec.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 2.

160. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The Pope's Legate came into the College with a Papal brief conceding benefices in the Venetian territory, to the amount of 2,000 ducats annual revenue, to the English ambassador, Prothonotary Casal.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 5.

161. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

In the morning the English ambassador came into College, and urged the Signory to give him possession of the benefices, in accordance with the Papal brief, most especially those of persons deceased. He said he was the good servant of the State.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 11.

162. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador came into College on account of letters from England, and besought the Signory to give him possession of those abbacies for which he petitioned heretofore.

[*Italian.*]

1527.
Sept. 7–13.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 83.

163. Sebastian Giustinian to the Doge and Signory.

Cardinal Wolsey will depart in four days on his way back to England, being thoroughly agreed with the King of France. Has spoken with his Majesty and the Council complaining of this new league as too onerous for the Signory. The King said he only wanted what was possible, and would make no agreement without including Venice; and that the Imperial ambassador had told him the Emperor purposed sending a great personage, namely, Mons. de Lamsao (*sic*) [Nassau or La Chau?] to his Majesty. The King said this was useless, and that the Emperor did so merely to render the King of England and the Signory suspicious; and that if he wished for peace, there were French and English and Venetian ambassadors in Spain, where it might be made; nor would he give the Imperial ambassador a safeconduct. He said he chose the Milanese to belong to the Duke of Milan. The King also said that by the Venetian news-letters he was better informed about the capture of Genoa, which pleased him much; that he wished the army to march into Tuscany against the Imperialists instead of attacking Alessandria; that he will at any rate invade the kingdom of Naples, and appoint Andrea Doria general of the Genoese fleet; that he has sent him the order of St. Michael, and also 5,000 infantry to be embarked on board the fleet; and that the Signor Renzo [Da Ceri] is quitting the Court.

Compiegne, 7th, 8th, 11th, and 13th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 24.

164. Letter to Cardinal Wolsey.

Proposal made in the Senate by the Sages of the Council and for the main land, for a letter to the Venetian ambassador in England.

Similar proposal for a Latin letter composed by the secretary Nicolò Sagudino, for transmission to Cardinal Wolsey. It was to the following effect:—

The expressions contained in his Lordship's letter delivered by the Prothonotary Casal, and the information received from their ambassador in France respecting the peace and perpetual alliance, signed through his Lordship's care and counsel, between the Kings of France and England, proved most satisfactory to the Doge and Signory and Senate; they being aware an affair of this importance could not have been brought to pass, save through the ability and counsel of the Cardinal. Therefore address this congratulatory letter to him.

The Signory hopes a general peace between the Christian powers will form the sequel of this auspicious commencement.

Entreat him not to cease protecting their Republic.

Dated in our Ducal Palace, 9th September 1527.

[*Copy, Latin.*]

1527.
Sept. 9.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 7.

165. The DOGE and SENATE to MARC' ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in England.

From time to time their ambassador in France will have acquainted him with the events of that Court. In date of the 25th ult., their said ambassador announces a fresh reformation of the articles of the League proposed by Cardinal Wolsey. It seems to have been suggested by some one with a view to his own personal benefit rather than from any other cause. Enclose copy of the articles sent to them and their reply, so that in case the King or others speak to him on the subject, he may be able to reply on good foundation. To take care not to say a word which could offend or censure Cardinal Wolsey, he being in such esteem and supreme favour as well known.

After the capture of Genoa, and the entry into that city of Theodoro Triultio, in the name of the most Christian King; the citadel in which was Antonioto Adorno having also surrendered; Mons. de Lautrec determined to lay siege to Alexandria, which he is cannonading; having with him the 1,200 Venetian infantry who distinguished themselves at the taking of Genoa. Have remitted the money for the Switzers, the artillery, the pioneers, and everything else demanded of them, although not bound to do so. Are sorry to find that notwithstanding this zealous good will, malignants say that at Marignano out of ten Venetian foot soldiers, seven are invalided, and especially the commanders; so that although the Signory alone disbursed the money for their contingent of infantry, yet the stipulated number was not under arms. For this they are not accountable, as it proceeded from the sickly season, which has been general all over Italy. They did not fail to send re-enforcements in lieu of the troops in hospital, but took into their service the Count of Gioso with 1,000 foot and 150 light cavalry, and the Marquis Palavicino with 500. Trust that when the epidemic ceases, things will return to their former state. In the Venetian camp in Tuscany, there has likewise been much sickness and mortality, to remedy which everything possible has been done. It is marvellous how the State can bear such a burden, but they endeavour to do so, with the firm hope that the King of England will not fail to aid the completion of this undertaking.

In the direction of Rome, the enemy has not moved beyond Terni and Narni.

To congratulate the King in the Signory's name on the fresh conclusion of peace and perpetual confederacy between his Majesty and the most Christian King, through the address and mediation of Cardinal Wolsey; and to tell the King, moreover, that the Signory is in great hopes, that from this auspicious commencement, there will speedily ensue a general peace between the Christian powers.

Ayes, 173. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta,) File 7.

166. DOGE ANDREA GRITTI to CARDINAL WOLSEY.

Original draft. Registered as above, by Sanuto.

[*Latin.*]

1527.
Sept. 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 38.

167. PIERO DA PESARO, Procurator, etc., Ambassador in the camp under Alessandria, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The mines were within three yards of the walls of the town. Expect the artillery and powder. The Lansquenets had arrived, 1,000 or 1,200 in number. Sir Gregory Casal, the English ambassador, had arrived in the camp.

Dated 10th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 116.

168. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Cardinal Wolsey returned yesterday to England, well pleased, and agreed with the most Christian King, who made him great presents; most beautiful tapestries, worth 30,000 ducats or crowns; a handsome chalice and paten, both of gold; an image of the Virgin, and an altar service, containing 88 marks of gold; besides other cloths of silk. To the Cardinal's gentlemen the King gave cloths of gold and of silk to the amount of 3,000 ducats. The Cardinal was accompanied a considerable distance, with great honour.

Compiegne, 18th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 118.

169. JACOMO BARETERO to COUNT FRANCESCO DELLA SOMAIA.

Cardinal Wolsey departed yesterday morning on his return to England. The most Christian King and all the Princes accompanied him one league's distance. The Cardinal of Lorraine will go with him as far as Calais. On the day before yesterday, the Chancellor [Du Prat] received the habit and brief of Cardinal. He declined taking the hat at present, wishing first of all to see the King's sons in France, but his Majesty compelled him to accept it. Cardinal Wolsey received presents from the King to the amount of 30,000 crowns.

The Lord Steward [Anne de Montmorency], will go to England shortly in great state, his retinue numbering upwards of 600 horsemen.

Acciaioli has departed for Italy, after receiving a donation of 1,000 crowns from the King.

On Sunday last his Majesty conferred his order of Knighthood on Mons. De Lumiere (*sic*). The King has also sent it to Count Guido Rangon and Messer Andrea Doria. The King of England has also accepted it.

The negotiations between the Emperor and France are active. Since the departure of the Legate [Cardinal Wolsey] another post has been despatched to Spain; though some say that the Emperor has referred everything to the King of England, and that they will come to terms.

Compiegne, 18th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 59.

170. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] communicated advices from the camp, received from his brother Sir Gregory.

[*Italian.*]

1527.
Sept. 19.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. iii. p. 90.

171. IMPORTATION of WHEAT from ENGLAND.

Motion in the Council of Ten and Junta.

Necessity for procuring supplies of wheat by all possible ways and means.

Put to the ballot, that all importers of wheat or wheaten flour from England or Flanders, from this day forth until the last day of April next, do receive from the Signory a bounty of forty "*soldi*" per bushel, with permission to export one-third (of the amount).

Importers of wheat from Spain and other places beyond the Gut of Gibraltar, throughout the month of April aforesaid, to receive from the Signory a bounty of thirty "*soldi*" per bushel, with permission to export one-third; the said wheat and flour being allowed conveyance in Ragusan and other foreign ships and vessels (*nave et navilij*), with permission to insure, as if they were Venetian bottoms (*navilij*).*

Ayes,	18	-	13.
Noes,	6	-	1.
Neutrals,	1	-	1.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 27.
Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

172. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

The plague at Valladolid increasing daily, the Emperor, the Empress, and the Queen of France went to Palencia. The Emperor was accompanied solely by the members of his Council, and by such persons as were required for his service. The rest of the Court are in various places two or three leagues from Palencia; the Councils of Castile, Arragon, and the others, have each a separate site. To the ambassadors they have assigned Paredes de Nava,† three leagues from Palencia. The Nuncio alone chose to have a place to himself, called Husiglios, a league and half from Palencia; having made a request accordingly to the Emperor. His Majesty would not remove to a greater distance from Valladolid, meaning to return thither when the plague ceases, but as yet it increases.

The French and English ambassadors lately received from France the decision which they were expecting. Lodging was immediately given them in Palencia that they might negotiate more conveniently. They have been there for some time; they confer daily with the Council and frequently with his Majesty. They base the peace on the articles stipulated at Madrid between the most Christian King and the Emperor, and discuss them one by one; they have settled many, and many remain undecided. The Emperor consents to give the most Christian King his sons, and to abandon Burgundy, on receiving for himself forthwith 1,200,000 ducats, and 500,000 for the King of England, to whom the Emperor owes that sum. Concerning the other 300,000, the residue of the two millions, they are not yet agreed; nor about the period or the hostages to be given him. Until payment of the money, the Emperor demands such and so many

* This shows that as a general rule the validity of maritime insurances effected at Venice depended on the vessels being either Venetian property or of Venetian build.

† The historian Andrea Morosini, Vol. I., p. 238, writes *Pardo*.

1527. personages of France [as hostages], that the most Christian King would not give them for the two millions. The ambassadors think, nevertheless, that they shall obtain a more favourable decision. There is also difficulty about disbanding the armies on the conclusion of the peace. The Emperor would wish Mons. de Lautrec to be recalled immediately, but does not talk of disbanding his own forces, and the most Christian King will not recall Mons. de Lautrec until after the arrival of his children in France. Concerning his own passage into Italy, the Emperor says there is no occasion to speak about it, as he cares not the least about going, and dispenses entirely with the spears and infantry which were promised him for that purpose according to the treaty of Madrid; and he says that should he choose to go, he would do so in such a form, that everybody would be satisfied. In the event, however, of his wishing to go, he requires the most Christian King to lend him his fleet, and this the ambassadors have hitherto refused to grant.

Nothing has as yet been concluded about the Duke of Milan, which is the most important matter of all, and the most difficult; and it may assuredly be styled the whole. The ambassadors here have no commission about it, save that they are to conclude nothing whatever,* the Emperor not choosing to leave the Duke Francesco in possession of his territory, to which the King of France will not renounce his rights, save to Duke Francesco, and not to the Emperor, who will by no means consent to this. The Emperor seems determined to keep the duchy for himself, saying he will refer to arbitration whether the Duke has erred, but in the meanwhile will retain the territory, and restore it to the Duke if innocent. If the Duke be found guilty, the Emperor does not say to whom he intends to give the duchy, though heretofore he said it was for the Duke of Bourbon, nor does he any longer allude to his previous intention in favour of his brother; so it is evident the Emperor will do his utmost not to abandon the duchy, and that the true way for the Duke to recover it, is by force of arms. The English ambassadors here have always urged the Emperor in the name of their King to reinstate the Duke of Milan, even should he have erred, and that he ought to do so for the sake of his Majesty, from whom, independently of their relationship, the Emperor has undeniably received many benefits, and by whom he has always been assisted in his necessities. The only reply they could ever obtain was that the Emperor would not fail to do justice. They told him further that this restoration would be merely an act of duty, and not a grant of any favour to their King, who asked but this as a reward for all the trouble taken by him, and which he continues to take, for the Emperor. His Majesty has always continued firm in this resolution, and they have not obtained any other decision in this matter.

Had received a message from the English and French ambassadors, desiring him to go to them at Palencia with the Florentine ambassador, as the Emperor refused to include the Venetians and Florentines in the negotiations, save on certain conditions. Had

* Concerning the marriage of the Duke of Richmond to the daughter of the Queen of Portugal, and the gift of the Duchy of Milan, see Wolsey's letter to Lee and Poyntz, dated Compiegne, 11th September 1527. (State Papers, vol. vi., part 5, pp. 605, 606.)

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audience of the Emperor, and gave an account of it to the English and French ambassadors. On returning to Paredes de Nava conferred with the Imperial ministers, who read a long note in Spanish, containing great and unreasonable demands. Enquired whether the clause concerning the duchy of Milan, purporting that the Emperor does not intend it *for himself*, signified that he did not intend it for his brother. They replied that they knew not, and referred him to the words of the writing. Gave an account of this note likewise to the English and French ambassadors, who pronounced the demands unfair (*poco honeste*), and told him to obtain a second audience of the Emperor, as he did. Assured his Majesty that the grant of his demands was utterly impossible, both by reason of the sum required, amounting to 620,000 ducats, &c., &c. The Emperor replied graciously, saying that this was the commencement of the negotiation and the first demand, and that in the course of the discussion a just conclusion would be arrived at; and that he would prove to the whole world that he wished for peace, and insist on nothing but what was possible and fair.

Since the departure of the Chancellor [Gattinara] nothing is written in Latin, everything being in French or Spanish; even the demands sent to the Signory are in French. Does not understand French. These papers were first read to him, and then given for his second reading in Spanish. They then delivered him the copy in French, saying that everything was clearer in that language than in Spanish; but the demands had been first made in French, and were then translated into Spanish by one who did not thoroughly understand French.

The main point is the Milanese; all the rest would be easily arranged. Knows not what to say, seeing that the Emperor is daily more and more bent on having it for himself; all the demands made by his Majesty seem to tend to this sole end. Is of opinion that the Emperor would accept any arbitration and make what peace they please, provided that territory were conceded him; but to do so would be to grant him that for which the whole of this war has been waged; all that has been done would be in vain, and victory would be given him at the moment when quite the contrary might be expected. Does not know how to rely on the perseverance of the French in the opinion that the Duke must hold his territory. They speak affirmatively, and have shown him (Navagero) letters from their King, desiring them positively to say nothing about peace unless the Emperor leaves the Milanese to Duke Francesco. Notwithstanding this, suspects that were there no other difficulty, the love for his children would make the most Christian King forget everything else. Has also heard many things, to which although he does not give entire credit, yet they disturb him. Has been told that the French have proposed to the Emperor, to give the duchy of Milan to the children born of the most Christian King and of Madame Eleanor, his Imperial Majesty's sister;* and that the King is content that the Milanese shall remain

* In Navagero's report there is a passage concerning the duchy of Milan, to the effect that when Ghinucci returned to the Emperor in October 1527, he proposed the marriage of the bastard son of Henry VIII. to the daughter of Queen Eleanor of Portugal, she

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as it were sequestrated in the Emperor's hands until the birth of the son, and his attaining majority. The report is perhaps false, but is apprehensive lest they settle their affairs without mentioning the Signory, and merely reserve place for the Republic to join the peace.

The Emperor has acquainted the Nuncio and the French and English ambassadors, more plainly than before, with the instructions sent by him to Rome for Mons. Migliau and the General of the Franciscians, as follows: the Pope to be left entirely free, and all his territory and fortresses to be restored; so that there may be no doubt whatever of his liberty. The Emperor did not announce this previously, lest the intelligence should reach the Pope through others than those who were charged to communicate it. Mons. Migliau and the General did not quit Barcelona until the 5th instant; and owing to the loss of Genoa, does not know how they will proceed in safety. The Emperor also told the Nuncio, that on the release of the Pope, he should trust in him so entirely, that all his differences with the Signory or other Italian powers would be referred by him entirely to his Holiness.

The Nuncio assures him (Navagero) that the Emperor is much inclined towards peace, most especially with the Signory. The Emperor spoke much about this to the Nuncio, saying he suspected the most Christian King of making the same use of the Signory in Italy as he did in Flanders of the Duke of Guelders; therefore the Emperor did not nominate the Signory as a confederate, but would negotiate a separate peace, to be more safe. The Nuncio likewise said that the Emperor did not place much trust in these negotiations of France, great cause for suspicion being given him by the King of England, who, should the peace be made, will not promise to be the enemy of whosoever breaks it. The Emperor seems to place much trust in the Nuncio, through whose medium he (Navagero) hopes to be constantly made acquainted with many things.

Paredes de Nava, 27th September 1527.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 84.

173. Audience in the Venetian College Hall.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] showed advices received from France, in letters dated the 15th. The Emperor wished to send Mons. de Nassau to France; King Francis refused him a safeconduct, and is more than ever bent on the Italian expedition.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 146.

174. Sebastian Giustinian to the Doge and Signory.

Acquainted the most Christian King with the announcement made to him by the Senate, and the surrender of Alexandria to the Duke of Milan. His Majesty waxed wroth, said the Signory placed small trust in him, that he meant to keep his promises, etc.;

to have the duchy of Milan, for which the King was to pay 500,000 ducats. The Emperor offered his niece, the daughter of the King of Denmark, in lieu of the daughter of Queen Eleanor, and to this arrangement Francis I. assented. (See Cicogna, Iscrizioni Veneziane, vol. vi. p. 315.)

Sept. 25. Venice Depos. v. xiii. p. 81.

172. ACCOUNCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador [Pickenotte? (Sagudino)] showed advice received from France in letters dated the 18th. The Emperor wished to send Hans de Nessau to France; King Francis refused him a safeconduct, and is more than ever bent on the Italian expedition.

[Italian.]

Sept. 30. Venice Depos. v. xiii. p. 102.

174. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Acquainted the most Christian King with the monitory made to him by the Senate, and the accounts of Alessandria to the Duke of Milan. His Majesty waxed wroth, said the Signory placed small trust in him, that he meant to keep his promises, etc.;

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to have the study of Milan, for which the Duke was to pay 300ducats duras. The Emperor offered his niece the daughter of the King of Bohemia, in lieu of the daughter of Queen Eleanor, and even this arrangement Francis accepted. (See Cavagna, Imperial Venezuela, vol. xi. p. 810.)

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adding that the infantry which the Republic was bound to maintain fell short of 15,000. He had conferred the order of St. Michael on the King of England, on the son of the Duke of Savoy, on the Count of Angoulême, on the Lord Albert of Carpi, and on the Count Guido Rangoni. The King also said that the Signory ought to appoint the Lord Theodore Triulzi Captain General.

Compiegne, 30th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. File 2.

175. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France.

With respect to the remarks made to him by the Cardinal touching Ravenna and Cervia, the matter has been discussed by the Signory's ambassador with Mons. de Lautrec. It was necessary to secure Ravenna and Cervia, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Independently of the benefit which thus accrued to the league, they were induced to take the two towns as the Signory had held them for a long while and peaceably, to the satisfaction of the inhabitants. Considered it a reproach to the State, and an act of negligence, to allow the enemy, to the evident detriment of the league, to seize two towns whose inhabitants earnestly desired to live under their pristine government.

Ravenna had been held by Venice for a long series of years, to the satisfaction of all the inhabitants. Cervia was left to Venice by the will of the Sig. Domenico di Malatesti, who possessed it legitimately; the Signory binding itself to pay a large sum of money for annual pensions, and charitable and religious purposes, according to the testator's behest. Having spent so much money for the maintenance of the Papal towns, and still continuing the outlay by land and sea, at a cost incomparably greater than the value of Ravenna and Cervia, the Signory consider it fitting that those cities, having returned to their ancient masters, should be retained. Are certain the most Christian King will be well pleased to see Ravenna and Cervia in their hands, rather than in those of others.

13—0—0.

14.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 3. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 156.

176. The BISHOP OF APULINO (*sic*) to ALTOBELLO AVEROLDO, Bishop of Polà, Apostolic Legate in Venice.

Four days ago the Austin Friar Felice, a Spanish renegade Jew, and a confidential dependant of the Cardinal of Ancona, passed through Ancona. He was sent by the Pope to the Cardinals assembled there and at Parma; his Holiness apparently not approving of the congregation of Cardinals being held in France, a measure so earnestly advocated by Cardinal Wolsey, for the satisfaction of the Kings of France and England. On the other hand, the Pope does not wish their Majesties to despair of the congregation being summoned, and would fain speak them fair lest they delay assisting him and the Apostolic See.

Friar Felice says the Spaniards were fortifying Castle St. Angelo considerably, and had provisioned it with an infinite quantity of

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victuals and timber. Rome was quite free from plague. The garrison consisted but of some 1,300 infantry; the government being in the hands of Alarcon and Hironimo Morone. Proclamations had been issued for all the friars' vineyards to be uprooted, because they had filled up the trenches round the castle; and for greater security, all the vineyards and houses in the meadows were to be levelled.

Ancona, 3rd October. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 127.

177. The PROCURATOR PESARO to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Arrival of the Prothonotary Gambara, late Papal ambassador in England. He accompanied Cardinal Wolsey to France, and was then sent to Italy. He is going to Rome, to intimate to the Pope on behalf of the Cardinals in France who signed the protest (and they wish the Cardinals in Italy to sign in like manner), that his Holiness, being a prisoner, must not do anything to the detriment of the Apostolic See, nor make Cardinals to obtain his release, as all would be invalid; and to tell him to be of good cheer, as he should soon be set at liberty.

From the Camp, 4th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 175.

178. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Cardinal Wolsey having returned to England, went to meet him. The Cardinal complained of the Signory's refusing to pay one-third of the cost of the 15,000 Lansquenets, according to the agreement made with the most Christian King. Excused the Signory, on the plea of the Republic's vast expenditure, and because nothing had been said about this outlay. Wolsey rejoined, "Well! if the Signory refuses to pay them, neither is it fair that our King should furnish his quota."

. . . . . (*blank in manuscript*), 5th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 126.

179. LETTER from ENGLAND.

Note by Sanuto, that a letter was received from Marco Antonio Venier, Venetian Ambassador in England, addressed to the Doge and Signory, dated London, 11th September. He gives no summary of its contents.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 127.

180. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] congratulated the Signory on the prosperous course of events.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 128.

181. LETTER to FRANCE.

Motion made in the Senate by the Sages, for a letter to the Ambassador Sebastian Giustinian, in France, in reply to what he wrote about the fleet which Cardinal Wolsey wished the Signory

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victuals and timber. Rome was quite free from plague. The garrison consisted but of some [300 Infantry; the government being in the hands of Alarcon and Bitonto Sforza. Two companies had been issued for all the Horse; cloyards to be appointed, because they had filled up the trenches round the castle; and for greater security, all the vineyards and houses in the meadows were to be levelled.

Ancona, 3rd October. Registered by Sanuto, 15th October.

[Italian.]

Oct. 4. 177. The Procurator Pesaro to the Doge and Signory.
Sanuto Diarii, v. xlvi. p. 121. Arrival of the Protonotary Gambara into Italy. Papal ambassador to England. He accompanied Cardinal Wolsey to Paris, and was then sent to Italy. He is going to Rome, to remain in the Pope on behalf of the Cardinal. In France are spread the praises (and they with the Cardinal's help to oblige in like manner), that his Holiness, being a prisoner, instead of applying to the deliverance of the Apostolic See, nor public Cardinals to obtain his release as all would be invalid; and to ask him to be of good cheer, as he should soon be set at liberty.

From the Camp, 4th October. Registered by Sanuto, 7th October.

[Italian.]

Oct. 5. 178. Marco Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.
Sanuto Diarii, v. xlvi. p. 122. Cardinal Wolsey having returned to England, went to meet him. The Cardinal complained of the Signory's refusing to pay one-third of the cost of the league hereafter, according to the agreement made with the most Christian King. Excused the Signory, on the plea of the Republic's vast expenditure, and because nothing had been said about this outlay. Wolsey rejoined, "Well if the Signory refuses to pay them, neither is it fair that our King should furnish his quota.

. . . . . (Words in monument). 5th October. Registered by Sanuto, 22nd October.

[Italian.]

Oct. 6. 179. Lettre from Ercolano.
Sanuto Diarii, v. xlvi. p. 122. Note by Sanuto, that a letter was received from Marco Antonio Venier, Venetian Ambassador in England, addressed to the Doge and Signory, dated London, 11th September. He gives no summary of its contents.

[Italian.]

Oct. 7. 180. Address in the Venetian Colour Hall.
Sanuto Diarii, v. xlvi. p. 127. The English ambassador [Protheonotary Casal] congratulated the Signory on the prosperous course of events.

[Italian.]

Oct. 7. 181. Letter to Pace.
Sanuto Diarii, v. xlvi. p. 124. Motion made in the Senate by the Savi, for a letter to the Ambassador Sebastian Giustinian, in Venice, in reply to what he wrote about the fleet which Cardinal Wolsey wished the Signory

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to send, namely 25 galleys, which is not possible, as orders have been given to send 16, including 8 bastard galleys, which is more than the Signory's share; and with regard to Lautrec's going to release the Pope, orders will be sent when writing to the ambassador (*orator*) Pesaro.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7. Mantuan Archives.

182. HENRY VIII. to FEDERICO GONZAGA, MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

Thanks him for his constant proofs of good will, and is ready to do whatever may prove agreeable to the Marquis, whom he thanks for the permission to retain about his person Scaramuccia and Antonio Nannino, whom the Marquis sent last year with a present of hawks and falcons. Had availed himself hitherto of their skill and assiduity (*diligentiam*) in his field sports; but as they wished to return home to do personal homage to the Marquis, gave them permission. Subsequently, all Italy being in confusion owing to the wars, and the roads infested with robbers, the King prolonged their stay until the present period of greater security, and trusts that this additional delay will not inconvenience the Marquis. Requests him to receive them with all good will, and to send them back to the King, when he will gladly admit them into his household, and make use of their services.

Richmond, 7th October 1527.

[*Signed*] Henricus Rex. [*Countersigned*] Petrus Vannes.

[*Original, Latin.*]

Oct. 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p 142.

183. DOMENEGO CONTARINI, Proveditor General, and PIERO DA PESARO, Procurator and Ambassador, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

On that day Pesaro held a consultation with Lautrec, and showed him the writing drawn up by Count Guido Rangon and Sir Gregory Casal, to the effect that should his excellency march towards Rome, a force of 15,000 infantry ought to remain at Milan, viz., 12,000 Venetian and 3,000 Lansquenets, of those expected on account of the most Christian King; 3,000 Venetian infantry to accompany Lautrec; and the Duke of Milan to supply the camp with 3,000 infantry, and garrison the towns. Lautrec was pleased with the writing, save that he wishes the Signory to pay, in addition, the 3,000 Lansquenets; he paying the 3,000 Italians serving under his command. The Signory's reply had not been received. Lautrec was to depart with the troops for Belgiojoso and cross the Po, on his march towards Rome.

From the Camp under Pavia, 9th October, 4th hour. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 141.

184. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] had received letters from Pavia, written by Sir Gregory Casal. The Prothonotary disapproves of the march into Tuscany; and mentioned what his

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brother wrote to him. The Doge likewise dissuaded him from this movement, and wished him to write that it would ruin the expedition.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. iii. p. 103.

185. IMPORTATION of WHEAT from ENGLAND.

Motion in the Council of Ten and Junta. Addition to the motion carried on the 19th September.

All importers of wheat or flour from England, Flanders, and all other places beyond the Gut of Gibraltar until the last day of May 1528, to receive 40 "soldi" bounty per bushel, from the Signory, according to the decree made on the 19th September last. These bounties to be given to such as charter the vessels, "either there in the west" (*deli imponente*) or here, they being allowed to export one-third to the Signory's towns and places.

As an additional caution and security, all vessels bringing wheat beans, and pulse (*legumi*), and every other sort of victuals, are at liberty to insure as if Venetian, with safeconduct. Provided that on the eve of departure from Venice, the said vessels give security not to damnify Venetian subjects in the Gulf. All beans brought to Venice to be freely exported for any of the Signory's possessions on the mainland.

Ayes, 29. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

Copy given, for publication, to the grain proveditors (*provisoribus bladorum*).

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 14. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 7.

186. The DOGE and SENATE to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France.

Give account of the distribution of the forces of the League. Amongst the troops at the disposal of the Pope are the Lansquenets, paid by the King of England. Are convinced that the amount of the Signory's contingent will satisfy the most Christian King and the King of England.

Ayes, 190. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 169.

187. The PROCURATOR PESARO to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

To effect the passage of the Po, and march to Piacenza, Mons. de Lautrec is quartered where the letter is dated. Pesaro told him he ought at any rate to go to Milan. In reply, Lautrec said, "Write to the Signory to prepare artillery, powder, and what is necessary at Crema, so that should the Milanese expedition be determined on, it may not fail to take effect from lack of such provisions." Remark by Pesaro, that it is easy to say they are awaiting some reply from France; but the English ambassador, Sir Gregory Casal, does his utmost to make the army march towards Rome.

Ponte Morone, 17th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th October.*

[*Italian.*]

1527.
Oct. 20.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 239.

188. Marco Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.

On that day, the Lord Steward of France (*lo Illmo. Gran Maestro di Franza*),* the Bishop of Bayonne, and the Chancellor of Alençon, ambassadors from the most Christian King, arrived in London. The King of England treated them with all possible honour; he sent his cousin the Marquis [Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter], and the Bishops of London and Bath, and many other noblemen to meet them at the seaside, and they are lodged in very handsome palaces in the quarter of St. Paul's.

Visited them, and made every demonstration of love and observance towards the most Christian King and the Lord Steward, with whom he was on friendly terms, and therefore met with good greeting.

The King of England having received the order of St. Michael from his most Christian Majesty, sends him the Garter, by the aforesaid Marquis, his cousin, together with Lord Lisle, the Vice Chancellor [Dr. John Tayler], and his Grand Esquire (*Gran Scudier*) [Sir Anthony Browne];† and these two Sovereigns, paying each other honour reciprocally, by sundry loving tokens, thus spend much money, which yields good fruit in Italy.

The scarcity in England continues, especially of wheat, which is at 9 livres and 10 soldi per Venetian bushel, a rare occurrence as compared with the usual plenty. This is owing to the superabundant rain which fell last May.

London, 20th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 21.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 176.

189. Andrea Loredano, Bailiff and Captain of Crema, to the Doge and Signory.

The French troops had not yet quitted Castle St. Giovanni, because the Governor of Piacenza withdrew all the victuals [into the citadel]. On this account the English ambassador [Sir Gregory Casal] went post to Piacenza. Should he bring back today a good resolve about quarters, the troops will then march.

Crema, 21st October. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 21.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X. v. iii. p. 113.

190. English Ambassador in Venice.

Motion in the Council of Ten and Junta.

The ambassador from the King of England, resident at Venice, having need of 300 Venetian bushels of wheat, and 50 of barley, from the island of Cyprus,—Put to the ballot, that the Government of Cyprus permit the exportation thence of the 300 bushels of wheat and the 50 bushels of barley, for conveyance to Venice, for his use and need.

Ayes, 22. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

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* Hall styles him, "Great Master of the Frenche Kyng's house." (See p. 733, ed. 1809.)

† They were accompanied by Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King-at-Arms.

1527.
Oct. 22.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. File 2.

191. Sir Gregory Casal.

The Council of Ten and Junta, having been acquainted with the good offices performed by Sir Gregory Casal, respecting the affairs of Ravenna and Cervia,—Put to the ballot, that the Signory's College, in accordance with Sir Gregory's request, do give his brother an additional 50 light horse, so that he will now have the command of 100.

Ayes, 22. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 239.

192. Marco Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.

On an invitation from the King, went yesterday to Greenwich where his Majesty appeared in a hall very richly furnished with tapestry, he himself being magnificently arrayed. Over his shoulders (*atorno le spale*) he wore his jewelled collar, a very beautiful sight, and his dress (*vestido*) was of black velvet, lined with sables; the apertures of the sleeves had, for jewelled studs, certain diamonds with three pearls in a triangle, in lieu of buttons as generally worn, and they were about 20 in all; a very costly device. The King having seated himself on a raised throne (*uno tribunal*), the French ambassadors presented themselves before him, whereupon he came to the foot of the platform, and embraced them very lovingly. The Chancellor of Alençon then made a speech, proclaiming the perpetual peace stipulated between the two Kings, from which would result the release of his most Christian Majesty's sons, that of the Pope, and the freedom of Italy. The Bishop of Bath replied in the same tone, saying that both one and the other of their Majesties would always exert themselves to remain thus at peace and in quiet; after which the King said a few words to the Lord Steward (*Gran Maestro*), evincing towards him all love and honour. The ambassadors then offered his Majesty the order of St. Michael, which will be presented to him next Sunday, when the peace will be sworn to.

The English ambassadors appointed to convey the Garter to France will depart tomorrow, they also being three in number and men of dignity (*homeni digni*).

London, 23rd October. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 25.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 239.

193. The Same to the Same.

The Lord Steward assures him Cardinal Wolsey is firmly resolved on freeing Italy, the Pope, and the most Christian King.

London, 25th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 25.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. File 2.

194. The Council of Ten and Junta to the Ambassador Pesaro.

Sir Gregory Casal has done excellent service by advocating the Signory's rights. To acquaint Sir Gregory how acceptable his proceedings have been to them. To request him to continue bearing witness to the good faith with which the Republic proceeds in this

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matter. They will keep account of all that he may do in favour of their interests, and prove their extreme gratitude.

Ayes, 25. Neutrals, 0. Noes, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 25. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

195. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

The plague continuing at Valladolid, the Emperor removed to Burgos, where he and the whole Court now are.

Has frequent interviews with Don Juan Emanuel, whom he finds truthful and anxious for the common weal. The ministers all declare that the Emperor is inclined to peace, and his Majesty himself says so; but many suspect that, being young, and accustomed to see everything proceed prosperously for him, he may change the good will and purpose hitherto evinced by him, now that his affairs do not go on well. Those who negotiate with him must therefore employ great address, and they do so to the utmost.

The French and English ambassadors, now better than heretofore, demonstrate the union between the Signory and their Kings, so that his (Navagero's) suspicions diminish daily, and he would perhaps consider himself quite safe, were it not for the great anxiety felt by him for the Signory's affairs. The ambassadors communicate everything to him; he confers daily with those from Milan and Florence, and they dine together alternately, evincing great friendship.

The Papal Auditor (*Auditor della Camera*) [Ghinucci] returned to the Court lately, after having been summoned to France by Cardinal Wolsey. He has been sent back to negotiate the affairs of the peace, and protest to the Emperor that, unless he release the Pope, none of the acts of his Holiness shall be considered valid; neither his nomination of Cardinals, nor presentations to benefices, nor anything else. Ghinucci, however, does not think fit to make these protests at once, but will first attempt every thing by fair words. Immediately on his arrival he went to the Emperor with the other English ambassadors [Lee and Poyntz]. His Majesty not only failed to receive him graciously, as on former occasions, but, contrary to his wont, addressed him in very threatening language (*li usò molte brave parole*), evincing extreme anger. It so happened that on the very day when these English ambassadors had audience of his Majesty, he received news of the capture of Pavia, on which account it is supposed they found him so much disquieted. Amongst other things he said that the most Christian King deceived himself if he expected to compel him to accept his terms; that he (the Emperor) had already conceded as much as he could, nor would he do anything more than he had said; that if they persisted he should, perhaps, even retract that to which he had consented; that the bow might easily break if too much bent, as he did not choose to be compelled to do anything by force; and he blustered much (*et bravò molto*) against the King of France, threatening the performance of great feats. The ambassadors then quitted his Majesty, having spoken him as fair as they could.

On the arrival of the Auditor, Sir Francis Poyntz, who came to Spain with the Bishop of Tarbes, having received permission

1527. from his King to return to England, took leave of the Emperor, and will depart in five or six days.

The French ambassadors lately received letters from their King, informing them that on receiving the account of what had been negotiated at Palencia, he sent one of his gentlemen to England to notify the whole to the King there, without whose opinion he could decide on nothing; and that on receiving the King's reply he would write to them more positively. In the meanwhile he did not see the necessity for the Emperor's negotiating anything separately either with the Signory of Venice or the Florentines, as it would suffice to name them in the peace as confederates; his Imperial Majesty making express demands if he required anything of them. With regard to the Milanese, unless he left it to the Duke Francesco, he (King Francis) did not know how they could arrive at any conclusion; it being also necessary, before peace could be made between the Christian powers, to release the Pope.

Although these letters were not conclusive, the French ambassadors nevertheless, to keep the negotiation on foot, went to the Emperor and acquainted him with their contents. They found him only a little less choleric than he had shown himself to the English ambassadors. He blustered greatly (*parlò molto bravo*), demanding the restitution of all the towns taken from him in the Milanese, as otherwise he would no longer speak of peace. The ambassadors replied that their King, even had he the wish, could restore nothing whatever to his Majesty, all that was taken having been consigned to the Duke; the acquisitions having been made not only by the French army, but by that of the confederates; wherefore the most Christian King alone could not do what his Majesty demanded. The Emperor rejoined that words were unnecessary; that the most Christian King must not interfere between him and his vassals, such as the Duke of Milan; that if he expected by such means to get back his children he deceived himself; that he (the Emperor) had already conceded as much as he could and would; that if they fancied he purposed doing more than he had said he would do, they were under a mistake; and he swore two or three times that he would do nothing more; that he had already consented to what seemed just to him; that he did not fear the power of France, and would soon recover everything, and that the friendship between England and France would not last (*dureria quanto Dio volesse*); that he had good security in his hands, and was not going to relinquish it, unless he knew on what terms; and that were he deprived of all the realms he had in the world, he would never be forced to do anything.

The ambassadors replied throughout most mildly, requesting his Majesty to speak without anger, and at length departed with replies much more at variance with peace than those invariably received until now. They subsequently spoke with some of the Imperial councillors, who all told them that they see little hope of peace unless all that has been taken from the Emperor in Italy be restored to him. If the successes of the allies continue, and the Milanese be recovered, he (Navagero) hopes the Emperor will allow the Duke to retain it, and accustom himself to bear occasional defeat, as he has hitherto been used to constant victory.

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The whole difficulty is in the duchy of Milan, which being the chief cause of the present war, would, if surrendered to the Emperor, be the grant of what he has constantly desired, and the loss of that which has caused all Italy to incur her present toil and expenditure. In the articles of peace negotiated between the Emperor and France, and in the demands made of the Signory, it was always stated that the Emperor did not want the Milanese for himself. Of the King of Hungary no mention has been made [by the Emperor], but some of the Imperial councillors assert that the Emperor will not give the Milanese to his brother, and the resistance made by him proceeds from his not choosing to submit to the dictation of France, or of anyone else, with regard to disposal of the duchy. The Count of Nassau and Don Juan Manuel have done their utmost with the Emperor to induce him to give the Milanese to his brother, the King of Hungary. The King of Hungary himself requested the Emperor by letter to grant him the Milanese, and sent an annual pension of 4,000 ducats to the Count of Nassau, and one of 1,000 to Don Juan Manuel, that they might exert themselves in the matter, but they could never bring the Emperor to consent. Does not know what the Count of Nassau did, but Don Juan Manuel declined the pension, telling the Hungarian ministers to give it to the Chancellor, Gattinara, who would be better able to obtain anything from the Emperor, and that he (Manuel) has no longer courage to speak on this subject to his Majesty, perceiving that it offends him. It may be hence inferred that the Emperor does not think of giving the duchy to his brother, but will not say for whom he intends it, thus authorizing a belief that he destines it for himself.

Many persons think he might be induced to cede the Milanese to the Duke for a certain sum of money. The Bishop of Tarbes is of this opinion, and said several times to him (Navagero) that the Duke should send a messenger to make the proposal secretly, not letting it appear that he acted without the consent of the confederates, who were, however, to feign ignorance of the negotiation. Whatever the Emperor may say, he would fain have the Milanese for himself, both because it is a very fine province, and also because he considers it a good stepping-stone towards the acquisition of all the rest of Italy, and possibly that of the rest of Christendom.

The Chancellor [Gattinara] arrived at the court three or four days before the Emperor quitted Palencia. He has as much authority with his Majesty as before his departure, and perhaps more. The Chancellor is said to be excellently inclined to peace, but this is not confirmed by the tone of his daily discourse.

Nothing is yet known about the Pope. It is said that Mons. Migliau and the General of the Franciscans have arrived [at Rome], and that they will set his Holiness at liberty; but nothing is known of this release, and many think it will not take place. The news of the coronation, as King of Hungary, of the Archduke, and of the retreat of the Vaivod into Transylvania, causes these Imperialists to threaten Italy vastly, and they say that a great amount of Lansquenets, and King Ferdinand himself, if necessary, will come from those parts.

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The English and French ambassadors at Burgos will do everything for the conclusion of peace, and say that, if unable to accomplish it, they will declare war against the Emperor and depart; adding that the ambassadors of the rest of the confederates must also do the like.

Does not know whether they will act accordingly, but if they do, is at a loss what course to pursue. Many months ago the Signory desired him, in the event of the departure of the French and English ambassadors, to follow their example. Since then has heard nothing further, and therefore requests instructions on this subject.

Burgos, 25th October 1527.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 187.

196. Audience in the Venetian College Hall.

The secretary of the English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal], came into the College Hall with letters dated Piacenza, the 24th. Sir Gregory Casal thereby announces to his brother, having heard from France, that the Emperor makes such a variety of demands and of so strange a nature to the French ambassadors that he is of opinion the peace will not be made.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 190.

197. Audience in the Venetian College Hall.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] informed the Signory that his King, according to promise, had paid one-third of the cost of the Switzers, and that the period expired with the month of October, after which his payment ceases, it then behoving the Signory to pay.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

198. Andrea Navagero to the Doge and Signory.

Sir Francis Poyntz departs today for England. Navagero consigns to him a duplicate of his letter of the 25th for delivery in France.

Burgos, 28th October 1527.

[*Italian*].

Oct. 31. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. iii. p. 119.

199. English Ambassador in Venice.

Motion in the Council of Ten and Junta.

The Rev. Legate has conferred on the Rev. Prothonotary Casal, English ambassador resident in Venice, the abbacy of the Trinity, within the citadel of Verona, vacant by the death of the Archbishop of Corfu, in virtue of a brief of reservation ("*una riserva*") by the Pope, to the amount of 2,000 ducats annual revenue, in towns and places under the Signory's jurisdiction.

The Rev. Prothonotary having requested possession of the said abbacy, therefore, considering his deserts, and those of his brother, the Magnifico Sir Gregory Casal, and the constant intercession of

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The English and French ambassadors at Bruges will do every thing for the conclusion of peace, and say that, if unable to accomplish it, they will decline any appeal the Emperor and depart; adding that the ambassadors of diverse of the confederates must also do the like.

Does not know whether they will act accordingly, but if they do, is at a loss what course to pursue. Many months ago the Signory desired him, in the event of the departure of the French and English ambassadors, to follow their example. Since then has heard nothing further, and therefore requests instructions on the subject.

Bruges, 28th October 1527.

[Italian.]

Oct. 27. Senate Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 181. 189. ANDREA in the Upper Country [Italy].

The secretary of the English ambassador [Penkenbury (Cassl.)] came late the College Hall with letters dated Bruges the 27th Sir Gregory Cassl thereby announces to his brother, having heard from Parma, that the Emperor makes such a variety of demands and of so strange a nature to the French ambassadors that he is of opinion the peace will not be made.

[Italian.]

Oct. 28. Senate Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 190. 197. Annexed in the Venetian Calendar [Ed.].

The English ambassador [Penkenbury (Cassl.) informed the Signory that his King, according to promise, had paid one-third of the cost of the Switzers, and that the period expired with the month of October, after which his payment ceases if then delivering the Signory to pay.

[Italian.]

Oct. 28. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum. 198. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the Doge and Senate.

Sir Francis Pegnitz departs today for England. Bruges con- signs to him a duplicate of his letter of the 25th for delivery in France.

Bruges, 28th October 1527.

[Italian.]

Oct. 31. Pari Council, Consiglio X., v. iii. p. 119. 199. ENGLISH AMBASSADOR in VENICE.

Motion in the Council of Ten and Junta.

The Rev. Legate has conferred on the Rev. Penkenbury Cassl, English ambassador resident in Venice, the abbacy of the Trinity, within the citadel of Verona, vacant by the death of the Archbishop of Corfù, in virtue of a brief of reservation ("cum reserva") by the Pope, to the amount of 2000 ducats annual revenue, in terms and places under the Signory's jurisdiction.

The Rev. Penkenbury having resigned possession of the said abbacy, therefore, considering his diversity and place of his brother, the Magnifico Sir Gregory Cassl, and the constant intercession of

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Cardinal Wolsey, and of Mons. de Lautrec,—Put to the ballot, that the Governors of Verona do give possession of the said abbacy to the Prothonotary Casal.

Memorata fuit lex, 23–31.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 198.

200. Motion made and carried in the Senate.

Possession of the abbacy [of the Holy Trinity] at Verona, vacant by the death of the Archbishop Marcello, to be given to the Rev. English ambassador, Prothonotary Casal, in virtue of the brief of reservation (*per la riserva li fe il Papa*) conceded him by the Pope for 3,000 ducats annual revenue.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 250.

201. Marco Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.

On that day the King, accompanied by the French ambassadors, by him (Venier), and by the Duke of Milan's ambassador, went in great state to St. Paul's, where the church was very richly decorated. Cardinal Wolsey celebrated the mass (*celebrò la messa*); after which the perpetual peace was proclaimed between France and England, and at the high altar the King swore to its articles, which are several in number, and signed them. The aforesaid ambassadors then dined with his Majesty, who assured him (Venier) of his good intention with regard to the freedom of Italy and of the State of Venice, adding that he greatly desired the Pope's release, and that the Italian potentates should have quiet possession of their territories, and that as the Emperor would not accept fair terms by peaceful means, they should wage war on him in order to liberate the sons of the most Christian King.

London, 1st November. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 2 Sanuto Diaries. v. xlvi. p. 201.

202. Audience in the Venetian College Hall.

The English ambassador, the Apostolic Prothonotary Casal, came into the College and thanked the Signory for the possession given him of the abbacy of the Holy Trinity at Verona. He declared himself most ready to do at all times whatever could benefit the State, and then discussed current events.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 217.

203. The Procurator Pesaro to the Doge and Signory.

Mons. de Lautrec is to depart tomorrow for Fiorenzuola, and will then proceed to Parma. They (Pesaro and Lautrec) wrote a joint letter to Count Peter of Navarre, to repair to them with the infantry and to cross the Po. They had also written to the Venetian governor, that the enemy having garrisoned Monza, he was ill off and in danger at Cassano.

An Englishman passed through Piacenza on his way to Rome,

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incognito.* He spoke to Lautrec, and said he was going to tell the Pope to be firm, and not to depart. Today two other Englishmen arrived. They enquired about their countryman who preceded them, and hearing that he had been there and was gone on, they followed him.

Piacenza, 5th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 7–17. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 264.

204. Sebastian Giustinian to the Doge and Signory.

The English ambassadors presented to the King the Order of St. George, that is to say, they girt his leg with a garter and invested him with a robe of purple velvet lined with cloth of silver, and the insignia.

———— (*blank in MS.*) 7th and 17th [November]. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 264.

205. Marco Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.

Great honours were still being rendered to the French ambassadors. Cardinal Wolsey lately entertained the Lord Steward for three days hunting at Hampton Court, the palace being sumptuously decorated. He is still there, to see at his leisure the Cardinal's sideboards of gold plate,† estimated in England at 300,000 golden ducats. The vessels (*peri*) are in truth very numerous, large, and of gold; videlicet, ewers (*vasi*), basins, pots (*poti*), and other similar utensils. Then the King invited the Lord Steward to hunt in a park, where he gave him a grand dinner in the country, under certain buildings surrounded for the occasion with evergreens (*verdure*).

Tomorrow the Lord Steward will present the most Christian King's order of knighthood to his Majesty, and depart on Tuesday. The Bishop of Bayonne remains as ambassador [in ordinary].

Owing to the scarcity of grain (*formenti*), they have written to France for permission to export corn (*formenti*) from thence, wheat (*formento*) being worth 10 livres per bushel in England.

London, 8th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 217.

206. Audience in the Venetian College Hall.

The English ambassador, Prothonotary Casal, was sent for by the Signory, to know about the Englishmen who lately passed through Venice. The ambassador said he knew of the one who came first, but not of those who came secondly.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 218.

207. Audience in the Venetian College Hall.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] had audience. Note by Sanuto, that he believes the business concerned letters

* This was Dr. William Knight, the secretary. He was sent on the affair of the divorce. Stephen Gardiner and Edward Fox followed him in February 1528, but who were the two Englishmen mentioned in the text does not appear.

† "*Credentiere de peri d' oro.*" In the Venetian dialect, *Pero* signifies a *pear*-shaped cauldron, used by caulkers.

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received by the Prothonotary from his brother Sir Gregory, who is at Ferrara on a mission from the King of England.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 264.

208. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Yesterday the French ambassadors went to Greenwich, where they gave the King the order of St. Michael, having first been to mass; on returning from which, his Majesty took off his gown, remaining in his doublet, whereupon the Lord Steward [Montmorency] robed him in the dress of the order, namely a gown of cloth of silver, like a mantle, the two sides being looped up over the shoulders, the front and back remaining pendent. The gown is single, striped with cloth of gold, and round the insignia are scallop-shells, with a link between each. They next placed round his neck a collar worth 3,000 crowns, of the same pattern as the border of the mantle, viz., round gold scallop shells, connected by links of six chains (*e uno legame de sie filli*); and from the collar there hung a small St. Michael in armour, trampling under foot the devil; such being the insignia of this order of knighthood.

The King's gown, of which he divested himself, was of cloth of silver, lined with most beautiful sables, and worth a thousand ducats; this he gave to a Frenchman, the Provost of the order of St. Michael, similar perquisites belonging to him by the statutes of the order; he giving his own, worth 100 ducats, to the King's grooms of the chamber (*camerieri*), and wearing that of his Majesty. The King then swore to the statutes of the order, after which they went to dinner, and then there was dancing, and some [theatrical] representations. Next came the supper; the King dancing, as also the Lord Steward [Montmorency] with the Princess of England; the whole night being spent thus.

The honours and civilities lavished on these ambassadors were great and manifold, evincing a strong bias towards the kingdom of France, because they hope to derive benefit thence in the present scarcity, that of grain (*biave*) being now what they chiefly suffer from in England; for one half of the flour now eaten here is bean flour, on which they are compelled to subsist. Has spoken to the merchants, who declared that of this they had been eye-witnesses at the mills. It was therefore proposed, if unable to obtain wheat (*formenti*), to endeavour at least to get beans; but perceiving the state of the public mind, they dare not make the demand, lest it exasperate the populace.

London, 11th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 21. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 245.

209. PERSONS named in the ARTICLES stipulated with the DUKE OF FERRARA.*

Dom. Mathio Casela, of Faenza, LL.D.; Dom. Jacomo Alvaroto, of Padua, LL.D.; Dom. Alphonso di Troti, Factor General; Dom.

* The agreement between the Duke of Ferrara and the allies is dated 15th November 1527. (See Frizzi's History of Ferrara, vol. iv. p. 233.)

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Opizo dal Remo, Privy Councillor; Dom. Bonaventura Pistophilo, secretary—all nominees of the Duke of Ferrara; Dom. Giovanni Gioachino, Seigneur de Vaux, Royal Councillor of M. Odet de Lautrec; Sir Gregory da Casal, ambassador from the King of England, Protector of the League, and from the Cardinal of York; Dom. Gaspar Contarini, ambassador from the Signory; Count Maximilian Stampa, ambassador from the Duke of Milan; Dom. Antonio Francesco di Albizi, ambassador from the Signory of Florence.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 313.

210. Marco Antonio Venier to the Doge and Signory.

Nothing of importance, save that there is great scarcity of everything in England, most especially of bread; supplies cannot be procured for some months, owing to the frozen seas; the Easterling Islands also being in the same plight (*che a pur le insule di Orzenlig*). Nor is the season good; the cold in England is greater than last year, and the falls of snow have been very heavy.

The English ambassadors are expected here on their return from France, the bad weather detaining them at the sea-side, where Master Poyntz* is also waiting, he having gone as English ambassador to Spain when the Bishop of Tarbes went thither. The Privy Councillors meet daily. Owing to the cabinet councils, the Florentine ambassador, who arrived a week ago, has had his audience of the King deferred. When the Lord Steward departed, he took with him the pecuniary subsidy for two months which the King [of England] contributes for Italy; the English Government urging him strongly to exhort the most Christian King to leave his sons in Spain, and wage active war; whence it would result that the Emperor, being no longer pressed to release the French Princes, and perceiving war to be made in earnest, will easily consent to peace, which is much desired by all parties, as they are no longer able to find money.

London, 27th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27, 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 270.

211. Sebastian Giustinian to the Doge and Signory.

Had spoken to the King about the agreement which is being negotiated with the Emperor, requesting the King to take heed for the Signory. He swore he would do nothing without the Signory, for whom he would always have regard; and said that he and the King of England had sent a protest to the Emperor declaring war against him, and that the Signory should do the like.

Paris, 27th and 28th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th December.*

[*Italian.*

* "Pons" in MS.; see "State Papers," vol. vi., p. 585.

1527.
Nov. 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 313.

21 MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The English ambassadors have arrived from France. The scarcity in England is very great.

London, 29th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 352.

13. The SAME to the SAME.

The newly arrived Florentine ambassador has had audience of the King at Greenwich, and thanked his Majesty for wishing the potentates of Italy to hold their own; recommending to the King his high (*excelsa*) Republic.

The King replied that he wishes Italy to be at peace, and also that Lautrec should march forward to release the Pope.

One Bernardino has moreover arrived from France, sent by the Cardinal of Auch to Cardinal Wolsey; and he also brought letters from the Cardinal of Trani, who, together with the other Cardinal, apologizes for being unable to go to Avignon. The Cardinal was pleased at this, and urges the making of provision for the affairs of the Church.

Lord Lisle, the Master of the Horse, and Sir Anthony Brown* (*maistro Bon*), have returned from France, and greatly commend his most Christian Majesty. A gentleman is also expected from France.

London, 4th December. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th January,* 1528.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 264.

214. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador, Prothonotary Casal, came into the College.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 6. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 7.

215. REPLY of the SENATE to MONS. DE SCANDIGLIAC, Envoy from Mons. De Lautrec.

The most Christian King was bound by the articles of the confederacy to attack the Emperor north of the Alps, and not doing so, as counselled by the King of England, he was to send an additional 10,000 infantry to Italy, to join the 10,000 foot paid by the King of England. On this account the Signory did not urge his most Christian Majesty to make an attack north of the Alps. If in addition to the 10,000 infantry so promised, the most Christian King has more troops in the field than the Signory, his Majesty should be indemnified for them, and the Republic also receive compensation, should their forces exceed those of France, as is the case; in addition to which the Signory has 850 men-at-arms, 2,000 light horse, and the cost of pioneers, powder, ammunition, and other extraordinary expenses, which ought to be halved.

Ayes, 169. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian.*]

* See State Papers, vol. vii., pp. 12, 13; date Paris, 2nd November 1527.

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Dec. 6.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 7.

216. INSTRUCTIONS given by MONS. DE LAUTREC to MONS. DE SCANDIGLIAC.

Should the Signory say they rejected one of the articles of the agreement at the time of the intervention of the Cardinal Legate of England,—to reply in the first place that complaints were made about certain articles of that agreement, the Venetian Signory writing to their ambassador at the French Court to that effect; but no objection was made to the substitution of troops of one nation for those of another, whether Swiss, Germans, French, or Italians, this being perfectly fair; and it would be captious to decline paying for the troops, because they are not such as originally stipulated.

Should the Signory say that the Lansquenets are paid by England, and therefore the most Christian King cannot complain more than Venice of being burdened with this cost, and that the Lansquenets cannot be comprised in the number of Switzers who are not paid by France,—to reply that at present the King of England does not pay the Lansquenets, and if he did pay them during a certain period, the payment cost his most Christian Majesty very dear, and at any rate the Signory has nothing to do with a private agreement between England and the King, in which they are not comprised.

If the Signory determine on persevering in alliance with France, they must act loyally, and not be chary of spending when necessary, the King on his part intending to act in like manner toward them.

Had announced to the Venetian ambassador, resident with him, his intention of going to the Marquis of Mantua, to do his utmost to make him join the League. Yesterday sent Lorenzo Thoscano to him, and the English ambassador went with another mandate on behalf of the Cardinals resident with him (Lautrec); and the Duke of Milan will do the like. The Signory should therefore consider whether it would be well for them to send some one to Mantua in their name, that the Marquis may know he is held in account. If not to such an extent as the Duke of Ferrara, yet is he well nigh equally esteemed. If the Signory determine thus to do, no time must be lost in dispatching an envoy, the others having already departed from his (Lautrec's) quarters.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 313.

217. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The King's uncle, the Count of Geneva, has arrived at the Court from Spain, bearing three proposals about the Milanese. The first purports that the present Duke is to hold the duchy for his life, and on his death it is to pass to the rightful owner; the second, that each party appoint an arbitrator; the third, that those who now hold the Milanese do retain it.

The King told him (Giustinian) that the Emperor will not make peace, and that an active war must be waged against him; that he, the King, will not fail, or ever make any agreement without the Signory.

Paris, 11th December. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th December.*

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 11–25. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 399.

218. Marco Antonio Venier, to the Doge and Signory.

Conversations with Cardinal Wolsey, who hopes the Emperor will make the agreement, and, should there be any dispute, refer it for arbitration to the King of England, most especially with regard to the duchy of Milan.

London, 11th and 25th December. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd January.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 294.

219. Audience in the Venetian College Hall.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] exhibited a letter from his brother Sir Gregory, detailing the mode of the Pope's departure from Rome.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 17. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

220. Andrea Navagero to the Signory.

No reply being received from France, and the Emperor's affairs in Italy proceeding prosperously,† he is determined to wage war more actively than ever, though he says he will never reject a fair peace; which if not made, he shall not wait for the King of France to invade Spain, but will attack him in his own territory.

Received letters from the Signory's ambassador in France, announcing arrival of the "power" demanded by him (Navagero); but before transmitting it, the ambassador at the French Court would communicate everything to the most Christian King. Thought fit to announce this to the Imperial councillors, who were much pleased, and said they were thus convinced of the Signory's wish for peace; the reply from Venice, a place so distant, having come quicker than the one from England, which is so near at hand; and all declare that the Emperor will not depart from whatever is fair, being most anxious for peace with the Signory.

Reported from France that on receipt of the decision of England, it will be sent to Spain by L'Elu Bayard, the most Christian King's secretary, for whom a safeconduct has been sent to the frontiers, it being supposed that he is already on his way.

The French ambassadors are now sending a courier to France, who will be the bearer of this present.

The Auditor [Ghinucci] and the other English ambassador [Lee] strongly suspect the French ambassadors of negotiating apart from the rest of the confederates, and that the messenger has been despatched on that account. For this apprehension they have some reason.

Some days ago the Nuncio, on hearing of the death of the Viceroy,‡ requested the Emperor to send a gentleman to Italy for the release of the Pope, lest this demise prevent the execution of his

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* According to Guicciardini (vol. iv. p. 275, ed. Friburgo, 1776), Pope Clement VII. quitted Castle St. Angelo (in the disguise of a merchant) on the night of the 8th December 1527.

† "*Da poi che vede le cose sue in Italia ad andar bene.*"

‡ Sanuto's Diaries (vol. xlvi. p. 168) show that Charles de Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples, died on the Tuesday following the 20th September 1527, at Aversa. The date of his death is given incorrectly by Giannone, vol. iv. pp. 15–17.

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Majesty's commands. Long before this application from the Nuncio, the French ambassadors had obtained a blank safeconduct in favour of the envoy to be sent for this purpose. When the Emperor gave his consent, the Nuncio asked the ambassadors for the safeconduct, which they refused, lest the Emperor should send this gentleman in his own interests, to provide for the kingdom of Naples after the Viceroy's death. They said the safeconduct had been returned to France through Sir Francis Poyntz; but that if the Emperor would allow them to send a courier to the King, they would apply and receive an answer in 12 days. To this his Majesty would not consent, but now he allows them to despatch this courier. It is therefore surmised that there is some secret understanding with France.

Ghinucci and Lee are therefore suspicious; they have communicated with the Florentine ambassador and with him (Navagero), requesting them to be on the watch, and to ascertain the facts. On the first arrival of the French ambassadors at Valladolid was never without suspicion. At present he knows not what to say; the whole difficulty consists in the release of the French princes, and in the duchy of Milan. Is apprehensive lest the most Christian King prefer his sons to the Duke of Milan. The present war was induced principally by two causes, the wish of the King of France to recover his sons, and the determination of the Signory and the rest of Italy not to let the Emperor have the Milanese. Were King Francis to obtain what he most wished for, he will not care for Italy, but prefer his own interests to those of others. The Signory cannot make terms without obtaining that for which they have incurred such vast expense; but the most Christian King has all he wants when his children are restored to him; and although the Emperor by retaining the duchy of Milan will be very powerful, yet King Francis perhaps thinks that having once got his sons, he may subsequently resist the Emperor, and make war on him whenever he chooses.

Burgos, 17th December 1527.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 22. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

221. The SAME to the SAME.

On the 17th announced the suspicion entertained by the English ambassadors with regard to their French colleagues. During the last few days his suspicion has diminished, and he believes it groundless, though he will not be sure, until everything is settled.

The Auditor [Ghinucci], a man of great ability, and who, as an Italian, is very anxious for the welfare of Italy, is confirmed in the belief that this suspicion was unfounded.

Burgos, 22nd December 1527.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 345.

222. ANONYMOUS LETTER forwarded to the SIGNORY by the Venetian Bailiff and Captain of Crema.

The Pope* shows himself Spanish, and determined to observe all that he promised in the capitulation, both with regard to giving

* The Pope arrived at Orvieto from Rome on the 8th December 1527, and this letter, dated Bologna, gives the first account of his proceedings after escaping from Castle St. Angelo.

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his nephews as hostages, and consigning the fortresses. He has now sent an envoy express to the army of the League, desiring them to vacate the towns of the Church; nor do they know whither to retreat; but it is said they will occupy the territory of Perugia and the Florentine borders. The Spanish "Resident" with the Pope is Alarcon's nephew, a person much esteemed and respected. During Ember week, the Pope created eight Cardinals,—the Archbishop of Naples, the Bishop of Matera, Hironimo Grimaldo, and the Bishop of Monreale; which four give the money to the Spaniards. A Spaniard is to be made at the request of the Imperialists, but the money to be given to his Holiness. The others are, Perino Gonzaga, the Patriarch of Aquileia, and the Lord Chancellor of Spain [Gattinara]. The brother of the Marquis of Saluzo has had the brief for his nomination amongst the first to be made, according to report, next Lent; and they will be four, without money, including the son of Filippo Strozzi, the Pope's nephew.

Yesterday there arrived at the Papal Court, Cardinal Ridolfi, the English ambassador Casal,* and Paulo Camillo Triultio, sent by Lautrec to learn the Pope's decision. The Spaniards quitted Rome, marching towards Orvieto. The Lansquenets have not departed; they levied 10,000 crowns from the Trades, and have had a part of the moneys from the kingdom of Naples, and are expecting another.

Bologna, 23rd December 1527. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd January* 1528.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 27. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 7.

223. The DOGE and SENATE to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France.

To please his most Christian Majesty, consent, in lieu of the missing Switzers, to pay for an equal number of Lansquenets offered by him for the benefit of the undertaking at the cost of the King of England, without further charge to the Signory.† Although the Lansquenets have not reached the army, the money has been paid on account, with the conditions above mentioned. With this Mons. de Lautrec is perfectly satisfied.

[*Italian.*]

* Sir Gregory Casal; to whom there is a letter from Wolsey, dated London, 4th December 1527, desiring him to urge the Pope to agree to the dissolution of the marriage between Henry and Katharine. (See "State Papers," vol. vii., p. 18.)

† "Assentissimo di pagar, in loco delli Svizari che mancano, tanti lancechenechi, qual sua Maestà offerse mandar in subsidio a beneficio della impresa, pagati per il Serenissimo Re di Anglia, senza darne altro carico alla Signoria nostra."

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Jan. 2.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 428.

224. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

They are awaiting the result of Lelu Bayard's negotiations with the Emperor. A few days ago Stafileo, Bishop of Sebenico, arrived as Nuncio from the Pope to the King. His Majesty is now sending him back to his Holiness together with Sir John Russell.* A gentleman has also arrived from the [most Christian ?] King, and is gone to Greenwich for audience; an ambassador from the Duke of Ferrara having likewise arrived in England.

London, 2nd January. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 465.

225. GASPARO SPINELLI, Secretary of the Venetian Ambassador in London, to ——————.

Latino Juvenale arrived in London on the 3rd inst.. He brought papal briefs from Orvieto announcing the release of his Holiness. On account of this news, Cardinal Wolsey, who is entirely ecclesiastic, and a pillar of the Roman Church, assembled three days ago a number of bishops and abbots, and all the ambassadors, and made a procession; and after the celebration of mass, caused one of his domestics [domestic chaplains?] † to deliver an elegant oration, returning thanks to God; after which the Cardinal, richly apparelled, went to the steps of St. Paul's, and to the immense crowd there assembled announced that the Pope was released, requesting them to thank the Divine goodness.

Yesterday the Cardinal invited all the ambassadors to dine with him, and included him (Spinelli). The dinner was most sumptuous, and afterwards the scholars of St. Paul's, all children, recited the "*Phormio*" of Terence, with so much spirit (*galantaria*) and good acting (*bona attione*) that he (Spinelli) was astounded.‡ The hall in which they dined, and where the comedy was performed, had a large garland of box in front, in the centre of which was inscribed in gilt letters, "*Terentii Phormio.*" Then on one side were inscribed on paper, in Gothic letters, "*Cedant arma togæ,*" and on the other, "*Fœdus pacis non movebitur.*" Beneath the garland was written, "*Honori et laudi Pacifici;*" with reference to the Cardinal, who is styled *Cardinalis Pacificus.* Other mottoes re-

* This was the last appearance in England of Giovanni Stafileo; he died at Rome on the 22nd August 1528 (*See* Glubich, "*Dizionario Biografico degli uomini illustri della Dalmazia.*") Pope Clement VII. resented Stafileo's conduct with regard to Henry VIII.'s divorce, but the vacant see of Sebenico was, nevertheless, bestowed on Stafileo's nephew, Giovanni Lucio.

† In the original "uno delli suoi *domestici.*" The *domestic* was Doctor Capon, according to Hall (p. 738), who dates the oration "Sonday the V. day of January."

‡ Gasparo Spinelli was one of the most accomplished secretaries in the service of Venice, as seen by his biography (vol. iv., pp. 19 and following, Cicogna Inscriptions), and therefore this compliment, the first ever paid by any foreigner, to the scholars of St. Paul's, is worth recording.

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lating to peace were scattered over the other sides of the hall, such, as, "*Pax cum homine et bellum cum vitiis.*"

After the comedy three girls richly clad appeared. The first was Religion, the second Peace, the third Justice. They complained of having been expelled well nigh from all Europe, by heresy, war, and ambition; detailing the iniquities perpetrated by the enemy, saying they had no other refuge than in their most generous (*amplissimo*) Father, whom they besought to assume their protection and defence, each of them concluding their harangue with the following lines:—

"*Ast tibi pro meritis meritos tribuemus honores,*
Et laudes cecinit nostra Thalia tuos."

When the girls had finished, a little boy, who had already recited with great applause the prologue of the comedy, delivered a Latin oration, celebrating the day as one of great thanksgiving on account of the release of the Pope, who had escaped from the hands of the most iniquitous men in the world, worse than Turks; vituperating greatly their cruelty, and also that of the Emperor, *omisso nomine*, in a paragraph to the effect that these calamities proceeded "*ab unius libidine, qui cuncta sibi subjicere cupide admodum conabatur.*"

The grace with which this little fellow (*questo figliolino*) delivered the oration could not be imagined.

London, 8th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 387.

226. Letter from —— to ——.

News that the intention of his most Christian Majesty, and of the English King, is that Mons. de Lautrec march forward to attack the enemy, as speedily as possible; complying with the Pope's wishes throughout. Mons. de Lautrec will therefore depart on Friday the 10th, and shape his course by way of the Tronto, to the kingdom of Naples, although the King wishes him to go by way of Rome; on which account four Venetian galleys which were at Leghorn and three French ones are detained, and stationed off Siena (*sic*) [Sassetta ?], so that should he take that road, he may avail himself of them.

The English King has paid his contribution for November and December, and wishes Lautrec to act and advance; Cardinal Wolsey having written strongly to this effect.

The most Christian King also sends payment for two months to Lautrec.

Bologna, 8th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th January.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 9–10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 428.

227. Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory.

The King has sent 40,000 crowns to Italy, and will despatch one of his gentlemen express to the Pope. Stafileo, Bishop of Sebenico, has arrived as ambassador from his Holiness, who has written to the King to obtain the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia. His Majesty answered the Pope that this was not the moment, but that they

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should drive the Spaniards out of Italy; and he wrote to the King of England to reply to his Holiness about those two towns in this sense.

Paris, 9th and 10th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 481.

228. MARC' ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Cardinal Wolsey has written to the Pope to ratify the agreement with the Duke of Ferrara.

London, 10th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. —. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 485.

229. The SAME to the SAME.

When Cardinal Wolsey heard of the Pope's release and his arrival at Orvieto, he gave entertainments and comedies.

London, — January. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 377.

230. MISSIVE to MARCO ANTONIO VENIER.

Motion made and carried in the Senate for a letter to the ambassador in England, acquainting him with the proposal made by the Archbishop of Manfredonia (*l'arziepiscopo Sypontino*), as also with the Senate's reply, and appointment of ambassadors to the Pope.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 23. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

231. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

After much negotiation, having been unable to come to any arrangement, the French and English ambassadors asked the Emperor's leave to depart; so he did the like, all making the demand together. The permission was given in such wise, that yesterday the Emperor commanded them to quit the Court, but not to go beyond Pozza, a place eight leagues thence, where they are to remain until the Imperial ambassadors now in France, England, and at Venice arrive within his Majesty's dominions. The Emperor would only allow them to write this one open letter.* A number of infantry and cavalry had been appointed for their custody, and to keep them company, Don Lopes Urtado, who on their departure will go with them to the confines of France. Requests the Signory, on the departure of the Imperial ambassador from Venice, to give him (Navagero) notice by way of France, that his confinement at Villa Verde may not be long.

The day after the ambassadors took leave, the French and English heralds declared war on the Emperor, who gave them public audience and replied in due form.

Villa Verde (between Burgos and Pozza), 23rd January 1528.

[*Italian.*]

* "Ne a consentito che scriviamo altro che questa lettera aperta."

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Jan. 30. **232.** MARC' ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 511.

Went to visit Mons. de la Barcha [Brosse], the most Christian King's ambassador, accompanied by all the Knights of the Garter in London, some 16 in number, with 100 horse.

In a church there [at Windsor?]* Garter King-at-Arms† assigned a certain place‡ in which they deposited a shield§ with its emblems, and a helmet and crest, with silver ornaments; and they also inscribe the title of the personage whose device is placed, as a memorial of this dignity.‖ Here in England, by all ways and means, they certainly pay great honour to the agents of the most Christian King. They returned [from Windsor?] yesterday. Today the French ambassador will depart, having received a handsome present from the King of England.

It is also said that his Majesty will send an envoy to the Diet about to be held in Germany for the new election of the King of the Romans, either to postpone the election, or to canvass it for one of the Electors. The Prothonotary Gambara has arrived in London.

Mons. De la Brocha [Brosse], the most Christian King's groom of the bedchamber (*camarier secreto*), returns well satisfied with the King and Cardinal.

London, 30th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 7. **233.** SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 467.

(*Letter brought in eight days by the Courier Pelegrin.*)

Arrival at the French Court of the nephew of the Bishop of Tarbes. He brought letters from the Bishop's brother, who had heard that on the 21st the ambassadors of the League entered the Emperor's presence and declared war against him; and when they, namely the Bishop of Tarbes and Lelu Bayard, the ambassadors of the King of England, the Venetian ambassador, Andrea Navagero, and the ambassador of the Florentines wanted to depart, they were detained. Of the Pope's ambassador, they say nothing. The English ambassadors are kept at Burgos with a guard; the others are sent into the country (*a paesi*). In Biscay the Emperor had seized four ships with wheat, the property of Frenchmen, and was collecting money to carry on the war. The roads between Spain and France are closed, so that no one can pass without being searched. The Royal Council (of France), namely the Lord Steward and ———, communicated this intelligence to the ambassadors of the League at the Court, saying that great preparations had been made; that the King had written to the Duke of Guelders to commence hostilities, and his Majesty will do the like on the frontiers of Spain; and

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* St. George's Chapel, Windsor?

† "*Il maistro de ditti Cavalieri.*"

‡ A stall?

§ Query, the shield of Francis I., King of France, who had received the Garter in France, on Sunday 10th November 1527. (See Hall, p. 734, ed. London, 1809.) Hall does not record the installation at Windsor in January 1528.

‖ "Et ancor poneno il titolo a quel mete la insegna, et si fa questo, in memoria di tal dignità."

1532.
Jan. 20.
Senato Dispacci,
v. xlvi. p. 311.

Feb. 7.
Senato Dispacci,
v. xlvi. p. 107.

1528. having heard that 20,000 Lansquenets are being mustered in Germany for Italy, the King has sent to suborn 10,000 of them into his service. He has also sent to raise 6,000 Switzers, and will wage the war vigorously. The Spanish ambassador at the French court has been arrested by order of the King, who has also written to England about this, and that King Henry should wage war on the Emperor.

In Biscay, the people are dying of hunger, and if France prevents them from being supplied with provisions, they will all die.

Poissi, 7th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. pp. 472–474.

234. JULIANO SODERINI, Florentine Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY of FLORENCE.

The Bishop of Aire* is the brother of the Bishop of Tarbes, the one being Lieutenant for the Governor of Bayonne, the other French ambassador in Spain, of the Grammont family. They are the King's most loyal subjects, and as brothers they correspond mutually by internal and external signs, so that, when unable to write, their *messages* and *countersigns* render the intelligence transmitted by one to the other authentic.

The Bishop of Aire wrote from Bayonne on the 30th ult., that a message had arrived there from Spain, sent by his brother by infallible countersigns, purporting for certain that on the 21st (January) the ambassadors having by common consent asked their dismissal of the Emperor, they were confined to their lodgings, the day after the heralds of France and England declared war to him. He caused the two ambassadors from France, one from the Signory of Venice, and the other from the Government of Florence, to be arrested (*pigliati*) and conveyed to a distance of 10 leagues from Burgos accompanied by 30 arbalast men and 60 Lansquenets, and they were left under custody in a fortress. Greater favour was shown to the English ambassadors, as their own house was made their prison, where they are guarded. It is not known under what pretext such an outrage can be excused. Immediately after these arrests, messengers were sent to all the provinces, the utmost care being taken to prevent the transmission from Spain of letters or advices, it being thought thus to keep this event so secret, as to give time for the new warlike preparations making in Germany to be ready before the League could muster troops to oppose them. In this matter, it seems, his Imperial Majesty has greatly deceived himself, violating the laws of God, and wounding his own honour, by an act which everybody condemns, and from which no benefit can result to him. He has moreover so opened the eyes of the confederates, that he will find himself attacked before he has time to frighten them; it being known for certain that his new troops, which he expected to have now in readiness, will not be fit to march before the middle of Lent, when, or earlier, they will have to face 10,000 Lansquenets, 6,000 Switzers, and upwards of 2,000

* Charles de Grammont, who in 1530 became Archbishop of Bordeaux.

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men-at-arms. They will also find the frontiers well garrisoned in every direction, though they probably think more of defence than attack, it being reported that the garrison of Fonterabia has been changed.

Certain instructions in Spanish were this day shown and read to the Privy Council; the ambassadors being summoned thither and acquainted with the whole, and ordered to notify it to their masters, so that they may make preparations.

The English ambassador [John Tayler, Master of the Rolls], on behalf of his King, said he would soon invade Flanders, where he hopes for a speedier and more auspicious result than has been obtained in Italy. The Lord Steward rejoined in the name of the most Christian King, that they thanked God for the rejection of the terms in such wise, that they would rather eat their hands (*che piutosto si mangeriano le mani*) than repeat the offer made heretofore; so that from the assurances both of England and France, Italy may rely on there not being a shadow of peace.

In Paris, immediately on receipt of the intelligence, the Emperor's ambassador was taken to the "*Castelletto*" [the Louvre]; an example (as confirmed by the English ambassador) to be followed in England, where there are many Flemish and other merchants, whose arrest will be injurious to the Italians in Spain, and yield no small profit to France through reprisals.* It was said today at the Council board, that within a month the amount of seizures in this country will exceed a million of gold, which will not displease either the Duke of Guelders or Robert De la Marck, who promise to send as many Lansquenets as required.

Poissi, 7th February.

[*Signed*] Juliano Soderini, Florentine ambassador.

Registered by Sanuto, 19th February.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9. 235. Marco Antonio Venier to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 511.

The Emperor is expected to accept the declaration of war, as a ship which sailed from Bilboa on the 23rd January, brings news that the English ambassadors with his Imperial Majesty had warned their merchants, who in Spain and Flanders have much property of great value, to export or secure it, lest some mischance befall them. The London merchants also have considerable capital in Flanders, having sent goods thither at their own risk, under pretence of their being destined for Calais, the English Government wishing to transfer the fairs of Antwerp to that city, the success of which project must be tested by the result.

Has heard, through the Signory's letters, of the capture of Rimini by Lautrec. The Prothonotary Gambara, on his arrival in London, received good greeting, and yet better presents, of gold and silver cups, worth 2,000 ducats. He had audience of Cardinal Wolsey and the King, whom he urged much in the Pope's name to make the

* "Ove non si troverà non picolo numero et Fiammenghi mercanti et altri, li quali retenuti faranno danno a nostri in Spagna, et in questo Regno non piccola utilità le loro rappresaglie."

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Signory restore Ravenna and Cervia to him. The Cardinal and the King told him (Venier) to write to the Signory to restore the Pope his towns, in order that he may join the League.

The King also exhorts the Florentine Republic, by letter, to acknowledge the tenths levied by them on the clergy, as proceeding from the Pope, to whom it appertains to grant them such authority. He also requires that the Pope's nephews in Florence may not have their property taxed under pretence of their having been debtors to the public at the time when they assumed the government. With regard to the liberty of the Florentines, the King seems to have much at heart that the Republic should remain free, concerning which he said he would write to the Pope.

With regard to the Duke of Ferrara, on whose restitution to the Pope of Reggio and Modena the Prothonotary Gambara insisted, the King and Cardinal are sending Gambara to tell his Holiness not to make any innovation for the moment,* because when once the present undertaking is finished either by agreement or force of arms, the disputes between the Pope and the Duke of Ferrara will be settled through the mediation of France and England.

The King and Cardinal also send two ambassadors [Stephen Gardiner and Edward Fox] to the Pope to congratulate him on his release.

Many ships with wheat have arrived in England from Flanders; the people would otherwise have died of hunger. Next season will apparently yield a good harvest, as there has been much rain lately.

London, 9th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 5.

236. Advices from France, transmitted to the Signory by Coresara.

It is understood that the Emperor has separated the ambassadors one from the other, in several places near Burgos. On hearing this news, the most Christian King immediately sent Mons. de Lavigni to arrest the Emperor's ambassador in Paris, who was taken to the Château of the Louvre; and his Majesty caused notice of this to be given to the English King, urging him to resent what the Emperor had done. Subsequently he sent orders throughout France, for all the men-at-arms to go to their garrisons, that they may be ready to march in such direction as requisite.

The English King intends to repudiate the Queen his consort, saying that the dispensation given by the Pope, on account of her first having had for husband his Majesty's brother, is defective and invalid, and also because the Queen is of such an age that he can no longer hope for offspring from her; so that for the maintenance and welfare of his realm, he purposes marrying Sir Thomas Boleyn's daughter, who is very beautiful. It is reported that the Pope is

* "Zercha il ducha di Ferrara, che detto Prothonotario Gambara instò li fosse restituito Rezo et Modena, li mandano a dir, soa Beatitudine per adesso non movi cosa alcuna."

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willing to give his consent; so the enmity between the King of England and the Emperor will not only continue but increase.

Paris, 10th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 453.

237. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] came [into the College Hall], and exhibited a letter from his brother, Sir Gregory, dated Orvieto, the 7th, with advices of affairs there, and a letter from Cardinal Wolsey to the Pope, congratulating his Holiness on being in a place of safety, and telling him what the King did for his release.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 485.

238. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The Pope's ambassador, Prothonotary Gambara, immediately on his arrival, had audience of "Madame" [Louise], wishing the King to write to the Signory to restore Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope, and that the Duke of Ferrara should do the like by Modena and Reggio. "Madame" answered him that this was not the moment for mooting such a matter, as it would possibly cause the Signory and the Duke of Ferrara to make an agreement with the Emperor, and desert the League, which Gambara said, in reply, the Pope would never join.

Went to "Madame," who had a fit of the gout, and thanked her. She said the King was desirous of the Signory's greatness, and had written to England for King Henry to give a like answer to Gambara, who is going over there. King Francis is well, and in a few days will give audience.

Poissi, 12th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 467.

239. NOTE by SANUTO.

Saw private letters, dated Verona, the 14th. The march of the Roysters* [levied for the Emperor] is delayed, and ammunition is being carted for Trent, but there is no gathering of troops between Inspruck and Verona. On the contrary it is rumoured that the Lutherans, on hearing of the intention to extirpate them, are preparing for defence, which, if true, would be a miracle.

Verona, 14th Februrary. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 517.

240. COPY of a LETTER from the COURT of FRANCE.

Awaiting the reply of the King of England about the war in Flanders, after receiving the last news of the arrest of the ambassa-

* "Roysters," in Venetian "*Rai*," or "*Raitri*," in French "*Reitres*." The word signifies German infantry, and does not occur in the English language until Shakespeare's time. In date of Angers, 26th February 1570, the Venetian Ambassador, Alvise Contarini, wrote that Queen Elizabeth promised the Huguenots at La Rochelle a contingent of *Roysters*, of whom she had 4,000 in her pay in Germany.

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dors. It is expected to be favourable, and that he will commence this war speedily, and briskly, not merely from anger on account of the seizure of his ambassador (*del suo Oratore*), but because he was duped (*uccellato*) by hopes and promises of peace. The Emperor's ambassador [in France] knew long before what was intended, and burnt his instructions, letters, and ciphers. Does not know whether the confederates in Spain will have done the like. He confessed he had a commission from Spain to send notice to Flanders to commence war, and thus was it done. The contest has commenced on both sides, and the Picards have made a very great foray and booty in Hainault.

Poissi, 16th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 517.

241. LETTER from the COURT of FRANCE, by the same writer as the foregoing.

The garrison of Calais has made a foray far into Flanders, which warrants a belief that the King of England will act in earnest. It is said that on the frontiers of Languedoc and Guienne, the Emperor has proclaimed war against the French, English, and Venetians.

Cantelmo* will depart tomorrow, with the contracts† stipulated, and such promises as can be obtained. Does not understand that Madame Rénée spoke, but Greghetto says that before departing Cantelmo will kiss her in the name of Don Ercole, to whom she sends a present.

Poissi, 17th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreto), File 7.

242. The DOGE and SENATE to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France.

On the return to the Pope of the Archbishop of Manfredonia [Giovanni Maria de Monte] with the Signory's reply about Ravenna and Cervia, in accordance with the view of the most Christian King, and of Mons. de Lautrec, his Holiness sent to the Kings of France and England, to hear their opinion. Are assured by a person worthy of credit, that the Pope is awaiting the announcement of the most Christian King's decision in the matter, with the intention of being guided thereby. Cannot but resent the bad return received from the Pope. Are certain that his Majesty will have notified to the Pope his wish for the Pope to submit quietly [to the loss of Cervia and Ravenna]. To request his Majesty to write again without delay, and through his influence and union with England to contrive that King Henry do write to the Pope to be quiet about those two towns (*che la se acquieti delle ditte due terre*).

[*Italian.*]

* Sigismonde Cantelmo? (*see* Frizzi, History of Ferrara, vol. iv., p. 222.)

† Marriage contracts of Ercole of Este, and Madame Rénée of France, daughter of Lewis XII.

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Feb. 19. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 7.

243. The DOGE and SENATE to SEBASTIAN GUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France.

Have heard the account of the detention in Spain by the Emperor of the Bishop of Tarbes and the other ambassadors. Had not the intelligence come from so authentic a source, would be unable to credit that his Imperial Majesty could have proceeded to an act so detestable, and contrary to the law of nations. The best way for his Majesty to obtain peace and the release of his children, is to attack the Emperor in every quarter with vigour, and cause the like to be done by the King of England.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 7.

244. The SAME to the SAME.

Learn from his last, of the 7th, that the most Christian King had arrested the Imperial ambassador at his court, and written to his ambassador in England to exhort the King there to do the like.

To hear what the Bishop of Bayeux* knew about this, sent for him, and understood he had a letter from his Majesty, together with the copy of the letter from the Bishop of Tarbes' brother, in which no mention whatever is made of the arrest of the Imperial ambassador. Are surprised at the most Christian King's not having written about this arrest; therefore await other letters from him, the ambassador. The Signory is firmly resolved to abide by the will of his most Christian Majesty.

Ayes, 151. Noes, 15. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 54.

245. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Some vessels laden with provisions for England having been detained in the Channel by French ships, which have commenced war against the Emperor, and captured some Flemish ships, the French ambassadors† went to Dover to have the provisions landed and sent to London, where they are now much needed by reason of the scarcity.

As the terms offered to the Emperor were honourable and advantageous, they are to be printed.

Letters from Flanders, of the 14th, state that in a few days the road between Cologne and Antwerp will not be safe, as the Gueldrians are preparing to make war on the Emperor's subjects in those parts.

London, 22nd February. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 511.

246. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sends a French news-letter from Bayonne, announcing the declaration of war on the Emperor at Burgos, by the king-at-arms

* Lodovico di Canossa, French Ambassador in Venice.

† John du Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, and Charles Soliers, Sieur de Morette. (See "State Papers," vol. vii. p. 73.)

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of his most Christian Majesty, and by the king-at-arms of the English King.

Poissi, 22nd February. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 4.

247. CORESARA to the SIGNORY.

Today Lautrec received a copy of letters from the French ambassadors with the Emperor.

The most Christian King and the English King declared war on the Emperor by two heralds, on behalf of their Majesties and of the Venetian and Florentine Signories and of the League; all the ambassadors of those powers taking leave of the Emperor on the day after the declaration of war, whereby his Imperial Majesty being much angered, he on the following night ordered the arrest of all the ambassadors, who on the morrow were taken under strong escort to a certain castle at a short distance from the place where the Emperor is resident. This removal was effected by the Constable with 60 Lansquenets and 30 Spanish harquebusiers, with a quantity of cavalry. Nothing more was known about the ambassadors. At all the passes on the frontiers of Spain the Emperor gave orders for no one to pass until it was know who the person was and whither bound. The Emperor is mustering forces, and cannot brook this affront, threatening with oaths and vehement expressions to revenge himself.

Cività di Chieti, 23rd February. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 518.

248. POMPONIO TRIULZIO to EVANGELISTA CITTADINO.

Letters from Spain state that on the 26th ult. and 1st inst., notwithstanding all the negotiations for peace, the heralds of France and England declared war on the Emperor, and that the ambassadors of the League, having taken leave, were arrested, at a distance of eight leagues from the Court, under pretence of the Emperor's choosing to know that his ambassadors in France had reached a place of safety. The Frenchmen in Spain who have property there are allowed 40 days to see to their affairs, but cannot quit the country until the Spaniards in France and England can depart in safety. The Emperor has declared war at Perpignan on the frontiers.

Advices from Germany announce that unless King Ferdinand be succoured by the Bohemians he must abandon Hungary, as he can obtain no Lansquenets, the Emperor requiring them for Italy or against France. Troops were being raised at Ulm.

Lyons, 24th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th February.*

[*Italian.*]

March 2–11. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 145.

249. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Are expecting the French ambassador, Mons. de la Morette, to make arrangements for waging an active war on the Emperor. In Flanders war has been proclaimed against France and Guelders.

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The English have heard of Mons. de Lautrec's victories, and wish their continuance. The Imperial ambassador [Mendoza?] is in custody in London.

Cardinal Wolsey told him (Venier) that the Emperor wishes to make peace with the most Christian King,—that he will leave the present Duke in the Milanese, but insists on having Genoa and Asti, and a million of gold to be paid forthwith, whereupon he will release the Dauphin, after which the most Christian King is to consign the towns held by him in Burgundy to the King of England, until payment to the Emperor of another million of gold, on receipt of which he will release the Duke of Orleans; but he will not release the Duke of Orleans until the departure from Italy of Mons. de Lautrec.

The King and Cardinal say this had been announced to them by a special envoy from the Emperor, but that the King would send six proposals [for approval] to France, which, should the Emperor wish for peace, he could not do otherwise than accept; but first of all King Henry chooses the most Christian King to be satisfied with them.

London, 2nd, 8th, 10th, and 11th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 4–5. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 57.

250. Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory.

Has conversed with Madame [Louise] the King's mother, with his sister the Queen of Navarre, with the Lord Steward [Anne de Montmorency], and with his Majesty himself, about Ravenna and Cervia; they all desire the Republic at any rate to have those cities, and have written to the [French] ambassador in England to tell King Henry to be of the same mind. They will wage war briskly against the Emperor, and will muster 26,000 foot, 2,000 men-at-arms, and 1,200 light cavalry, with a sufficient park of artillery.

Poissi, 4th and 5th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 55.

251. Pomponio Triulzio to Dom. Evangelista Cittadino.

Staffileo departs on his way to the Pope as ambassador from the King [of France?] and from the King of England. Two English secretaries [Gardiner and Fox] passed through Lyons three days ago on their way to the Pope, to obtain the dissolution of the marriage of the present Queen (*della Regina moderna*), and authority to make another [matrimonial alliance?]. Believes that Staffileo is going on no other mission but this.

Encloses a news-letter, dated Antwerp, 26th February, thus,—

The King of England sent two of his agents to commence the suit (*la lite*), and according to report he has obtained a very favourable sentence. The King of France likewise is doing his duty; nor does he doubt obtaining all he wants ere long, as the Emperor seems to neglect his own affairs, and to be very unpopular (*et che resti in molta contumacia*).

Lyons, 8th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th March.*

[*Italian.*]

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March 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 47.

252. AUDIENCE in the COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador came to demand possession of the bishopric of Cividal di Belluno, given him by the Pope. The abbacy of Verona, of which possession was given him by the Council of Ten, has been conferred by the Pope on the Prothonotary Gambara.

The Doge replied that the Pope gave the bishopric to Dom. Ant. Barozi when he entered the castle [of St. Angelo ?].

[*Italian.*]

March 12. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File 11.

253. The DOGE and COLLEGE to MARC' ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Enclose copy of what they wrote to their ambassador in France, so that he may act in accordance with the Signory's intentions; they thus giving constant proof of their observance towards the King and Cardinal. He will perceive the state of the present expedition against Naples, and of the preparations of the Germans against Italy, together with news of other Italian events, as also what is reported from Constantinople; all which he is to communicate as usual to the King and Cardinal, and to urge them to wage war briskly against the Emperor in those parts.

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 147.

254. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The King will wage a terrific war, and not listen to negotiations. The Duke of Guelders has taken a town belonging to the Emperor. The Pope's ambassador, the Bishop of Pistoia, on his way to Spain, went to Lyons for an interview with the Lord Albert of Carpi. The King will not allow him to go to Spain. The English ambassador, the Bishop of Bath, is expected in Paris, as also news of the arrival in England of Mons. de la Morette, who was sent to make arrangements for the war, although the King of England has made a two-months' truce with Madame Margaret so far as concerns the affairs of Flanders, in accordance with ancient custom, so that the merchants may leave the [respective] countries. The Prothonotary Gambara, returning from the English Court, takes back word to the Pope that the King of England is content that the Pope do negotiate the peace. He wished also for the most Christian King's consent, and that the Bishop of Pistoia should be allowed to go to Spain for this purpose. He (Giustinian) objected, telling the Lord Steward and Madame, and the King, that the Pope's mediation ought not to be accepted, as he would demand Ravenna, and Florence for the Medici, and deprive the Duke of Ferrara of Modena. The King said this was true, and therefore did as mentioned above.

Poissi, 18th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Parti Secreta, Consiglio X. File 2.

255. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR and VICE-BAILIFF at CONSTANTINOPLE.*

Have heard of the arrival at the Porte of an ambassador from the Vaivod, King of Hungary, his proposal, and the reply given him by the "Gran Signor," whose intention to lend assistance to the

* A summary of the "report" of this diplomatist, by name Pietro Zen, was published by Alberi (Series 3, vol. iii., pp. 119–122.)

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Vaivod [against Ferdinand] was pleasing to the Signory. The French and English ambassadors with the Emperor, being unable to arrange the release of the sons of the King of France, proclaimed war against the Emperor in the name of the League. Thereupon the Emperor ordered the arrest of the two ambassadors from France, of the one from the Signory, and of the one from the Florentines, all of whom were taken by 30 arbalast-men and 60 Lansquenets to a castle five leagues from Burgos; the English ambassador being detained in his lodging. In consequence the Kings of France and England are making preparations for war against the Emperor, both in Flanders and Spain.

[*Italian.*].

March 22?
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 184.

256. Marco Antonio Venier to the Signory.

Transmits a letter from Cardinal Wolsey to the Signory, about restoring Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope.*

London, 22nd? March. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 29.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. pp. 176, 178.

257. Juliano Soderini, Florentine Ambassador in France, to the "Signori Dieci di Libertà et Pace."

Two days ago his most Christian Majesty summoned the Emperor's ambassador, who said that on the receipt of letters from the Emperor, acquainting him with the declaration of war, he had determined to ask dismissal, but was arrested without cause; wherefore he requested a safeconduct. The King replied he had caused him to be arrested from no fault of his own, but on account of the violation of the laws by the arrest of the ambassadors in Spain. This course he regretted, but for his honour could not do otherwise; and now understanding that on his release the ambassadors of the confederates would be set at liberty, he would send him to Bayonne to receive the safeconduct on the return of the others. But as after hearing the declaration, the Emperor had uttered several things against his Majesty's honour, the King requested the ambassador to deliver in reply a letter signed by his own hand, with a verbal message, that whereas the Emperor had said his Majesty was his prisoner and could not declare war against him, he marvelled thereat, as before and since his accession to the crown he had been in many battles, in none of which he ever found the Emperor; inferring that those who go to the wars are more liable to similar misfortunes than such as remain in towns well fortified; saying moreover that the Emperor not having been in person at the battle [of Pavia?] it was impossible for the King to have given the Emperor the presupposed promise; and that in having said that the King had broken the word given him, he lied by the throat. At the close of the letter it was proposed that in lieu of an answer the Emperor should choose the field [for a single-combat], so that his most Christian Majesty might defend his honour as a gentleman. If the ambassador refused to execute the mission, the King said he would send the Emperor a herald, to whom should safeconduct be denied, he protested that

* This letter has not been found.

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the dishonour must rest with his Imperial Majesty. With regard to the King of England the King said that, as he was most valorous (*virtuosissimo*), he had no need of others to defend his honour, but in case of indisposition or other accident King Francis would always risk his person for the King of England, considering him more than his brother, and not only a new and good kinsman.

Today there arrived the Bishop of Bath,* a prudent and able negotiator, besides being trusted by the King and Cardinal. He guaranteed the success of the League, if an attack be made in Guienne and Flanders; but it seems to him impossible for England and France (*costoro*) to defray the cost. Possibly he is come to persuade France to raise difficulties, or to abandon the war north of the Alps (*di qua*), to unite the whole force in Italy, in accordance with the wish of Florence. This seems the more probable considering how unwillingly, on account of their trade, the English go to war with the Flemings. Delay therefore on the part of Mons. de Lautrec will not be perilous, as there is a hope of his being supplied with men and money.

Notwithstanding the above, within 10 days 1,000 English infantry will have crossed the Channel to commence operations; but they can retire easily, or be employed elsewhere than in Flanders. Mons. de Guise departed to engage from 4,000 to 8,000 Lansquenets, which France will obtain with less difficulty than the Imperialists.

Paris, 29th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 248.

258. Marco Antonio Venier to the Signory.

An ambassador† has arrived from Madame Margaret, to obtain a safeconduct for another whom she will send to Spain, to negotiate peace, which [she says?] is thwarted by the King of France, who does not keep the promises made by him to the Emperor. The King replied supporting his most Christian Majesty's arguments, but gave the safeconduct, with the following condition, that should nothing be concluded before the end of May, he will go to war. To this the ambassador consented; and the King likewise sends an envoy to Spain.‡

London, 31st March. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 5–6. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 247.

259. Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory.

Conversed with the English ambassador§ about Ravenna and Cervia, taken by the Signory with the consent of the League, to

* The correspondence of Clerk, Bishop of Bath, and Tayler, Master of the Rolls, printed in vol. vii., State Papers, does not allude to this public protest made by Francis I., nor to his offer, in case of need, to do battle for Henry VIII. The arrival of Clerk in Paris is alluded to by Wallop, date 2nd April 1526, vol. vii. p. 65.

† There were two,—the Provost of Cassel and John de la Sauch. (See Thomas's "Historical Notes," vol. i. p. 18.)

‡ Sylvester Dario.

§ Clerk and Tayler were both at the French Court in April 1528, but from the tone of the remonstrance about Cervia and Ravenna, I infer that it was made by the Bishop, rather than by the Master of the Rolls.

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prevent their falling into the hands of the Spaniards. The English ambassador replied, "You have filched it (*l'ave carpida*), and it will be the cause of war, and the Pope will make terms with the Emperor;" and he added, "You prevented the Pope's ambassador Pucci from proceeding to Rome, and made King Francis forbid him to go." Rejoined that the Signory was not to blame. The English ambassador also told him Madame Margaret had sent an envoy to his King, to obtain a safeconduct for another whom she is despatching to Spain to negotiate peace, and the King gave it him.

King Francis is in retirement, it being Passion week. Giustinian spoke with the Lord Chancellor, who said to him, "The King's will is that the Signory retain Ravenna and Cervia; and be not apprehensive about this."

Paris, 5th and 6th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 15. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File 14.

260. The Doge and College to Marc' Antonio Venier, Venetian Ambassador in England.

After the retreat of the enemy from Troia and the capture of Melfi and its Prince, when 3,000 of the enemy were killed, the cities of Barletta, Trani, Monopoli, Mola, Pulignano, Venosa and many other places surrendered, so that nothing remains in the rear but Manfredonia. The enemy were threatening Naples and Capua. Great fear prevailed in Naples, and the inhabitants already thought of surrendering. The enemy's quarters were in disorder, with little discipline. Mons. de Lautrec has determined to pursue and harass them as much as possible.

Considerable numbers of Lansquenets are leaving the Alps. The Signory is intent on self defence; besides the order for 12,000 Italian infantry, they have written to France for 6,000 Lansquenets, 3,000 of whom are already on their march. The cost is enormous and insupportable for them, but they will endeavour to bear it, still hoping that the King of England will favour the Italian League.

[*Italian.*]

April 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 269.

261. Marco Antonio Venier to the Signory.

The ambassador from Madame Margaret told the King that the Emperor would make peace, and therefore ambassadors should be sent to Spain. The King replied, that having once proclaimed war, it was not becoming. Subsequently Cardinal Wolsey said they would send an envoy, his stay at the Imperial court being limited to three days, and should peace not be made, hostilities to commence in June.

The Cardinal also spoke about restoring Ravenna and Cervia [to the Pope], saying that the Signory ought not to be the ruin of Italy, and that the King of France does wrong to consent contrary to the Pope's wish.

London, 16th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th May.*

[*Italian.*]

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April 18.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 8.

262. Recall of the Venetian Ambassador in England, Marco Antonio Venier, and appointment of his successor.

Put to the ballot to elect an ambassador from the Signory to the King of England, to succeed Marco Antonio Venier. The person not to refuse, under penalty of 500 ducats.

For his expenses, to receive monthly 140 golden ducats, of which he is not bound to give account; four month's salary in advance. His agent in Venice to receive 140 golden ducats monthly.

To take with him 11 horses, including those of his secretary and servant, and two running footmen, and to depart when and with such commission as shall seem fit to this Council.

Ayes, 160. Noes, 15. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April 23.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 213.

263. Motions made in the Senate.

For a letter to the King of England and to Cardinal Wolsey, and to the ambassador Venier, in reply to the letter written to the State by the Cardinal, requiring the restitution to the Pope of Ravenna and Cervia.

Put to the ballot to reply as follows:—Allude to the Republic's respect for the King's late father, and for his Majesty himself, who is Protector of the League, and must know that the Signory took these towns with the consent (*con volontà*) of the French ambassador, and of the King's ambassador Casal, lest they should fall into the Emperor's hands. The Signory has held them at cost, and is surprised at this demand on the part of the Pope, whilst the Republic is at war; so they request the King to quiet the Pope for the present.—Carried.

Put to the ballot, a letter to the Signory's ambassador in France:—To persuade his most Christian Majesty to attend to the affairs of Italy; to send copy of what was written to England about Ravenna and Cervia, and copy of what Cardinal Wolsey wrote to the Signory; and to request his Majesty to use his good offices in England.—Carried.

[*Italian.*]

April 23.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File 11.

264. Doge Andrea Gritti to Cardinal Wolsey.

The King's ambassador, the Rev. Casal, consigned to him lately Wolsey's most courteous letter, whereby, as also from the ambassador's verbal statement, he (the Doge) rejoiced to hear of the good will borne him by the Cardinal. Regretted greatly to hear that what the State has done, both to preserve the dignity of the Pope and the Apostolic See, and also to recover security for both one and the other, should not have given such satisfaction to his Holiness as was anticipated by the Signory. This he can attribute solely to the false calumnies uttered to the Pope against the Republic by malignants.

Requests the Cardinal to give full credence to the ambassador, and further the Republic's cause, relying on their eternal gratitude.

[*Original draft, Latin.*]

1529.
April 13. 282. RECUEIL of the TREATIES, ALLIANCES, &c. of ENGLAND,
Dellingeshal Manno (Secret.), file 2. Put to the ballot to elect an ambassador from the dignity to the King of England, to succeed Marco Antonio Venier. The person not to refuse, under penalty of 500 ducats.

For his expenses, to receive monthly 150 golden ducats, of which he is not bound to give account; but merely extraordinary. His agent in Venice to receive 100 golden ducats monthly.

To take with him 12 horses, including those of his secretary and servant, and two running footmen, and to depart when and with such commission as shall seem fit to the Senate.

Ayes, 160. Noes, 12. Neutrals, 6.

[Italian.]

April 23. 283. Motions made in the SENATE.
Senato Diplom. v. xiii. p. 218. For a letter to the King of England and to the Cardinal Wolsey, and to the ambassador Venier, in reply to the letter written to the Signory by the Cardinal, requiring the restitution to the Duke of Ravenna and Cervia.

Put to the ballot to reply as follows:—Mindful to the Republic's respect for the King's late father, and for his Majesty himself, who is Protector of the League, and must know that the Signory took these towns with the consent (per voluntà) of the French embassador, and of the King's ambassador Casal, lest they should fall into the Emperor's hands. The Signory has held them at cost, and is surprised at this demand on the part of the Pope, while the Republic is at war; so they request the King to quiet the Pope for the present.—Carried.

Put to the ballot, a letter to the Signory's ambassador in Rome:—To persuade his most Christian Majesty to attend to the affairs of Italy; to send copy of what was written to England about Ravenna and Cervia, and copy of what Cardinal Wolsey wrote to the Signory; and to request his Majesty to use his good offices in England.—Carried.

[Italian.]

April 23. 284. DOGE ANDREA GRITTI to CARDINAL WOLSEY.
Lettere del Collegio (Secret.), file 11. The King's ambassador, the Rev. Casal, consigned to the Lately Wolsey's most courteous letter expressly, as also from the ambassador's verbal statement, to the Signory required to hear of the good will borne him by the Cardinal. Regretted greatly to hear that what the State has done, both to preserve the dignity of the Pope and the Apostolic See, and also to reserve security for both one and the other, should not have given such satisfaction to his Holiness as was anticipated by the Signory. This he can attribute solely to the false calumnies uttered to the Pope against the Republic by malignants.

Requests the Cardinal to give full credence to the ambassador, and further the Republic's cause, relying on their eternal gratitude.

[Original deest. Latin.]

1528.
April 23.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 8.

265. The Doge and Senate to Marco Antonio Venier, Venetian Ambassador in England.

The English ambassador, Prothonotary Casal, presented letters from the King and Cardinal, exhorting the State to surrender Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope; the ambassador also earnestly seconding this proposal by word of mouth. The Signory, although they read and listen gratefully (*cum grato animo*) to whatever proceeds from the King and Cardinal, resent this demand, being aware that it was suggested by malignants, and contrary to the Signory's expectations and deserts. The State having answered the King and Cardinal, enclose copies of their two letters, and desire him, on consigning the originals, to represent adroitly to the King and Cardinal that, after all that Venice has done for the Apostolic See, the State cannot but resent that the Pope should have had recourse to his Majesty and the Cardinal, when the affairs of Italy are more harassed by war than ever; especially as the Signory had informed the Pope that they were sending an ambassador to him, with whom he might have arranged this matter; they believing that he would not fail to demonstrate his usual paternal affection towards them, as they on their part have reciprocated it filially hitherto, and will continue to do so. His Holiness should remember what the Signory has done for his benefit; and with regard to their forethought (*providentia*) in garrisoning Ravenna and Cervia, they did so at the suggestion of the President of the Romagna and the Papal Legate resident at Venice, as likewise of the delegates from those cities. The Signory is of opinion that the Pope ought not to insist on the restitution of these cities, which the Signory had held for a century without remonstrance or molestation from former Popes; and although Pope Julius thought fit, at the height of the Signory's reverses [League of Cambrai], to despoil them of these possessions, yet the Signory hoped that had Pope Adrian lived, he would have restored them; and he would have done so could he have foreseen the assistance [recently] rendered to the Apostolic See.

To tell the King and Cardinal that the Signory hopes for a satisfactory adjustment, after the announcement to the Pope by the ambassador [Gasparo Contarini] of their reasons; and, knowing how much the King and Cardinal have at all times protected the Republic's interests, to request the King and Cardinal to support the cause of the Republic, who will be most grateful.

Ayes, 174. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 7.

[*Italian.*]

April 23.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 8.

266. The Doge and Senate to Sebastian Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in France.

Enclose copies of letters to the King of England, to Cardinal Wolsey, and to their ambassador, concerning Ravenna and Cervia. To communicate these letters to the most Christian King, who will not fail to continue the good offices hitherto performed by him in their favour.

Ayes, 187. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian.*]

1528.
April 24.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 8.

267. Doge Andrea Gritti to King Henry VIII.

The letters of his Majesty consigned by the King's ambassador, Prothonotary Casal, were most agreeable. Thereby, as also by word of mouth from the ambassador, was acquainted with the King's good will towards him, the Doge. Regrets that the Signory's proceedings with the Pope were not agreeable to his Holiness, and that these are construed by malignants in the worst light. Cannot believe that the King would credit anything unfounded, it being manifest how deferential the Republic has always shown itself towards the Apostolic See. Have always been ready to sacrifice even life itself for his Holiness and the Church of Christ.

Has charged the Venetian ambassador to represent his opinion by word of mouth, so that his Majesty will deign not only to give entire credence to the ambassador, but to protect the Republic's interests in this matter.

[*Latin.*]

April 24.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 353.

268. Marco Antonio Venier to the Signory.

The ambassador from the Lady Margaret, together with an envoy (*uno homo*) from Cardinal Wolsey,* have departed on their way to France, and from thence to Spain to the Emperor, to negotiate the peace.

London, 24th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 25.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 218.

269. Prothonotary Casal.

St. Mark's Day. The Doge went to church in a gown of gold brocade and mantle of crimson satin, with a cape of vair, accompanied by the ambassadors from the Pope, France, England, Milan, Florence, Ferrara, and Mantua, by the "*Primocierio*" Barbarigo, and by Pesaro, Bishop of Paphos.

[*Italian.*]

April 26.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. File 2.

270. Commission from the Doge and Council of Ten and Junta to Andrea Rosso, Secretary, on his way to France.

To persuade the King to induce the King of England to contribute a good sum of money for the undertaking in Lombardy to check the Germans. Do not expect his Majesty (of England) to object to this, as the expense would be but for a few days, and the repulse of the enemy ensure the success of the whole undertaking.

[*Italian.*]

April 27.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File 11.

271. The Doge and College to Marc' Antonio Venier, Venetian Ambassador in England.

The troops mustering north of the Alps are about to enter Lombardy, in number 20,000 and upwards, including horse and foot,

* Silvester Dario, the Pope's collector in England (see State Papers, vol. vii. p. 85, and Navagero's despatch, dated Bayonne, June 1, 1528.)

1528.

with provisions, ammunition, cannon, and other military engines (*instrumenti bellici*). Foreseeing that the Republic's forces will not suffice to keep the field and save the crops, on which the safety of their towns chiefly depends, and as it is evident that unless resistance be offered in Lombardy the enemy may advance and turn victory to defeat in the kingdom of Naples, have therefore sent their secretary, Andrea Rosso, to the most Christian King, to urge the march into Italy of the 6,000 Lansquenets which they asked of him lately, their cost being defrayed by the Signory,—to represent to his Majesty the imminent peril to which the affairs of Lombardy and of the kingdom of Naples are exposed,—and to ask of him the speediest possible assistance to enable them to resist the enemy in Lombardy.

The preparations for attack north of the Alps and for the invasion of Flanders are faint. The King of England will therefore be relieved from the expenditure which he had intended to incur. Have desired the Secretary Rosso to suggest to the most Christian King that he do request the King of England to succour Lombardy. The Secretary is to acquaint him (Venier) with the decision of King Francis in this matter, and, together with the French ambassador in England, he is to aid its execution, both with the King and Cardinal. In case the most Christian King should not negotiate this matter, the Signory has desired Secretary Rosso to write to him (Venier), with the knowledge and consent of the most Christian King, to make the request to the King and Cardinal for assistance in Lombardy, in the Signory's name alone. In either of these two cases he will therefore beseech the King at a moment so important, and in such extreme need as the present, not to fail the Signory, and place before him the real conquest of the kingdom of Naples, and subsequently of all Italy, should there be sufficient force to resist the enemy in Lombardy. Unless this new Impérial army be met in the field it will destroy the crops, and the Venetian cities be greatly straitened for provisions, owing to the present scarcity. Were this to take place, the Imperial forces would make the Emperor monarch of all, a result which the Signory understands to be at variance with the will and intention of the King and Cardinal, by reason of their affection for Italy and the Christian commonwealth.

To persuade them to give their valid assistance, as it is impossible for the State with its own forces to resist such a mass, and bear such cost as must now be incurred.

[*Italian.*]

April 27. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 8.

272. The DOGE and SENATE to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France.

To exhort his most Christian Majesty to persuade the King of England not to allow himself to be any longer induced to prolong the truce between his Majesty and Flanders, urging the King by means of his forces to thwart the project of the Emperor.

Ayes 74. Noes 70. Neutrals 9.

[*Italian.*]

1528.
April 28, May 2, 4.

273. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 353.

The ambassadors of the League held a conference with the Lord Chancellor Cardinal (*il Gran Cunzelier Cardinal*),* concerning the provision to be made against the Lansquenets on their march into Italy. There were present the Papal Nuncio, Bishop of Pistoia, two ambassadors from England,† himself (Giustinian), the Florentine, and the Milanese. The Bishop of Pistoia accused the Signory of breach of faith, of having caused the Pope's ruin, of unduly withholding from him Ravenna and Cervia, and of promising one thing and doing the other. One of the English ambassadors [query, Clerk] said that the Signory ought to restore Ravenna and Cervia, and the other [Tayler?] said that this was not the time for speaking about such matters, but that they ought rather to attend to making provision against the enemy. Justified the Signory with tact, to avoid irritating Pistoia. The Florentine said it was necessary to have a good Commander-in-Chief, and recommended the Duke of Ferrara. They then entered the King's presence, and his Majesty determined to send a garrison of 6,000 Lansquenets, and 2,000 Frenchmen, they, and the money for their pay, to be at Ivrea on the 20th May. The Lord Steward and the Chancellor spoke about the security at Lyons, but of this the King said nothing. It also seems that they wish the Florentines to pay 2,000 of these troops; and their ambassador said he had no commission, but was of opinion that his masters would assent.

The envoy from England with the ambassador from Madame Margaret have arrived [at Possi?], on their way to Spain to the Emperor, to effect an agreement. The envoy wished for some token of assent from his most Christian Majesty, who would, however, give him no promise, in order to maintain his repute.

Poissi, April 28th, May 2nd and 4th. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 30.

274. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in Florence, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 262.

Cardinal Colonna has departed at enmity with the Prince of Orange, and is gone to Gaeta.

At Orvieto,‡ the case of the marriage of the King of England, and the repudiation of his wife, the Emperor's aunt, having been referred to three Cardinals, namely, Santi Quattro § * * * *, they reported that the marriage ought not to be annulled. They acted thus not to displease the Emperor.

Florence, 30th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th May.*

[*Italian.*]

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* Anthoine Duprat.

† John Clerk, Bishop of Bath, and John Tayler, Master of the Rolls. See State Papers, vol. vii. p. 70.

‡ In December 1527, on escaping from castle St. Angelo, the Pope went to Orvieto, where he arrived on the 8th, remaining there until 27th May 1528, when the Papal Court removed to Viterbo (see Sanuto's Diaries *passim*.)

§ "Santi Quattro Coronati," Lorenzo Pucci.

1528.
May 2. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 5.

275. AUDIENCE in the COLLEGE HALL.

The Ferrarese ambassador exhibited letters from his colleague at Orvieto, addressed to the Duke of Ferrara, informing him that the Pope was departing for Viterbo,* and that he was apprehensive of the coming of the Lansquenets. The Signory's ambassador [Gasparo Contarini] was anxiously expected, and friar Nicolò [Schomberg], Bishop of Capua, who came from Gaeta, and has had private conferences with the Pope. The English ambassador [Sir Gregory Casal] did not approve of his coming.†

[*Italian.*]

May 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvi. p. 270.

276. NOTE by SANUTO.

The ambassador Giustinian having said that the most Christian King should attend to the affairs of Italy, the Lord Chancellor replied, "The Duke of Guelders has made an attack and killed 2,000 Spaniards; should the King of England choose to attack, we also must do the like here."

[*Italian.*]

May 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 292.

277. AUDIENCE in the COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] came, and the letters were read to him announcing the defeat of the Imperial armada between Majorca and Minorca, whereupon he congratulated the Signory.

They also notified to him the declaration of war sent to the State by the Duke of Brunswick.

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 8.

278. The DOGE and SENATE to MARCO ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Continuing their method of acquainting the King and Cardinal with what takes place in Italy, state that the enemy mustered upwards of 20,000 infantry and 2,000 horse. Their Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Brunswick, despatched a page (*uno ragazo*) to the Signory's fortress (*loco*) of Chiusa, with letters patent, as by enclosed copy. The Warden of Chiusa sent the page to the Governors of Verona to await a reply, and the Signory charged them to dismiss him without further answer.

The Duke of Brunswick's letter shows how ill-disposed they are towards the Republic, and they have already reached the Venetian frontier, in the direction of Chiusa, and the places on the Adige; the rest of the army is following, amply provided with all military stores. The Signory is doing everything possible for defence, having upwards of 14,000 Italian infantry, besides the 6,000 Lansquenets expected from France, and is endeavouring to obtain other ultramontane troops; but is aware that such vast expenditure will be unbearable without the assistance of the confederates and friends; so knowing that success in Lombardy will secure victory in

* The letter is not dated, but according to Alvise Lippomano, the Pope quitted Orvieto for Viterbo on the 27th May.

† Nicholas Schomberg was a staunch Imperialist, and will therefore have sought to frustrate the confederates.

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every other quarter, whilst on the other hand were the enemy to force the Venetian passes, the result would secure for them the Milanese, the Signory therefore urges the King to share the cost for Lombardy. Although his Majesty is put to expense by crossing the Channel and invading Flanders, yet he should not fail to succour Lombardy. To impress on the King and Cardinal the excessive cost incurred by the Signory in garrisoning the Venetian cities and places, in keeping up two armies and a fleet, and assisting the Duke of Milan with money, arms, and ammunition, which would suffice to exhaust any treasure, however immense. To urge the King to share their expense. The victory of the French armada, under the command of Filippino Doria, in the waters of Naples, should encourage the King to give assistance.

Ayes 157. Noes 2. Neutrals 1.

[*Italian.*]

May 12–19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 399.

279. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Arrival on the 13th of the Venetian Secretary, Andrea Rosso, who had audience of the King; present also, the ambassadors from England, Milan, and Florence, as confederates. Rosso requested succour on account of the Lansquenets. The King replied that he had already sent Lansquenets and spears under Mons. de S. Pol and Mons. d'Aubigni, referring the Secretary for further particulars to his Council. Attended the Royal Council subsequently. The King and the Lord Steward had gone to hunt. The Lord Chancellor said commissaries had been sent already to raise the Lansquenets, 4,000 of whom would soon be under arms. Mons. de —— was at Baden, where the levy was being made, to complete the amount of 8,000, to be at Ivrea on the 10th of June. His most Christian Majesty declines assistance in this matter from the King of England, lest, in case it be necessary to wage war in those parts, he excuse himself on the plea of having contributed for the Lansquenets. So they are subsidised by his most Christian Majesty, the Signory, and the Florentines.

Poissi, 12th, 14th, and 19th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 318.

280. NOTE by SANUTO.

Heard from Sir Gregory Casal, at Orvieto, that the Prothonotary Gambara, now there on his return from England and France, is being sent by the Pope as Governor of Bologna in his Holiness's name. On this day the English ambassador had audience of the College.

[*Italian.*]

May 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 399.

281. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

In consequence of the negotiations on foot for an agreement through Madame Margaret, a suspension of hostilities and truce with Flanders has been stipulated.

London, 15th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th May.*

[*Italian.*]

1528.
May 16.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File 11.

282. The DOGE and COLLEGE to MARCO ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in England.

In their letter of the 11th, acquainted him with the march of the Germans as far as the Adige.

Are put to great expense, but the Republic is willing to hazard all its forces, in the hopes that if the Italian undertaking succeeds, victory may result in every quarter. To prevent the Germans from turning the tide of prosperity in the kingdom of Naples, the confederates should not allow the Signory's forces to be crushed by excessive expenditure. The King of England, who is excellently informed, will surely aid the common cause by supplying such a sum of money as he shall think fit for the vast outlay they are obliged to make. In their last letter desired him to make this demand, and now add that the Germans, having crossed the Adige, spread themselves over the Veronese territory as far as Bardolino on the lake of Garda, and towards Cavagione. Are unable to say with certainty what road they will take. They march slowly, and await 3,000 Italian infantry, now being mustered in the Mantuan territory by Alvise de Gonzaga, Piro de Bozolo, and others. Giorgio Frunsperg has arrived at Mantua from Ferrara, on his way to meet the rest of the Germans. Have also been much disturbed because Count Ludovico di Belgiojoso, issuing out of Milan with 2,000 infantry, took the garrison of Pavia by surprise, the townspeople having also shown themselves in favour of the enemy; and the city was taken to the disadvantage of the Italian expedition. Notwithstanding, the Signory will not fail in their preparations, nor do they despair of a good result, if assisted. To apply to the King and Cardinal for pecuniary assistance, to as great an amount as possible, for the undertaking in Lombardy, as, besides the numerous Italian troops in the Signory's service, there will also arrive ultramontane soldiers, and not only the 6,000 Lansquenets sent by the most Christian King (who pays but 1,000 of them, the rest being at the Signory's cost), but also many others from other quarters, requiring a vast sum of money. The succour should be immediate, the state of affairs not admitting of delay, as the King and Cardinal of their wisdom well understand.

[*Italian.*]

May 17.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File 11.

283. The DOGE and COLLEGE to MARC' ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Think fit to acquaint the King with what befals them, and with their proceedings.

Various accidents having postponed the despatch of their ambassador elect to the Pope, they now send him to notify to his Holiness their devotion towards him and the Apostolic See. The ambassador [Gasparo Contarini] departs tomorrow, and they hope the Pope will receive him graciously. According to the agreement lately ratified at Ferrara by the Legate Cardinal Cibo, on behalf of the Pope, and by the representatives of France and England,*

* The representative of England was Sir Gregory Casal (see before, date 26th August 1527).

1528.

and of the other confederates, the Signory had to consign to the Duke of Ferrara his house in Venice of which he was heretofore deprived by the late Pope Julius, and which is now occupied by the Papal Legate.* The Pope has resented this, and written to the Legate [Averoldi, Bishop of Polà] that should the house be taken from him, he is to quit Venice, and return to his Holiness.

The Signory is surprised, as the Pope is well aware of the agreement at Ferrara between his Legate [Cardinal Cibo] and the agents of all the confederates. He should not prevent its execution, which they have however delayed until the departure of their ambassador, who will make such statement to his Holiness as fitting.

The Pope has also complained of a subsidy demanded by the Signory in form of a loan from the clergy in their dominions, on the ground that ecclesiastics are too heavily taxed. The Signory acted thus by reason of the excessive cost incurred, and the clergy should assist in the common defence, especially as this is a loan bearing interest. The Signory is certain that the Pope on hearing their reasons and mode of proceeding will be satisfied. To communicate the above to the King and Cardinal.

[*Italian.*]

May 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 351.

284. NOTE by SANUTO.

The English ambassador had audience of the College, together with the French ambassador, and they spoke about . . . .

[*Italian.*]

May 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 22.

285. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Received the letters from the Senate concerning Ravenna and Cervia; went to Cardinal Wolsey, and explained to him their contents, stating the Signory's reasons.† The Cardinal replied at great length, that those cities should be given to the Pope, and that he spoke solely for conscience' sake.

London, 19th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 23. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 8.

286. COMMISSION from the DOGE and SENATE to GASPARO CONTARINI, Ambassador on his way to the Pope.

The Pope has informed the Viscount de Turenne, his most Christian Majesty's ambassador at Rome, that until he obtains Ravenna and Cervia he will not declare himself for the League. Both the English and French ambassadors at Venice exhorted the Signory to place Ravenna and Cervia in the hands of their kings, so that the Pope may have no excuse. The Signory rejoined that the Pope's adhesion to the League being beneficial both to himself and all Italy, any delay must be considered a tacit declaration, and that with regard to the two towns they had sent their ambassador, who would acquaint his Holiness with the Signory's rights, which are so evident that it will be impossible for him to wrong the State. They told the ambassadors that by placing not only Ravenna and Cervia but

* This elegant structure has lately been restored at the cost of the municipality of Venice.

† Or rights? "Ragioni" in MS.

1528.

their whole territory in the hands of France and England, they would be as secure as if they held it themselves, by reason of their confidence in their Majesties, but in general terms declined making the consignment. To visit Sir Gregory Casal, the English ambassador with the Pope, in accordance with the respect they bear his King.

Ayes, 126. Noes, 17. Neutrals, 6.

[*Italian.*]

May 23. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 8.

287. The Doge and Senate to Sebastian Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in France.

The Pope will not declare himself for the League until he has possession of Ravenna and Cervia. The Signory are surprised that the Pope should occupy himself with personal matters, which can but create disturbance, and consider he ought to put aside all individual passion and attend to the common weal of Christendom.

Have informed the French and English ambassadors that the Signory's ambassador would soon be with the Pope and acquaint him with their reasons, which are so valid that they trust his Holiness will not wrong them.

The French ambassador writes to the Viscount of Turenne, and the English ambassador writes to his brother, Sir Gregory, who is with the Pope, to perform such good office as they know is the intention of their sovereigns.

Ayes, 138. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

May 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlvii. p. 406.

288. Audience in the College Hall.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] announced receipt of letters from England in accordance with those written by the Ambassador Venier, namely, suspension of hostilities stipulated with Flanders, to hold the fairs, that the merchandize may find a market (*azio le merchadantie habbi locho*); but they will not fail to make war on this account.

[*Italian.*]

June 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 48.

289. Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory.

The King quitted St. Germain to hunt at Fontainebleau. Having received the Signory's letters concerning the entry of the Lansquenets into the Veronese, went to him and announced the necessity for valid succour; so his Majesty determined to increase the force and send 10,000 Lansquenets and 3,000 Switzers to Italy, and these, if not needed in Lombardy, are to be sent to Mons. de Lautrec.

The English ambassador* spoke to the King recommending that no attack be made there [in Flanders?], but that the war be carried on [in Italy?], and for this purpose he [the King of England?] will pay 35,000 ducats monthly for four months, for his share of the troops.

Paris, 1st June. *Registered by Sanuto, 10th June.*

[*Italian.*]

* Clerk or Tayler? They were both at the French Court in May and June.

1528.
June 1.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 117. 118, 119.

290. ZUAM NEGRO, Secretary of Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to his father, ANTONIO NEGRO.

The general peace having been discussed without result, the ambassadors determined to take leave and return home. On the 21st they went in a body to the Emperor, each asking permission to depart. The Emperor answered them in general terms, saying he would confer with his Council and then give the reply. That same day he assembled the Council, and in the evening, when the ambassadors were about to sit down to supper, he sent Don Lopez Urtado, gentleman of his Majesty's chamber, to tell each of them, that as they had asked leave, he chose them to quit the court next morning, and go to the fortress of Pozza, until the arrival of his ambassadors resident in France, England, and Venice; so on the morrow, without having anything in readiness, they departed, leaving all their effects at Burgos, and going as they best might, accompanied, like malefactors, by 50 horse and 100 infantry of his Majesty's guard, lest any of them should escape. All the inhabitants of the city were at the windows and doors to behold them, and the populace not knowing the cause of their departure, and seeing them with so strong a guard, made remarks in their own fashion; one said, "That ambassador will be beheaded;" "This one will be hanged;" "The other will be thrown into a dungeon;" every one saying what he thought. Accompanied by this guard and its captain, and by the above-mentioned Lopez Urtado, they arrived that night at a distance of three leagues from Burgos, and on the 23rd were taken to Pozza, which is an extremely good (strong?) fortress,* but very rugged (*aspra*) and desolate, in the midst of bare mountains, where not for their demerits, but for having done good service, they remained four months in such straits, that the four months seemed to them four years. There all day and night at the gate of the fortress, and at the doors of the houses, constant guard was kept, so that they could not even send a servant out to gather a leaf of salad. The ambassadors who went to Pozza were two from France, together with the Secretary Bayard, the one from Venice, the Florentine, with a Secretary from the Duke of Milan. For the moment, the two ambassadors from England, and the Milanese, remained at Burgos, but they also after a few days were sent to do penance with the rest; nor was this enough, for shortly after arriving at Pozza, the whole party were deprived of such of their servants as were natives of the Emperor's towns and places, which to some, whose attendants were almost all Imperial subjects, was a grevious trouble, being in a place where none others could be got. They (the Venetians) were not much inconvenienced by this, having only two menials, one employed in the stable, and the other a page, who had been born in the Imperial dominions; but one of the English ambassadors, the Auditor Ghinucci, the Milanese ambassador, and the Florentine, suffered much from this privation, as well nigh all their servants were of the class forbidden to remain with the embassies.

Had never been so well nigh in despair as then, being unable to receive any advices or to write, and every day being told of a thousand

* "Che è una fortezza assai buona."

1529.
June 1.
Sanuto Diarii,
vol. xlvii. p. 112.
113, 114.

1528.

catastrophes in Italy, which, although untrue, and believed by them to be false, were yet heart-rending. They remained all day long together loking and discussing a thousand topics, so as to pass the time and not despair utterly.

Now they are at liberty, and in a place where they can write and receive true news of what happens in the world, and not always with lies.

They left Pozza on the 19th ult., and got to Bayonne in a few days, the whole way being over rugged mountains, and the road very bad, and they were accompanied throughout by the aforesaid guard. Of all the ambassadors who were at Pozza, those of England alone remained behind, they having been made to go back to the Court, by command of the Emperor, all the others receiving permission to depart.*

On the 30th (May), the day of their arrival at Bayonne, they crossed the river which divides Spain from France, at Fonterabia, where the governor was very punctilious about the passage of the French ambassadors and the ambassador from the Emperor, who was on the other side of the river, so that to settle the matter, the French ambassador, the President of Bordeaux, and the Secretary Bayard had to cross by signal from one side at the same time as the Spanish ambassador crossed from the other, the Bishop of Tarbes, and the Venetian and Milanese ambassadors remaining at the mercy of the Governor of Fonterabia, until the two boats had crossed, whereupon the Bishop of Tarbes embarked, nor would the governor allow the Venetian and Milanese ambassadors to accompany him, though he did give leave to him (Negro) and to the Milanese secretary, who was also there, and immediately afterwards he sent the other two ambassadors across.

When they reached the other side of the river, they found the brother of the Bishop of Tarbes, who had come there with a number of French noblemen and knights to receive and meet his brother and all the other ambassadors with some 1,000 infantry placed in ambush, so that had any outrage been offered to the ambassadors, the soldiery might have remedied it.

Much time was lost in these ceremonies, and in the passage of the river, so that before arriving at St. Jean de Luz, two leagues within the French frontier (having also in the morning travelled four leagues from Ernani to Fonterabia), it was 1 p.m. There, being fatigued by the long journey and bad road, as also by the great dispute and punctiliousness on the part of the Spaniards in the act of crossing, the whole party dined sumptuously; the Bishop of Aire, brother of the Bishop of Tarbes, having prepared a stately banquet. After dinner they departed immediately for Bayonne, on entering which city great honour was done them, and there were so many discharges of cannon, that they could not see one another for the smoke. During the five leagues' journey from the passage of the river to Bayonne, they were accompanied the

* In vol. vii. State Papers, p. 84, there is a letter from Lee, date Valladolid, 20th June 1528, alluding to "*our release*," but it contains no notice of the imprisonment at Pozza, nor of Ghinucci's having been deprived of his servants.

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whole way by a number of noblemen on horseback, and by the aforesaid 1,000 territorial militia. They were lodged in the best houses in the town, and much courted and well greeted, so that having in one day passed from so much misery to an equal amount of well being, it seemed very strange to them, most especially as since their imprisonment in Spain, they had always been accustomed to hardships; so they thank God for having escaped from the hands of the Judeans, and come into the land of promise.* They will remain two or three days at Bayonne, to provide themselves with a variety of necessaries and rest awhile, and then they will proceed to the Court.

Bayonne, 1st June. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 1. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna copy, in the Correr Museum.

291. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

When the French ambassadors (*sic*),† the ambassador from Florence, and himself were sent to Pozza, each was allowed to write an open letter. Acquainted the Signory with what had befallen him, and demanded permission for the Imperial ambassador at Venice to depart. This alone he was permitted and desired to write, and, through the Venetian ambassador in France, understood his letter reached its destination.

Subsequently was forbidden to write, and every precaution was taken to prevent the transmission of any letter to France or elsewhere, and for four months all the ambassadors were under the closest custody.

Secretary Bayard at length reached Burgos, with his King's ultimatum; and the French and English ambassadors, having first discussed the whole affair together, informed the Emperor that of the five points in dispute the most Christian King conceded four, viz., the amount of money and mode of its payment; the surrender of Genoa, Asti, and Hesdin; the loan of the fleet for three months, that the Emperor might go into Italy for his coronation; and the payment of an equivalent for the county of Charlerois.

The whole difficulty consisted in the fifth point, concerning the duchy of Milan; France and England not choosing to allow of its being in other hands than those of the Duke Francesco. This much however the ambassadors did not say, but besought (*supplicarono*) the Emperor, as the other points were conceded, that he should grant their sovereigns what they requested. The Emperor said that he would consider the whole case and reply, but that with regard to the duchy of Milan, its surrender by him would be attributed to fear; that it was not fair for the King of France to prevent him from punishing his vassals; that he would do justice by the Duke of Milan, but would not consent to give him the duchy under compulsion and by force; that if the King of France acted as they proposed respecting the four points he would do what was fair,

* "Scampati di mano di *Giudei* et venuti in terra di promissione."

† In a subsequent part of his narrative, Navagero writes that the English and *French* (*sic*) ambassadors and the Milanese remained at Burgos, and were not sent to Villa-Verde until a month after Navagero's arrival there.

June 1. Navagero, Despatches, Cleopatra, cccxv, in the Correr Museum.

1528. though the fifth point was unfair; but that nevertheless he would reply more particularly on a future occasion.

This reply was delayed for many days; the general opinion in the meanwhile being, that the whole difficulty consisted in the duchy of Milan, and that if means were not found for that, there would be none whereby to effect the peace. Gattinara, on the contrary, said to him (Navagero) that he deceived himself if he believed that the chief obstacle was the duchy of Milan; that the Emperor did not desire what belonged to others, but that he considered it unjust for the most Christian King, besides non-observance of what he had promised, to compel the Emperor to leave that duchy to the Duke; that were the Emperor to do anything with regard to this matter it would not be from fear, nor from threats of war, but from love and courtesy, which for the moment he would not demonstrate towards the King of France,* though he would do what he could to satisfy Italy.

Reported accordingly to all the ambassadors, in the house of Ghinucci, everything that had been said to him by the Chancellor. Although many of them had contradictory opinions about details, they agreed unanimously not to commence any negotiation until a reply had been given to the French ambassadors.

The Emperor's ultimatum being delayed for many days, the confederate ambassadors agreed in the meanwhile, to elicit what they could from the Imperial ministers.

Saw them all several times. Found that the chief obstacle to peace was Gattinara, whose hatred of the King of France was held by him in greater account than his master's interests, and the common weal of Christendom.

The Emperor's confessor appeared to him very obstinate, though occasionally in certain matters he showed himself amenable to reason, evincing however great hatred to France.

Whenever the Secretary Aleman spoke to him (Navagero) he urged the desertion of France by Venice, and that she should ally herself with the Emperor, who would do whatever the Signory wished. The Chancellor and the Confessor also tempted him occasionally in like manner, but more delicately and less openly. Answered them all consistently with his duty (*secondo che era il debito mio*), and with what he knew to be the intention of the Signory.

The person who was best disposed towards peace, and who seemed most to regret its non-conclusion, was Don Juan Manuel, who told him that he had suggested the separate negotiation with the Signory, for whose gratification he thought the Emperor would cede the Milanese, whereas on no account soever would he do so for the King of France.

At length, as a good commencement for the new year, the French ambassadors were sent for on the 1st of January to receive the reply from the Council, and as it was in writing, and they alone were summoned and not in association with the English ambassadors, as fitting, they refused acceptance of the document unless it were addressed both to French and English. The Chancellor

* "La qual non voleva usar col Re di Franza per all' hora."

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replied that the English would be answered subsequently, that they were not parties, but mediators, which the French denied, and not choosing to receive the reply separately, the English ambassadors were sent for to hear from them if they chose to receive the reply as party and confederate with France, or in any other manner. They demanded it conjointly with France, and thus was it given, the ambassadors of the two Kings being answered in common.

The conclusion was that of the four points above mentioned the Emperor accepted the three first. The fourth, concerning the surrender of Genoa and other places, and the recall of the army from Italy, he also accepted conditionally, thus, that these acts were to precede the release of the French Princes.

Touching the Duke of Milan, the Emperor declared his willingness to do him justice, but with certain conditions which entirely annulled the jurisdiction claimed by the King of France over the duchy, and bound the Duke to the Imperial fief more than ever. With regard to pardoning and leaving him in possession at the suit of France and England, he refused to do so, as it would seem compulsory and not voluntary. He offered, however, on the conclusion of the peace, before it took effect, and before the release of the French Princes, to dispose of the duchy in such wise as to convince everybody that he never allowed himself to be ruled by avarice, or the wish for territorial possession, and that Italy would remain satisfied and at peace, so that there would be no cause for war.

The French and English ambassadors discussed this reply at great length, but they made no communication whatever to their Italian colleagues until the following day.

In the meanwhile the Chancellor Gattinara sent for him (Navagero). He announced the Emperor's good will towards Venice, and by his Majesty's command read to him the answer given to the French and English ambassadors, from suspicion that they would not show it to him, on account of the paragraph demonstrating the Emperor's good will towards Italy, which does not please them. Replied that doubtless the French ambassadors would communicate everything to him, as they always had done, but that he thanked the Emperor infinitely for his good will towards the Signory, and for the account in which his Majesty held him for the Signory's sake. The Chancellor read the whole reply, which was in French, and as it contained some words of doubtful meaning, and many things which it was of importance to state distinctly, did not let anything pass without full explanation, which the Chancellor gave very willingly.

Then went to dine with the Bishop of Tarbes, and found that a general meeting of all the ambassadors had been arranged, at which it was proposed to take leave of the Emperor and declare war; they having interpreted many passages of the reply in a sense which appeared to them the worst possible. Acquainted them with what had passed between him and the Chancellor, and how Gattinara had explained the doubtful passages. Thereupon, first of all Ghinucci and then all the other ambassadors, including himself, determined to return to the Emperor, and tell him they had received the reply, in which there were some equivocal paragraphs.

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Thus did they, and his Majesty gave the same explanation as received by him (Navagero) from the Chancellor. Concerning the surrender of Genoa, and the recall of the army before the release of the French Princes, they found the Emperor resolute; so that this was the chief difficulty with regard to the acceptance of the peace by France. As touching the duchy of Milan, although the Emperor did not expressly say that he would do what was required of him, yet by saying that he would satisfy Italy—and since Italy would not be satisfied otherwise than by his leaving the duchy to the Duke—it seemed that at last he would do what was wished.

Many days were passed in the discussion of these difficulties. The Imperialists said it was not fair for the Emperor to trust the most Christian King after having been once deceived by him, but that the most Christian King might trust the Emperor, who had never broken his word; and they inquired what need the French had for an army in Italy, if immediately on the signature of the peace, before any further ratification of it, the Emperor offered to leave Italy content and quiet. They said, in short, that a person once deceived must beware of being duped a second time.

The French, on the other hand, said that their King had not failed to do all that he could, nor was it in his power to do more. That with regard to trusting the Emperor, he did trust him in great part, but did not consider it fair to desert the confederates by recalling his army and leaving Italy at the mercy of the Spaniards. That the Emperor might be very sure of him, the King of England having pledged himself for France, but that his most Christian Majesty had no security from the Emperor. That King Francis would place in the hands of the King of England hostages, and 200,000 ducats, to be forfeited to the Emperor should the army not be recalled at the appointed time, immediately after the release of the French Princes.

All this was freely promised by the English ambassadors in the name of their King, who being always styled kinsman (*parente*) by the Emperor, and considered a friend and mediator, it did not seem that such security could be fairly rejected.

After much debate the Emperor went so far as to tell the French ambassadors that when the most Christian King recalled his army, he, the Emperor, would simultaneously withdraw the Imperial forces from Italy; and on being told that under pretence of the kingdom of Naples he would leave his army there, and that it would not be out of Italy, he replied that he would not remove his men-at-arms from the kingdom of Naples, but that he was willing to remove the infantry, and would so arrange that on the departure of the French, they might quit Lombardy, and subsequently Italy; and he moreover offered to give security to the King of France for the performance of this promise. He would make no further concession, nor ever consent to the release in the first place of the French Princes, saying always that he would not trust the King of France.

The matter being thus complicated, and many plans being discussed, the Chancellor (Gattinara) said he had discovered a remedy for everything, and that thereby peace would be made. That on the Sunday of the Epiphany he had a vision of this device (*venne in*

1528. *visione questa cosa*), which would resemble the star, whereby on that day the Magi were guided on the straight road; and thus would this contrivance lead the Kings and Princes of Christendom to peace. All men marvelled what grand project this could be, put forward by so great a personage as the Chancellor Gattinara, and for some days the whole Court considered the affair settled, and the peace concluded. At length he communicated his scheme to the French ambassadors in writing, and it reduced itself to this, that in the Emperor's name he offered the same security for the observance of his promise as that proposed by his most Christian Majesty to the Emperor, namely, the King of England. This seemed a very feeble and indifferent alternative, as he offered what did not depend upon himself, nor did he know whether the King of England was content to promise for the Emperor or not; whereas the English ambassadors had already been commissioned by their King to pledge him and his realms to the Emperor for whatever the King of France promised, to which effect they exhibited to the Emperor their commission; whilst on the contrary they said they were not authorized to promise for the Emperor, nor did they know the will of their King in this matter. In reply to the inquiry, as to what was to be done should the King of England refuse his guarantee, the Imperialists answered that the affair would be in the same state as before, which result seemed very unfitting* after the suspension of all proceedings until the return of the courier from England.

Thereupon the peace seemed hopeless, notwithstanding which a variety of agreements were proposed. Ghinucci said that the French would consent to take the security of the King of England, should he choose to give it, but that in case of refusal, the Emperor be bound to accept the terms proposed by the confederates. To this the Imperialists would not listen. Others proposed that the security held by the Emperor from France should be divided, that the Dauphin should be given up for a sum of money, the other being consigned to the King of England, together with other hostages from amongst the chief personages in France, to remain in his hands until the execution of the rest of the agreement, hostages being also given to the Emperor; or they would even leave the Duke of Orleans with him, he (the Emperor) giving hostages to France until the completion of what remained for settlement.

Many other plans for the division of this security, in the persons of the French Princes, were discussed, and very fair remedies devised for all the difficulties.

First of all, the Nuncio undertook to speak on this subject, as a person who professes to be no less the servant of the Pope than of the Emperor, who places great trust in him; but either he did not well comprehend the proposal made to him, or he was too partial, for nothing whatever resulted from his mediation, nor was it possible to effect an adjustment through other channels.

Don Juan Emanuel and the Nuncio spoke to him (Navagero) about a variety of measures.

* "Molto mal a proposito."

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To place Genoa and other cities in the hands of a third person, approved by the Emperor; to give Mons. de Lautrec as hostage in the Castle of Milan; to recall the army; to refer all remaining difficulties to the Pope, he being first set at liberty; that the Venetian Signory should promise for France, as the Emperor would certainly accept such security. Part of these terms seemed unfair, and part were not proposed. It remained but to write back to France, or to take leave and declare war; but the French ambassadors refused to hear a word about writing any more, as their King had charged them not to do so, save with the announcement of the conclusion of the peace, or of the proclamation of war, which they therefore determined to make after having first taken leave. Before doing so, however, they went moreover to Madame Eleanor, the Queen of France, to see if she could prevail upon her brother, as everything else was settled, to make this concession for the sake of placing the French crown on her head. This likewise produced no effect. The Queen, whose goodness and coldness were on a par, had such respect for her brother that she knew not how to do what was necessary, though he (Navagero) felt certain that her disposition was excellent ("*che il desiderio son certo che non li mancò*"). All means having been tried, the French ambassadors proposed to their colleagues to take leave, and asked them their intentions. The English ambassadors said they would do the like. He (Navagero) followed their example, saying that the Signory was quite determined to be always of the same mind as the most Christian King and the King of England. The ambassador from Florence said that although he had no especial commission from the Florentine Signory in this matter, he would accompany his colleagues whenever they pleased.

The English ambassadors [Lee and Ghinucci] were of opinion that to avoid irritating the Emperor, the Milanese ambassador should not present himself with the others, but go to the Emperor subsequently alone, so that, should the negotiation for peace be resumed, his Majesty might continue of the same mind towards the Duke as lately evinced by him. Out of regard for Lee and Ghinucci this was agreed to, and thus, with the exception of the Milanese, the ambassadors sent in a body to demand audience, which the Emperor granted immediately, and they went to him on the 21st of January. The Bishop of Tarbes was spokesman for all of them, and in the best form he could, asked leave to depart. The Emperor replied graciously, that he in like manner had ambassadors with many of the confederates, nor was it fair that he should allow their ambassadors to quit his Court, whilst those whom he had accredited to them should remain where they were; that he would write to his ambassadors, and on hearing of their departure would allow them, the ambassadors of the confederates, to quit Spain; and that in the meanwhile he would send to tell them what they were to do. The Bishop of Tarbes said that the French ambassador was the President,* and that with him his Majesty might do as he pleased; but

* Jean de Calvimont, Second President of the Parliament of Bordeaux. See Père Daniel.

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that he (the Bishop) and the Secretary Bayard came not as ambassadors, but with an Imperial safeconduct, to negotiate this especial business, and that the term of the safeconduct would not expire for eight days. The Emperor replied that he would satisfy the Bishop.

Had not intended to say anything, but perceiving that the President, and Ghinucci and Lee, all spoke to the Emperor aside, he likewise approached him, and said that if his Majesty purposed writing to Venice and waiting a reply, it would require much time, and that he requested leave to depart with the French ambassadors. That he regretted going away in this fashion, but that it was impossible for him to do otherwise. That the Signory could not but keep faith with the confederates, nor could he disobey the orders of the State, though he felt sure that what the Signory did was not from hatred or ill-will to his Majesty, but first of all for self-defence, and secondly, in observance of their obligations. That he did not despair of peace, and trusted that it would be effected by the hand of the Almighty when mankind expected it the least. With regard to his departure, the Emperor replied that he would try and satisfy him; and concerning the rest of the business, that he hoped he would tell the whole truth to the Signory, who, being prudent and sage, as those madmen (*estos desvariados*) were so desirous of war, should let them wage it, the Republic looking on at their breaking each other's heads (*e vedere che si rompessero la testa fra loro*).

With these replies, the ambassadors took leave of the Emperor. On that same evening Lopez Hurtado went to the French and Florentine ambassadors, and to him (Navagero), who was thus informed that the Emperor gave them conditional permission to depart, they remaining at Pozza eight leagues from Burgos, until he received news of his own ambassadors; that he (Navagero) and his colleagues would be well treated in every respect; that he (Hurtado) would keep them company, and that on the morrow they were to depart; each being allowed to write an open letter from Pozza, demanding the despatch of the Imperial ambassadors, so that the ambassadors of the confederates might be enabled speedily to return home; that these letters would be transmitted by the Emperor, and that until the reply arrived, the ambassadors were to be at ease, and not trouble themselves about anything.

Being compelled to obey these commands, the French ambassadors, the Florentine, and himself departed all together on the 22nd January, in the midst of 40 infantry and 30 horse of the Imperial guard, being taken through Burgos like prisoners, and all their servants sent in advance, so that they could speak to no one. Some of the attendants who remained behind for part of the baggage were placed under custody of soldiers of the guard, who never quitted them until they reached Pozza. The night of the day on which they took leave of the Emperor at Burgos, the doors of all their houses were guarded, and yet stricter was the watch kept over them at Pozza.

The English ambassadors and the Milanese remained for the moment at Burgos.

On the morning of the 22nd [January], before the departure of the ambassadors, the French and English heralds declared war to the

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Emperor. What they said, the form adopted by them, and the Emperor's replies, were immediately translated into Spanish and printed with the title,

"El desafio de Francia y Inglaterra al Emperador."

Sends a copy of it to the Signory, believing that the document has not yet reached Italy. The Signory will thereby perceive the whole, and will be surprised at much insolent language which it contains, especially against Cardinal Wolsey.*

Compares his four months stay at Pozza to purgatory.

Lee and Ghinucci and the Milanese ambassador arrived at Pozza a month later, on the Emperor's departure from Burgos; whereupon the French ambassadors were sent to a fortified castle belonging to the [feudal] Lord of Pozza [Juan de Rojas], to be under closer custody. Some of the guards always slept in the antechamber of the Bishop of Tarbes, and remained during the day, to watch the ambassadors.

The Emperor having at length heard that his ambassador in France was at a short distance from Bayonne, sent a gentleman to Pozza, to take the French ambassadors, with their guards, to Fonterabia, there to exchange them for the Imperial ambassador.

His Majesty gave orders for the English ambassadors to go to the Court, or where they pleased, but under promise that neither they nor any of their attendants should depart without his leave. The Comendador Figueroa remained in charge of them,† it being said that the Emperor acted thus because the like had been done in England to his ambassador, whose departure thence was to precede that of Lee and Ghinucci from Spain.

Being set at liberty, quitted Pozza for Fonterabia, with the French and Florentine ambassadors, on the 19th May (1528). At Fonterabia‡ found a French herald, the bearer of a challenge from the most Christian King to the Emperor. Subsequently at Burgos, when war was proclaimed, the Emperor desired the French herald to tell his King he supposed the latter had not heard what he had said to the French ambassador, the President, at Granada, or King Francis would have answered him; wherefore the Emperor demanded a reply. The most Christian King, having heard the message (which purported that the Emperor would prove to him, man to man, that he had not kept the promise made to the Emperor at Madrid), now replies by his herald and accepts the combat, telling the Emperor to give him a free field, and that being the person challenged, he will come with such arms as shall seem fit to him.

Does not know how these projects can be realised, but they are current, and will furnish the world with a topic for a few days.

* This document is quoted by Dr. Lingard (History of England, vol. iv. pp. 244, 245, ed. London, 1854), who abridged it from Le Grand, III. 27–48.

† "Et in sua *compagnia* restò il Commendator Figueroa." Figueroa, of whose conduct Navagero made great complaint, had been charged with the safe custody of the French ambassadors and their colleagues; and therefore I infer that his companionship with Lee and Ghinucci was that of a gaoler.

‡ In Navagero's journal it appears that he and the French ambassadors arrived at Fonterabia on the 30th May 1528.

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The President [Calvimont] being at Pozza, on hearing what the Emperor had said to the herald about the words uttered at Granada, wrote to the Emperor that at the time, he did not communicate them to his King, because they appeared to him at variance with the negotiations for peace which were then being commenced; but as the Emperor now chose the message to be delivered, the President asked his permission to write it to his King, and told the Emperor the precise words which he remembered, requesting the Emperor, should they not be those uttered by him (and the President had in fact not remembered them correctly), to say himself what they were; whereupon the Emperor wrote a letter signed with his own hand, repeating not only the words in question, but others much stronger. The most Christian King has not yet received this letter; when he does, he will be yet more exasperated, and the passes between Spain and France will be daily frequented by heralds. Should it be possible to conclude this affair, it would be a rare sight to witness a duel between two such sovereigns.

At Bayonne met one Silvestro Dario, a Lucchese, sent by Cardinal Wolsey to Spain, with an envoy (*un homo*) from the Lady Margaret, to see whether at her request it would be possible to induce the Emperor to make peace. Dario was awaiting a safe-conduct, for which he had sent to the Emperor, and expressed strong hopes of producing some good effect.

Bayonne, 1st June 1528.

[*Italian.*]

June 7. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 4, St. Mark's Library.

292. GASPARO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Pope, to the SIGNORY.

Conversed with Cardinal Farnese, appointed Governor of Rome in lieu of Cardinal Campeggio, named Legate in England.

Viterbo, 7th June.

[*Italian*, 8½ *pages.*]

June 7. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 5, St. Mark's Library.

293. The SAME to the SAME.

Having closed the accompanying letter, received a message from the Pope, desiring his attendance between 5 and 6 p.m.* Found him in his chamber with the ambassadors of France, England, and Milan. The Cardinals Farnese and Ridolfi were also present. The Pope complained of the occupation by the Venetians of Ravenna and Cervia, and requested the allied powers to obtain their restitution. The French ambassador, Viscount de Turenne, replied that his King waged war in Italy without any profit for himself, but for all to recover their own, and he believed the Signory of Venice was of the same mind, and would satisfy his Holiness.

The English ambassador, Dr. Stephen [Gardyner], then said, in very strong language (*parole molto efficace*), that it was the firm intention of his King that those cities should be restored, and laid much stress on the fact that at the commencement, the Venetian

* By the general contents of this letter it appears that the audience of which it gives account took place on the 7th, Contarini having had his first private audience of the Pope on the 6th.

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ambassadors in France and England gave it to be understood that the Signory had taken them in trust for the Church.

Knelt before the Pope, and said that had he known how to execute the commission received from the Signory aright, this convocation of ambassadors would have been unnecessary; for that, although the State had great confidence in the most Christian King and in the English King, yet the Republic's confidence in his Holiness was such that they had not employed any other mediator than himself, he having yesterday stated the Signory's claims upon Ravenna and Cervia, and then besought the Pope that as by the favour of so many of his predecessors the Republic had possessed those cities for centuries, so he should consent to the Signory's possession of them; adding, he knew not of what particular [grievance] his Holiness could complain hitherto. The Pope said he made no complaint, but refused positively to grant the Republic's demand. Rejoined that the Signory had such confidence in his Holiness' wisdom and goodness as to expect he would satisfy them; whereupon the Pope answered,—"I said to you, and now repeat, that I choose no other mode, save that you restore those cities to me." Replied, "To this your Holiness' reply, which the Senate did not anticipate, I can give no answer, from lack of any commission, but will write for instructions; though in the meanwhile, before receiving them, I will observe that this assembly of ambassadors appeared to me unnecessary." The Pope said he had thought fit to make the communication that his will might be know to all the Powers; and the Milanese ambassador offered the assistance of his Duke; Cardinal Farnese urging the demand on behalf of the College of Cardinals. The Pope, in conclusion, desired him (Contarini) to obtain an immediate and positive reply, either yes or no.

When the Pope dismissed the assembly, the French ambassadors went to sup with Cardinal Ridolfi. Proceeded to the residence of Gardyner, who was much irritated about the business. Told him how undesirable it was to press the matter thus, as it would cause great suspicion to the Duke of Ferrara and the Florentines, to whose dominions the Pope chiefly aspired, most especially now that the Imperial army is powerful in Lombardy. To this Gardyner would not listen, disparaging the forces of those powers; and then said, "The Duke of Ferrara has his son in France." Replied, "That is nothing; the King of France likewise has two sons in Spain, and yet makes war." Gardyner rejoined, "By war the King of France hopes to recover them;" and was answered, "The Emperor can give similar hope, and yet greater, to the Duke of Ferrara, having in his hands the sons of the King of France."

Viterbo, 7th June.

[*Italian*, $3\frac{3}{4}$ *pages.*]

June 8. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 6, St. Mark's Library.

294. The SAME to the SAME.

Went to the French ambassadors about the affair of Ravenna and Cervia, and the obstinacy of the Pope with regard to the restitution of those places. Alluded to the eternal obligation of the Republic to their King. Said that the State would always acknowledge the recovery of those towns as proceeding from him, and that to moot

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June 8. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 6, at Siena. Library.

384. The Same to the Same.

Went to the French ambassadors about the affair of Ravenna and Cervia, and the obstinacy of the Pope with regard to the restitution of those places. Alluded to the eternal obligation of the Republic to their King. Said that the Signory would always acknowledge the recovery of those towns as proceeding from him, and that to most

1528. their surrender to the Pope at the present moment would alarm the Duke of Ferrara and the Florentines ; besides which the aggrandizement of the Pope might be injurious as well as unprofitable.

The ambassadors seemed little acquainted with the French King's intention, and complained that the English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] resident in Venice wrote to Viterbo, that he had been told by Doge Griti that the most Christian King did not choose Ravenna and Cervia to be restored, and therefore the State did not surrender. Assured them that Prothonotary Casal had written a falsehood, as the intention of the King to favour the Signory was a close secret, which no member of the privy council could divulge under pain of death and confiscation [of property]. The ambassadors declared the Pope was immoveable in this matter, and hinted that Ravenna and Cervia should be placed as a deposit in the hands of their King. Declined this proposal and stated the suspicion which any change would cause to the Florentines and to Ferrara.

On quitting the French ambassadors, visited those of England. Sir Gregory Casal was not at home, and he could only see Dr. Stephen [Gardyner], who urged the restitution on which the Pope insists. Gardyner had received letters from England, dated 24th May, and from France, the 30th, that a truce between Flanders, and France and England, was on the point of conclusion ; also that the most Christian King had pressed the ambassador Giustinian about the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia.

Viterbo, 8th June.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page.*]

June 8. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Filza 8.

295. The Doge and Senate to Sebastian Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in France.

The Bishop of Avranches* communicated a letter received from the most Christian King about Ravenna and Cervia, to the effect that the Signory had told the English ambassador, that his Majesty does not choose them to surrender (*non vuol che noi habiamo a restituir*) Ravenna and Cervia, and that he would combine with the King of England not to oppose them. To assure his Majesty that such words were not uttered, although their whole reliance in this business rests on what was said to the Venetian ambassador by the most Christian King and "Madame," his mother, and lately by the Lord Steward.

[*Italian.*]

June 12. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 53.

296. Audience in the College Hall.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] presented himself. He had letters from Viterbo, dated the 7th. He produced one from his brother, the English ambassador, Sir Gregory, who gives the same account as received from the Signory's ambassador about Ravenna and Cervia. Sir Gregory uses his good offices, but the Pope chooses to have the towns.

[*Italian.*]

* French ambassador in Venice, by name Jean Langeac. He succeeded Canossa, who was, however, still in Venice on the 28th August, 1528. (See Manara, "*Intorno alla vita ed alle gesta del Conte Lodovico di Canossa*," p. 19.)

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June 13.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Filza 8.

297. The DOGE and SENATE to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France.

Their ambassador to the Pope had been twice with his Holiness explaining the Signory's reasons, according to enclosed copy, and in conformity with what was told them by the ambassadors of France and England resident in Venice. The Pope's replies were contrary to their expectations, and harsh.

[*Italian.*]

June 14.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File 11.

298. The DOGE and COLLEGE to MARC' ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Have received letters from their ambassador, announcing his conference with the Pope, whose reply causes them regret; but still hope that after considering the Signory's reasons, according to enclosed copy, to be communicated in conversation to the King and Cardinal, his Holiness will do what is just, for the following reasons. The Republic succoured and defended Bologna and other cities of Romagna, which would otherwise have fallen into the hands of the Imperialists. They have on every occasion employed all their power for the benefit of the Apostolic See, at a cost of two millions and a half of gold, which outlay they are yet continuing, and they deserve favour from the Pope. If for so many consecutive years with the consent of former Popes they held Ravenna and Cervia (the former city having been ceded them upwards of a century ago by the late Lord Obizzo da Polenta, 400 years having then elapsed since its occupation by the Popes; whilst Cervia passed to the Republic by the will of the Lord Domenico Malatesta, on condition of their paying legacies *ad pias causas*, on which account they have disbursed, and continue disbursing, considerable sums), they ought not to receive less from the [present] Pope, with whom they are so closely allied. Are certain this is well known to the King and Cardinal, who are aware whether the Signory has greatly benefited the undertaking. The State hopes therefore that the King and Cardinal will not fail to assist the Signory, so that the Pope may be pacified.

The enemy's re-enforcements from Germany have entered Peschiera, plundered some of the Signory's places on the Lake of Garda, traversed the Brescian territory and the Oglio, and entered the Bergamasque to attack Bergamo; Antonio da Leva having also crossed the Adda with part of the Milanese garrison to join them. The Signory having put 7,500 infantry into Bergamo, the enemy retreated towards the Ghiara d'Adda, in the direction of Cremona; but on their passing the Po, Antonio da Leva, with his own forces and part of those lately arrived from Germany, recrossed the Adda, and is supposed to be marching on Genoa. The city of Naples was closely besieged by Mons. de Lautrec. The Venetian fleet was employed by him to blockade the city.

The Signory is much inconvenienced by its unbearable expenditure, as follows:—60,000 ducats monthly for 17,000 infantry; 15,000 ducats per quarter (*per quartier*) for 800 men-at-arms, which, including the Captain General's board, form 20,000 ducats per quarter.

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The cost of the Lansquenets and Switzers with M. de Lautrec amounts to 20,252 ducats. The Lansquenets and other troops in the Republic's pay at Naples cost 10,000 ducats per month, besides the cost of the fleet and very many other extraordinary expenses, including that of 5,000 Lansquenets whom the most Christian King is sending them, for whose first payment they remitted 18,000 crowns to Lyons. Are sending a like sum to Ivrea for the second payment, and in a few days must provide for the third; having also been compelled to assist the Duke of Milan with 26,000 crowns.

To acquaint the King and Cardinal in the Signory's name with this heavy expenditure, and exhort them to aid the undertaking, to the glory of the King of England, in which Cardinal Wolsey will participate.

[*Italian.*]

June 14. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 8, St. Mark's Library.

299. GASPARO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Pope, to the SIGNORY.

The departure of the French Ambassador, the Viscount of Turenne, on his way to the Signory was most secret. The English ambassador, Dr. Stephen [Gardyner] is also going to Venice, and merely awaited the arrival of Cardinal Campeggio, which took place this day, he being on his road to England as Legate; the Pope having charged him and Cardinal Wolsey to take cognizance of the suit for the dispensation of the King's marriage (*commessa la cognitione della causa della dispensa del matrimonio del Re*).

Dr. Stephen is very warm in doing his utmost that Ravenna and Cervia be restored to the Pope.

Viterbo, 14th June.

[*Italian, 2¼ pages.*]

June 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. pp. 205, 206.

300. TRUCE between ENGLAND, FRANCE, and CHARLES V.

Proclamation of the eight months truce between France, England, and the Emperor, with especial mention of the Archduchess Margaret, and the herring fishery.

No date either at commencement or close, but in the text it is stated that the truce is to commence on the 15th June, while hostilities should still continue between England and Spain.

Registered by Sanuto, 16th July.

[*Italian.*]

June 16. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 9, St. Mark's Library.

301. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday visited Cardinal Campeggio, who, when talking about his departure for England, said they had written to Genoa for two galleys to be sent to one of the harbours nearest Viterbo, for his conveyance to Marseilles; so he is awaiting a reply. He has endeavoured to make this arrangement because, in addition to the many inconveniences to which a land journey would subject him, he does not know how he could escape the Imperialists, going as he is to England for the purpose announced; general belief anticipating a result which will perhaps not be verified.

1528.

The Bishop of Scardona said all "these" Cardinals are hostile to the Republic, and that he had seen letters from England that the King is negotiating peace between the Emperor and France, to the detriment of Venice. Attaches small importance to his words.

Conversed this morning with the English ambassador, Dr. Stephen, who said he had heard from the Bishop of Bath in France that he was to go to Venice with the Viscount of Turenne, to urge the Signory to restore Cervia and Ravenna to the Pope; he therefore proposed going, but doubted finding the Viscount there. Adroitly endeavoured to dissuade him from taking the journey.

Spoke also with Sir Gregory Casal, showing him how disadvantageous for the common cause it was (at the present moment) to molest the Signory, on whose shoulders the whole burden of the war now rested. Casal promised to influence Gardyner for Venice, but said the Pope was urging him to the contrary.

The Pope had told him that a truce was being negotiated with Flanders, and that the King of England would contribute from 30,000 to 40,000 crowns per month for the Italian expedition.

The Pope also mentioned the dispensation of the marriage demanded by the King of England, discussing the arguments *pro* and *con*, and said that for this business he had destined Cardinal Campeggio, who was a good jurist, had experience of England, and was in the Emperor's confidence, and that he would perhaps make the English King understand the truth, and effect some adjustment.*

Viterbo, 16th June.

[*Italian*, 4¼ *pages.*]

June 17. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 10, St. Mark's Library.

302. The SAME to the SAME.

The English ambassador, Dr. Stephen, proceeds to Venice. The Archbishop of Capua [Nicholas Schomberg] counsels the Pope to be neutral.

Viterbo, 17th June.

[*Italian*, ½ *page.*]

June 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 81.

303. AUDIENCE in the COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador had audience of the College. He discussed current events, and then departed.

[*Italian.*]

June 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 98.

304. AUDIENCE in the COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador came into the College on private business of an Englishman, creditor of Zuan Contarini the Exorcist (*cazadiavoli*), (who is going as Proveditor of the fleet,) for 300 ducats on a bill of exchange. An order was issued for Contarini to appear before the College.

[*Italian.*]

* In the original: "Me disse etiam circa la dispensa del matrimonio che ricerchava il Re Anglico, et qui mi discorse le ragione che pro et contra si dicevano, alla qual impresa havea destinato il Revmo Campegio, il quale era bon jurista, era pratico de Engelterra et confidente di Cesare, il quale forsi faria intendere la verità al Re Anglico et ponerebbe qualche assettamento. Questo è quanto ho habuto da Sua Santità degno di notitia."

1528.
June 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 180.

305. Marco Antonio Venier to the Signory.

The King has made truce for a year with Flanders.

London, 20th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 22. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Filza 8.

306. Reply of the Senate to the French Ambassadors, the Viscount of Turenne and the Bishop of Avranches.

On receiving the Pope's reply, wrote to the Signory's ambassadors in France and England, to acquaint their Majesties with the Republic's reasons. Trust they will induce the Pope to make some fair adjustment.

Ayes, 104.

[*Italian.*]

June 22. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 11, St. Mark's Library.

307. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Consigned his last letters of the 17th to Dr. Stephen, who at length determined to go to Venice. Of those letters he (Contarini) now sends duplicates.

Viterbo, 17th June.

[*Italian, ½ page.*]

June 23. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 12, St. Mark's Library.

308. The Same to the Same.

Sir Gregory Casal has shown him a letter from Andrea Doria, dated the 20th, apologizing for his inability to accommodate Cardinal Campeggio with the two galleys for his voyage to Marseilles, as he had only one with him, and could not dispose of the one belonging to the most Christian King, as all were under the command of Mons. de Barbesieux; but stating that in the middle of next month Count Filippino Doria was to return with his eight galleys, of which the Cardinal might then avail himself. The paragraph was so worded as to show that Andrea Doria is dissatisfied with the most Christian King; so Sir Gregory Casal strongly suspects that he will take service with the Imperialists, or at the least with the Pope, which would be inopportune for the present need.

Viterbo, 23rd June.

[*Italian, 1½ page.*]

June 23. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 13, St. Mark's Library.

309. The Same to the Council of Ten.

Sir Gregory Casal told him a great rascal,* Sigismund of Ferrara, in the service of Georgio Fronsperg, was coming to speak to the Pope in the name of the Imperialists now at Monte Fiascone, and that it would be well (as his road lay through the duchy of Urbino) to write to the Duchess to seize him on the way. This morning Casal, the French secretary, and himself spoke to the agent from Urbino, who promised to write to the Duchess. Having written his letter, finds Sigismund of Ferrara has arrived at Viterbo; so the trouble taken about him has proved vain.

Viterbo, 23rd June.

[*Italian, 1 page.*]

* "*Un gran gioto.*" See Pulci Morgante Maggiore, Canto 1, St. 37. "*Che pensi tu* Ghiotton, *gittar quel sasso.*"

1528.
June 24.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 120.

310. NOTE by SANUTO.

Last evening an ambassador from the King of England, named Doctor Stephen [Gardyner], an Englishman, who was at Viterbo with the Pope with Sir Gregory Casal, arrived at Venice. He came riding post. He was lodged in Cà Dandolo at the *Ponte della Paglia*, with the other English ambassador, Prothonotary Casal. Eleven noblemen in scarlet gowns were sent to bring him to audience. The two ambassadors together came into the College, Casal being on the right hand; and they demanded audience in the presence of the Chiefs of the Ten.

[*Italian.*]

June 27.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Filza 8.

311. The DOGE and SENATE to GASPARO CONTARINI, Ambassador at the Papal Court.

Arrival at Venice of Dr. Stephen [Gardyner], ambassador from the English King.

Ayes, 166. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

June 27.
Original Letter Book, Letter No. 14, St. Mark's Library.

312. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Sigismund of Ferrara, having departed on his way to Naples, has been captured and placed in an Orsini castle.

Does not know who contrived this plot. This morning the Pope told him he suspected Sir Gregory Casal and the French ambassador. The Pope seems to have taken this affair much amiss, and said that as yet he did not know where they had put Sigismund, but that he was making enquiry, and would have him released.

Viterbo, 27th June.

[*Italian,* 3¾ *pages.*]

June 30.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 243.

313. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The eight months truce between the Emperor, the most Christian King, and the King of England has been concluded, so that henceforth commerce may be carried on in those countries. Sends the articles of the truce.

London, 30th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 3.
Original Letter Book, Letter no. 18, St. Mark's Library.

314. GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Sigismund of Ferrara was in reality seized by Sir Gregory Casal, who tells him (Contarini) that he will be taken to Mons. de Lautrec.

On his person many letters were found, addressed to the captains at Naples. Those from Fronsperg were in German; the others purport that if the troops are to march out of Lombardy, they must have at least 100,000 crowns, payable at Naples.

The Neapolitan Mosetola, ambassador resident with the Pope at Viterbo, also writes to the Prince of Orange that he must not let the money reach Antonio da Leva, who is not to be trusted. There

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were also passports and credentials from the Pope in favour of this Sigismund.

Viterbo, 3rd July.

[*Italian*, 1 *page*.]

July 5. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 19, St. Mark's Library.

315. The SAME to the SIGNORY.

The Bishop of Bath has forwarded to Sir Gregory Casal two autograph letters addressed to the Pope, one from King Francis himself, the other from Madame.

Viterbo, 5th July.

[*Italian*, 1¾ *page*.]

July 5. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 21, St. Mark's Library.

316. The SAME to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Has received from Sir Gregory Casal copies of two letters, intercepted in the hands of Sigismund of Ferrara (one from the Duke of Brunswick, the other from Antonio de Leva), which he encloses. Casal requests secrecy on account of the Pope, and hesitated to give the letters, saying that secrecy was not observed at Venice. Promised they would be kept secret. Casal showed him a stale letter from the Prothonotary, his brother, at Venice, justifying himself and Sir Gregory, who denied the Prothonotary's having written to the effect that the Signory informed him that the French King did not urge the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia.

Viterbo, 5th July.

[*Italian*, 1 *page*.]

July 5. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 21, St. Mark's Library.

317. The SAME to the SAME.

Sir Gregory Casal last evening presented the Pope with the letters from the most Christian King and "Madame." After his Holiness had read them he said, "We shall now see what the Venetians will say to this." Sir Gregory did not interrogate the Pope farther.

Viterbo, 5th July.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page*.]

July 16. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 26, St. Mark's Library.

318. The SAME to the SIGNORY.

Sir Gregory Casal, on hearing that the French fleet had arrived at Corneto, went thither to provide galleys for Cardinal Campeggio, who has been appointed to go to England for the affair of the marriage.

The evening before last Casal returned. Heard from him that the Signory's galley, "the *Pisana*," had arrived there, having on board Dom. Leonard Romulo, a French gentleman, sent by Lautrec to Andrea Doria at Lerice.

Cardinal Campeggio departs hence on Sunday next, the 19th. Andrea Doria's affairs with France are not yet arranged.

Viterbo, 16th July.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages*.]

1528.
July 18. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 27, St. Mark's Library.

319. The SAME to the SAME.

To-day Pietro Pisani, commander of the "*Bastardella*" galley which conveyed Leonard Romulo to Corneto, arrived. He had been requested to give a passage to Cardinal Campeggio on his way to England, and asked his (Contarini's) orders. Answered he thought he should take the Cardinal as far as the waters of Genoa, for by so doing he would oblige the Pope, the King of England, and the Cardinal himself; otherwise the Pope and the King would have cause to complain of a refusal. The galley would go with greater safety to the waters of Genoa, because the Cardinal would be convoyed by the three galleys of the order of Rhodes. A supply of biscuit (*pan*) required by Pisani has been ordered. On the morrow of its arrival Cardinal Campeggio will quit Viterbo with Romulo, and embark under convoy of the three other galleys ordered by the Pope; and at a little distance he expects to find two French galleys, under the command of Andrea Doria, of which the Cardinal will avail himself as far as Provence.

Viterbo, 18th July.

[*Italian, 4 pages.*]

July 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 282.

320. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

On account of the plague no business is transacted. The King and Cardinal have departed. Nothing of importance.

London, 20th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 21. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 31, St. Mark's Library.

321. GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Has been told by Sir Gregory Casal and the Cardinal of Mantua that the Pope said that Andrea Doria would act according to his wishes; thereupon urged the Pope to take him into his service. The Pope excused himself on the plea of not having the means; and they were at length compelled to obtain a promise from several merchants to supply the Pope with 40,000 crowns, the merchants receiving security thus,—from the Cardinal of Mantua, 15,000 crowns; from Cardinal San. Severino, 17,000; the residue being supplied by Sir Gregory Casal and other Bolognese, his friends.

Viterbo, 21st July.

[*Italian, ½ page.*]

July 21. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 30, St. Mark's Library.

322. The SAME to the SIGNORY.

In reply to the demand made for two galleys to convey Cardinal Campeggio to Marseilles, Doria writes that not only two, but four, shall be at the Cardinal's orders.

Cardinal Campeggio says he shall depart for Corneto early on Thursday.

Viterbo, 21st July.

[*Italian, 4½ pages.*]

1528.
July 23.
Original Letter Book, Letter no. 32, St. Mark's Library.

323. The SAME to the SAME.

The Abbate Negro, sent to the Pope by Andrea Doria, has arrived. Saw him in the Pope's chamber. Andrea Doria has sent an agent to Spain with the articles of agreement, and goes to Gaeta to await the reply; so he might be considered as having taken service with the Emperor. The Pope said that for twelve galleys Andrea Doria demanded 60,000 crowns per annum, and bank security in Italy for payment every two months; also that Andrea Doria had sent 30 naval commanders to officer the eight galleys at Barcelona, and that the three or four galleys in Sicily would render the Emperor strong at sea.

Sir Gregory Casal will accompany Cardinal Campeggio on board the galley as far as Leghorn.

Viterbo, 23rd July.

[*Italian*, 3¼ *pages.*]

July 27.
Original Letter Book, Letter no. 33, St. Mark's Library.

324. The SAME to the SAME.

This morning the Pope said to him, "At first I complained of you alone, I now complain of the French and English together with you; but, please God—in whom I hope—I shall get the cities back."

Gave him fair words, which seemed to take no effect, but he did not get into a passion as on former occasions; though the French ambassador tells him (Contarini) that when he was exhorting his Holiness to declare himself for the League, the Pope replied, "The Venetians do not choose it, they retain what belongs to me;" and then added, "Rely on it, that one of two things will come to pass, either I shall ruin myself utterly, or I shall ruin them."

Viterbo, 27th July.

[*Italian*, 4½ *pages.*]

July 27
Senato Mar., v. xxi. p. 98.

325. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Put to the ballot, that there be given to Lodovico Falier, ambassador elect to England, as subsidy for four months, at the rate of 140 golden ducats per month, 560 golden ducats.

Also for horses, as a gift, as usual, 150 ducats, at the rate of six livres four soldi per ducat, and 50 ducats as a gift for the secretary, according to the decree of the Council of Ten; and for coverings and trunks, 30 ducats; also for two couriers, 40 ducats. Moreover, that the ambassador elect may take silver utensils at the Signory's risk to the value of 400 ducats.

Ayes, 141. Noes, 15. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 15 *lines.*]

July 28.
Navagero Despatches, Cicogna Copy, in the Correr Museum.

326. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

Has been told by the Bishop of Tarbes, that Silvestro Dario, who was sent to Spain by Cardinal Wolsey, with an envoy from the Lady Margaret, had reached the Emperor. Hopes that his mission

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July 23.
Original Letter Book, Letter no. 23, St. Mark's Library.

323. The SAME to the SAME.

The Albuzio Negro, sent to the Pope by Andrea Doria, has arrived. Saw him in the Pope's chamber. Andrea Doria has sent an agent to Spain with the articles of agreement, and does not doubt to await the reply; so he might be considered as having taken service with the Emperor. The Pope said that for twelve galleys Andrea Doria demanded 60,000 scudi per annum, and hard money in Italy for payment every two months; also that Andrea Doria had sent 30 naval commanders to officer the eight galleys at Barcelona, and that the three or four galleys in Sicily would render the Emperor strong at sea.

Sir Gregory Casal will accompany Cardinal Campeggio on board the galley as far as Leghorn.

Viterbo, 23rd July.

[Italian, 34 pages.]

July 27.
Original Letter Book, Letter no. 33, St. Mark's Library.

324. The SAME to the SAME.

This morning the Pope said to him, "At first I complained of you alone, I now complain of the French and English together with you; but, please God—in whom I hope—I shall get the other back."

Gave him fair words, which seemed to take no effect, but he did not get into a passion as on former occasions; though the French ambassador tells him (Contarini) that when he was soliciting his Holiness to declare himself for the League the Pope replied, "The Venetians do not choose it, they retain what belongs to me;" and then added, "Rely on it, that one of two things will come to pass, either I shall ruin myself utterly, or I shall ruin them."

Viterbo, 27th July.

[Italian, 44 pages.]

July 27.
Senato Mar., 7, 221, p. 93.

325. ENMASSY to HENRY.

Put to the ballot, that there be given to Tadeuzio Peltier, embassador elect to England, as subsidy for four months, at the rate of 140 golden ducats per month, 560 golden ducats.

Also for horses, as a gift as usual, 150 ducats, at the rate of six livres four solidi per ducat, and 50 ducats as a gift for the secretary, according to the decree of the Council of Ten, and for coverings and trunks, 30 ducats; also for two corgeres, 40 ducats. Moreover, that the ambassador elect may take silver utensils at the Signory's risk to the value of 400 ducats.

Ayes, 141. Noes, 13. Neutrals, 0.

[Italian, 15 lines.]

July 29.
Navagero Despatches. Copy, in the Correr Museum.

326. AYMERI NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

Has been told by the Bishop of Tarbes, that Silvestre Darly, who was sent to Spain by Cardinal Wolsey, with an envoy from the Lady Margaret, had reached the Emperor. Hopes that his mission

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will succeed.* One Montfort, a gentleman of the Emperor's chamber, who had been sent by his Majesty to England, on the declaration of war in Spain, to dissuade King Henry from being hostile to the Emperor, has arrived lately in Paris from the Lady Margaret.

Subsequently Montfort returned to the Lady Margaret, who now sends him back to the Emperor. He has had a safeconduct to pass through France, and went lately to Fontainebleau to speak to the King.

Paris, 28th July 1528.

[*Italian.*]

July 30. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 34, St. Mark's Library.

327. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On going to the Court this morning, found the Pope in the garden with the secretary Sanga, who had just arrived, on his return from Andrea Doria, at Lerice. The Pope conversed with him for a long while, and then commenced reciting the "office," walking about the garden. Thereupon went up to Sanga, from whom he heard that Andrea Doria has already sent to Spain to stipulate his engagement with the Emperor. Asked Sanga about the Pisana galley, on board of which are Cardinal Campeggio, Sir Gregory Casal, and the Captain Leonard Romulo; he said the vessel was perfectly safe, assurance to this effect having been given him by Andrea Doria.

The only hope of retaining Andrea Doria was the rejection of his terms by the Emperor, as he asks bank security in Italy for 120,000 crowns for two years, at the rate of 60,000 per annum, to be paid him every two months in advance.

Viterbó, 30th July.

[*Italian, 6 pages.*]

Aug. 2. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 35, St. Mark's Library.

328. The SAME to the SAME.

The Genoese merchants at Viterbo announce the acceptance by the Emperor of the challenge to fight the most Christian King, and he has appointed the spot on the river of Bayonne, on the borders of the two kingdoms.

Viterbo, 2nd August.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

Aug. 2. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Filza 8.

329. REPLY of the SIGNORY to the FRENCH AMBASSADORS, Viscount of Turenne and Bishop of Avranches.

Delayed making the necessary announcement concerning Ravenna and Cervia, because having written their reasons to England and their ambassador in France, they awaited a reply; especially as in date of the 18th ult., the Signory's ambassador in England writes he

* In an autograph letter written by Sebastian Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in France, date 1st December 1528, addressed to Francesco Contarini, it is stated that Dario was then riding post on his way to England (from France), well disposed towards the affairs of the League. (See Cicogna, *Delle Inscrizioni Veneziane*, vol. vi. p. 278.)

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had been unable to state their reasons to the King and Cardinal, because they admitted neither ambassadors nor others, from suspicion of the plague.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 36, St. Mark's Library.

330. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

As yet nothing whatever is heard of the Pisani galley and Cardinal Campeggio, but from hour to hour return news* may be expected.

Viterbo, 6th August.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 296.

331. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in Florence, to the SIGNORY.

The English ambassador, Sir Gregory Casal, D. Romulo, Lautrec's envoy, and Sanga, the Pope's ambassador, having been to [Andrea] Doria to exhort him to remain in the service of the most Christian King, he replied that he would not do so; and when urged to engage himself to the Pope, he said he would be entirely Imperial. It seems he has hoisted the Emperor's colours.

Florence, 7th August.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X.

332. DECREE of the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

Lodovico Falier, elected ambassador to England, to receive as subvention for four months, 560 golden ducats; also 150 ducats, at the rate of six livres and four soldi per ducat, for horses; also 50 ducats as a gift for the secretary, according to the Act passed by the Council of Ten; also for coverings and trunks, 30 ducats; and for two couriers, at the rate of 20 ducats each, 40 ducats; forming a total of 830 ducats.

On the expiration of three months after his departure the Treasurer of this Council to pay monthly to the ambassador's agent in Venice, 140 ducats, as one month's salary in advance. And to defray the costs of couriers, boats, escorts, and guides, he is to receive 200 golden ducats, of which he is to keep a particular account.

Ayes, 25. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 37, St. Mark's Library.

333. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On the 9th Sir Gregory Casal and D. Joan Joachin [Passano] arrived here. Casal quitted the Pisani galley at Leghorn; Cardinal Campeggio having already disembarked off Piombino, and embarked with the galleys of Rhodes for Provence.

D. Joan Joachin [Passano] quitted France on the 17th ult., and after conferring with Mons. de S. Pol proceeded to Genoa and from thence to Lerice, to Andrea Doria, where he met D. Leonard Romulo. Joan Joachin and Romulo then went to Florence where they found Sir Gregory Casal, who with Joachin rode post hither. Casal has got a tertian ague. Romulo and Joachin having asked

* "*Nova di ritorno.*"

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Andrea Doria for a safeconduct for the galley, and for 50,000 ducats he would not give it, telling them that should a commission arrive from his master, after signing the agreement, he was bound to obey him; wherefore the galley should depart and the 50,000 ducats be transmitted by land.

With regard to Andrea Doria they utterly despair of detaching him from the Emperor. Doria has entertained this project from a design to rule his country,* so he does not scruple to desert King Francis, (to whom he is bound for four years, having served him but for one,) regardless of being a Knight of St. Michael and his Majesty's subject.

Doria says Naples is provisioned until the 10th of September; that ere then he expects to receive from Spain the confirmation of his agreement. He expects to have 25 sail, and purposes entering Naples. Should the fleets of Venice and France dispute his passage, he intends to give them battle, as he holds the Venetian galleys in very small account, nor has he a very high opinion of those of France.

Viterbo, 11th August.

[*Italian*, 6¾ *pages.*]

Aug. 12. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 38, St. Mark's Library.

334. The SAME to the SAME.

The Nuncio in Spain, Baldassar Castiglione, states that the defiance of the King of France and the Emperor was advancing, under consultation with all the Grandees of Spain, and according to their counsel.

Viterbo, 12th August.

[*Italian*, 3½ *pages.*]

Aug. 18. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. File 2.

335. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

As it would be perilous to allude in the Senate to the 100,000 crowns contributed to the most Christian King by the King of England, and to the half of the revenues of the kingdom [of Naples], the Senate not being acquainted with the intercepted letters of Mons. de Lautrec,—Put to the ballot, that the letters concerning those two particulars be merely proposed in the first place to the Senate, but the replies to be decided in this Council.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 21. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. pp. 356, 358.

336. —— to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

Six thousand Lansquenets are in Burgundy on their march to Italy. Madame Margaret, after the truce stipulated with the French and English, had turned her forces against the Duke of Guelders, to whom the most Christian King had sent troops as succour. His Majesty has been much disturbed by the determination of Andrea Doria, and complains of it beyond measure. He sent immediately to Britanny, to fit out as large a fleet as possible, with orders for it to steer towards Italy.

* "*Nè mosso per beneficio de la patria sua, nè per le cose di Savona, ma per un disegnio che luj ha di farsi grande et dominar la sua patria.*"

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News had been received at the French Court that the disease of the sweat in England had greatly diminished; and, so far as could be seen, the King still persevered in his usual opinion about the divorce.

Andrea Doria has not yet quitted Civita Vecchia. Some thought he would go to Rome* to kiss the Pope's foot, but from what is heard, he no longer intends to do so.

Viterbo, 21st August. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 324.

337. AUDIENCE in the COLLEGE HALL.

Before 9 a.m., the two French ambassadors, and also the ambassador from England, came into the College Hall, and requested the reply concerning the restitution to the Pope of Ravenna and Cervia, according to instructions from their sovereigns. The Doge said he would endeavour to give an answer in the course of the day, and with this they departed.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 329.

338. DISCUSSION in the SENATE.

Debate concerning the reply to the ambassadors of France and England, relative to restoring Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 331.

339. AUDIENCE in the COLLEGE HALL.

The two ambassadors from France, the Viscount of Turenne and the Bishop of Avranches [Jean Langeac], and the English ambassador, Prothonotary Casal, came into the College early.

The Doge told them it had been resolved to answer them in the form which would be then read, whereupon Zuan Jacomo Caroldo read the reply.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Navagero Despatches, Cicogna copy, in the Correr Museum.

340. ANDREA NAVAGERO to the SIGNORY.

Cardinal Campeggio, who is on his way to England, has arrived at Lyons, where he will remain for a few days, being indisposed.

Went to see him, and by his conversation understood he does not go determined to comply with the English King's demand, but will endeavour to change the King's present intention.†

Lyons, 29th August 1528.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Filza 8.

341. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

On the 22nd inst. acquainted him with the demand made of them by the Viscount of Turenne for a reply concerning Ravenna and Cervia, as he had determined to return to the Pope. Answered him

* The Pope quitted Viterbo for Rome on the 5th October 1528, as announced to the Signory by Gasparo Contarini.

† "Che non va risoluto di contentar il Re d'Inghilterra di quanto dimanda; anzi ch'è per travagliar di rimoverlo dalla opinione che ha."

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as by enclosed copy, although they would have wished for advices from England before doing so. In this reply, endeavoured to display moderation, in accordance with the conferences held with the most Christian King by him (the ambassador). Caused their reply to be read to the Viscount and the Bishop of Avranches, the English ambassador being present. The language used by each of them expressed satisfaction, and the Viscount departed on his way to the Pope.

Ayes, 174. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 45, St. Mark's Library.

342. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Sir Gregory Casal is now convalescent, and has removed to a place above the town for change of air.

Viterbo, 29th August.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page.*]

Sept. 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 403.

343. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The Duke of Guelders has defeated the troops of Flanders, who were besieging a certain town. 2,000 barefooted Spaniards had arrived in Flanders.

London, 1st of September. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 348.

344. AUDIENCE in the COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador came about a certain benefice obtained by him in the Venetian territory.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. pp. 41–44.

345. The PROPOSED SINGLE COMBAT between FRANCIS I. and CHARLES V.

Public notarial instrument, witnessed on the 16th September 1528, in Paris, by the Cardinal Legate Salviati; Dom. Hercules of Este, Duke of Chartres and Count of Gisors, eldest son of the Duke of Ferrara; Dr. John Clerk, Bishop of Bath, John Tayler, vice-chancellor of England, and Sir Francis Bryan,* ambassadors from the King of England; Giovanni Statilio, Bishop of Alba,† ambassador from Transylvania and Hungary; Sebastian Giustinian, Knight, ambassador from the Doge and Signory of Venice, and Hironimo Canal, his secretary; Dom. de Taberna, LL.D, ambassador from the Duke of Milan; and Julian de Soderini, Bishop Xanctonensi (*sic*), ambassador from the community of Florence;—which instrument is of the following tenour.

On the 10th of September 1528, the King being in the great hall of his palace at Paris, on a platform, in sumptuous array (*come in el*

* In vol. vii. State Papers (p. 93), it appears that on the 24th August 1528, Sir Francis Bryan was at Boulogne, on his way to Paris, to meet Cardinal Campeggio.

† "*Albensi Transilvaniæ Ongariæ.*" Query, Alba Reale, *alias* Sturk Weissenburg. This Bishop was probably ambassador from Zapolski, the competitor of Ferdinand, King of Hungary.

1528. *suo trono*) as on his throne, and accompanied thus:—First of all on his right hand, seated on chairs, were the King of Navarre, Duke of Alençon and of Berri, Count of Foix and Armagnac; and on the same side, on a bench, the Duke of Vendôme, Peer of France, Lieutenant General and Governor of Picardy; Dom. Hercules of Este, youthful son of the Duke of Ferrara, Duke of Chartres and Montargis; the Duke of Albany, Regent and Governor of Scotland; the Duke of Longueville, Lord Chamberlain; and near them on another bench the president and counsellors of the court of Parliament, and behind them many gentry and men of letters. On the other hand, seated on chairs alike, the Papal Legate Cardinal Salviati; the Cardinal of Bourbon; Bishop and Duke of Laon, Peer of France; the Cardinal of Sens, Chancellor of France; the Cardinal of Lorraine, Archbishop of Narbonne; the ambassadors of the King of England, Defender of the Faith; the ambassadors of the King of Scotland, the ambassadors of the Signory of Venice, the ambassadors of the League of Upper Germany, and the ambassadors of the Signory of Florence. On another bench were the Bishop of Transylvania, ambassador from the King of Hungary, the Bishop and Duke of Langres (*sic*), Peer of France; the Bishop Count of Noyon, Peer of France; the Archbishop of Lyons, Primate of Gaul (*de Galia*); the Archbishop of Bourges, Primate of Aquitaine; the Archbishops of Auch and Rouen; the Bishops of Paris, Meaux, Lisieux, Macon, Limoges, Unbres (*sic*), Ansduarus (*sic*), and Tarbes; and near them were the Masters of Requests and councillors of the Grand Council. At the foot of the King's throne stood the Grand Master and Marshal of France, Count of Altro-more [Outremer],* and Mons. de Brion, Admiral of France, Lieutenant General and Governor of Burgundy; and behind the throne were many knights of the order [of St. Michael], including Mons. d'Aubigni [Robert Stewart], Captain of 100 spears and of the Scottish Guard; the Count de Brion; Monsr. de Fleuranges, Marshal of France,† Louis, Duke of Cleves, the Count of Carpi, and others; behind whom were the Count d'Etampes, Provost of Paris, and many other gentlemen of the King's chamber; and near them were the Count of Tremouille; Mons. de Guimene, son of the Count de Rosaii (*sic*); the son of Mons. de Fleuranges; Mons. de la Roche; Mons. Donasti (*sic*), Grand Master of the Meres and Forests; Mons. de Lude, etc., etc.; besides whom there were the steward of the pantry, officials, cup-bearers, seneschals, carvers, and other domestic attendants in great number, and 200 gentlemen of the King's household, besides many others. On the edge of the platform stood the captains of the guard, and the Provost of the palace; and in front of the King's throne, each with one knee on the ground, were the grooms of the chamber. At the foot of the steps of the platform were the provosts of the merchants and the sheriffs of the city of Paris; and in the lower part of the hall (*a basso di la sala*), the doors of which remained open the whole time, a multitude of people of divers nations.

The Emperor's herald entered, clad in his coat (*cotta*) of arms, accompanied by Mons. de Monchini [Moncheney], Chief Steward

* Anne de Montmorenci.
† Author of Mémoirs, 1503–1521.

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of the household; by Mons. de Nansti (*sic*) of the Guard; by Messrs. de Pompadour and Morgni, and by several heralds of France, of Denmark, and of Scotland, who were then at the Court.

To this herald from the Emperor elect, the King said,—

"Herald! dost bring the security for the battle field, such as a challenger like thy master should give to a defender like myself." The herald replied, "Sire! be pleased to give me leave to perform my office." Thereupon the King rejoined, "Give me the patent for the battle field, and I will then give thee leave to say whatever thou wishest on the part of thy master." The herald then said, "His most sacred Majesty;" and again the King exclaimed, "Show me the patent for the battle field, for I imagine the Emperor to be as noble a Prince as he styles himself, and incapable of such great hypocrisy as to send thee without this security for the battle field, after what I sent to tell him; and this thou knowest well, for my safeconduct states that thou art to bring this security." The herald replied that he thought he was bringing what would satisfy the King, who continued—"Herald! give me the patent for the field, give it me, and if sufficient I accept it, and then thou shalt say what thou wilt." The herald replied that he was commanded by his master not to give anything until he had first of all said certain things according to his instructions. The King then rejoined, "Thy master cannot lay down law in France; and things have come to such a pass that there is no longer need of words, and thou must be aware that I did not send thy master words by herald; but what I announced to him was in writing, signed in my own hand, which needs no other reply than this security for the field; without which I have determined not to give thee audience, as thou mightest say things which would be denied thee; whereas my speech and battle do not concern thee, but solely the Emperor."*

The herald then asked the King to give him a safeconduct to return, which the King consented to do, having spoken to the herald precisely as above; and then he called me, Giberto Bayard, Seigneur de Neuville, Viscount Montague, his councillor, notary, and secretary of State and of his chamber, and told me to note on his "*fruante*' [tablets?] that he on his part had not failed; that he had not received the patent, and that if given him in due form he would not refuse to do battle. The King then withdrew into his chamber, prepared for holding his Council, and the herald requested his Majesty to give him these things in writing, which was done.

Given in the city of Paris, the day and year aforesaid. (Signed) Bayard.

After the perusal of which instrument, King Francis asked the aforesaid Legate and the ambassadors whether they had heard and understood its tenour, and whether it corresponded with what had been done and said. To this interrogatory, the aforesaid Legate, Duke, cardinals, and ambassadors, appended a schedule, thus:—

"The which things above written I read thrice to the said herald, and offered to give him the act signed with my own hand, and

* "Perchè tu poresti dir cose donde tu saresti desdite; et cussì non tocha a ti quello che Io diebo parlar et combatter, ma solamente all' Imperador."

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requested him to sign me a copy, to all which he gave me a refusal; and I then asked him to give me a copy of his verbal power (*procura verbal*), which he in like manner refused; so I therefore protest that should he make any protest verbal or other acts without communicating them to me, they would be false and contrary to the truth.

"Done in the said city of Paris, 15 September 1528; and I was present.

"And I, Stephen de Barozi, Priest, Bachelor of Laws, by Apostolic authority.

"I, René Grimani, clerk."

Registered by Sanuto, 17th October 1528.

[*Heading in Latin. Text in Italian. Attestation in Latin. Schedule in Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 387.

346. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Note by Sanuto.

This morning Lodovico Falier departed on his way as ambassador to England. He took for his secretary . . . . Morian.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlviii. p. 388.

347. AUDIENCE in the COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador communicated letters received from his brother, Sir Gregory Casal, dated Viterbo, the 13th, with the news contained also in the Signory's despatches.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 23. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File 11.

348. The DOGE and COLLEGE to MARC' ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in England.

On the 19th instant Pavia was taken by assault, although stoutly defended by the "*Bisoños,*"* in number some 2,500, including Spaniards, Lansquenets, and Italians. Upwards of 500 of these were cut to pieces, and many of their commanders captured; 1,500 have retired into the castle, which will be soon taken, as it is not strong. To acquaint the King and Cardinal with this victory, through which they hope for success in Lombardy.

To support the Neapolitan expedition, have sent a considerable sum of money to their Proveditor-General in Puglia, and desired him to act in concert with the French, and employ the Signory's infantry and cavalry forces for the safe custody of the towns in that province. The most Christian King's agents having determined to send Renzo da Ceri and the Prince of Melfi, with 4,000 or 5,000 foot and 300 horse, to harass the enemy at Naples and prevent their march towards Tuscany and Lombardy, the Signory consented to supply them with galleys and ships for their passage into Puglia.

[*Italian.*]

* "Bisoños," a Spanish word signifying soldiery. See Cervantes' tales, "*El Licenciado Vidriera,*" p. 8.

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Sept. 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 41.

349. Marco Antonio Venier to the Signory.

The King gave audience to the French ambassador [John du Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne], who demanded the money for the fifth payment according to the promise made. His Majesty said he was content.

London, 24th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 60, St. Mark's Library.

350. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

The Pope asked whether the Signory had ever given possession of the bishopric of Cividal to the Prothonotary Casal. Replied that it had not been given him, because the Reverend Zuan Barozzi had previously received the "*placet*" from his Holiness, whereby the claims of the Prothonotary Casal were invalidated; and that in fact his Holiness had been moved by compassion to support the family, which consisted of many brothers with small property.

Told by D. Joan Joachino [Passano] that Jacopo Salviati favours France, and that he (Passano) should hope for some good from the Pope were it not for Cervia and Ravenna, which he cursed repeatedly as the cause of all the mischief, saying they ought to be deposited in the hands of the Kings of France and England. He added, "Know that the Pope is plotting your ruin, and would fain effect a union with these powers, for your destruction." Replied that all the plots would assuredly prove vain by reason of the indissoluble association between the State and the most Christian King. He rejoined, "It is true, and I have said so plainly to the Pope."

Viterbo, 28th September.

[*Italian,* 4¼ *pages.*]

Oct. 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 17.

351. Dom. Antonio da Castello to ———.

(*Private letter seen by Marin Sanuto.*)

The Venetian ambassador on his way to England has arrived. He will depart on the 3rd or 4th.

From the Camp at Pavia, 1st of October. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 17.

352. Tomà Moro, Proveditor General, to the Signory.

The ambassador Falier, on his way to England, arrived here to-day. He remains until to-morrow, to acquaint himself with the safest road for his journey.

Pavia, 1st of October. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 3. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. liii. p. 86.

353. Commission from the Doge and Senate to Lodovico Falier, appointed Ambassador to Henry VIII.

Is to go by way of France. To visit the most Christian King, and assure him of the Signory's excellent will and observance. To exhort the King to act for the depression of the common enemy, and recovery of his children. To add that he has orders to urge the King of England strenuously in favour of the League. Is to perform the like office with the King's mother and sister, with the

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Lord Chancellor, the Lord Steward, and the Admiral, and such other personages as indicated by the Venetian ambassador in France. On arriving in England, to apply to his predecessor and be guided by his instructions, and arrange for audience of the King, to whom he will say that continuing to bear his Majesty that affection and reverence which becomes the Signory's ancient union with the English crown, they have appointed him ambassador in lieu of Marco Antonio Venier. To pay his respects to the King, and exhort him to send aid to the Italian League.

To visit Cardinal Wolsey, with whom he is to perform ample and earnest offices, on account of his eminent qualities and ability, which shine as a beacon of safety amongst all Christians. To exhort the Cardinal to obtain succour from the King for the League.

To visit the other lords and personages in authority; and to give the Signory frequent advices of events, and of the course of his operations.

Put also to the ballot, that the ambassador Venier remain eight or ten days with Falier to instruct him, and then return home.

Ayes, 177. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 3. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 13.

354. AUDIENCE in the COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador presented himself with letters from his brother Sir Gregory Casal, dated Viterbo, in conformity with those received by the Signory.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 3. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File 11.

355. The DOGE and COLLEGE to MARC' ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in England.

After remaining a week or ten days with his colleague, to acquaint him with what is necessary concerning the English Court and other events, he is to return "*cum bona ventura.*"

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 3. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File 11.

356. The SAME to LODOVICO FALIER, Ambassador elect to England.

The accompanying letter addressed to the ambassador in England acquaints him with his dismissal after having remained a week or ten days to give such instructions as necessary.

[*Latin.*]

Oct. 4. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 62, St. Mark's Library.

357. GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The day before yesterday his Holiness kept him to dinner. His Holiness mentioned the Emperor's obstinate ill will (*dell' animo di Cesare ostinato*) towards the most Christian King. Thereupon remarked, "Holy Father! when I was in Flanders, and on friendly terms with the Emperor's confessor, a Franciscan friar, deceased,* he told me the Emperor with difficulty forgot injuries." The Pope rejoined, "The Archbishop of Capua [Nicholas Schomberg], when I sent him to Spain after my election, told me on his return that

* See letter, date Ghent, 27 July 1521.

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he had often held long conferences with the Emperor, who, as they were fellow-countrymen, was not on his guard with him; so he told me the Emperor's nature was evil, but that his education and nurture had been good (*una mala natura, ma che la educatione et nutricione era sta bona*); and thus he noted the effects produced by nurture and those by nature, and their difference, demonstrating how opposed were the Emperor's nature and his education. At this present I know not which will predominate, nature or education." Answered him, "Your Holiness well knows how great is the force of nature." Announces this to the Ten as a thing worthy of their knowledge, but knowing how important it is, requests they will keep it very secret.

Viterbo, 4th October.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page.*]

Oct. 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. pp. 41-44.

358. ——— to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA, from Rome, advices from various places.

On the 7th inst.* Cardinal Campeggio arrived in London with his retinue. The King had desired him to rest and attend to his convalescence, whereupon they would confer, and discuss what was to be done. As mentioned by the Pope to the Marquis of Mantua's correspondent, Cardinal Campeggio did not announce any other news of importance.

London, 7th October.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 63, St. Mark's Library.

359. The SAME to the SAME.

On the 5th the Pope and the whole Court quitted Viterbo. The road was unsafe by reason of the feud between the Colonna faction and the Abbot of Farfa, who was on his march with the troops subsidized by him. These last plundered some baggage carts belonging to Sir Gregory Casal, and took some of the horses of the Cardinal of Mantua.

On that evening the Pope lodged at Monte Rosa, the Cardinals and all the ambassadors being quartered at Nepi. Departed thence on the 6th, and having ridden the whole of that day in a pouring rain, arrived at Rome in the evening. On the Pope's entry the rain increased, and was accompanied with thunder; this many persons consider ominous.

Rome, 8th October 1528.

[*Italian*, 3½ *pages.*]

Oct. 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 32.

360. AUDIENCE in the COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador came for news, and then made some demands relating to the Cardinal of Ancona, who is Archbishop of Ravenna, about his revenues.

[*Italian.*]

* See also State Papers, vol. vii. p. 95, note.

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Oct. 7. Rome. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 23, St. Mark's Library.

Oct. 8. Rome. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 23, St. Mark's Library.

Oct. 11. Rome. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 23, St. Mark's Library.

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[Oct. 12?] Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 90.

361. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Arrival of the Papal Legate, Cardinal Campeggio. Cardinal Wolsey went to meet him, as likewise did he (Venier).

London, [12th October?]. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 97.

362. The SAME to the SAME.

Cardinal Campeggio has been seized with a fit of the gout.

London, 18th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 67.

363. PROTHONOTARY CASAL, Ambassador from England, to the SIGNORY.

Quitted Venice to speak with his brother [Sir Gregory?], who is there (at Bologna), and to see after their affairs.* Having received letters from England about benefices, &c., is compelled to go to Rome to the Pope. Requests the Signory not to make any change with regard to his abbacy of Sacco. Has heard from England that the King was surprised at being held in such small account by the Signory respecting Ravenna and Cervia. It would be well to have the Pope on the Signory's side.

Bologna, 23rd October. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 141.

364. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The Cardinal Legate Campeggio being cured of the gout, the King sent for the French, Venetian, and ——— ambassadors to the royal palace. On their arrival mutual congratulations were exchanged between them and his Majesty, on their being in good health and having escaped the plague.

After a while Cardinal Campeggio came, accompanied by Cardinal Wolsey. On being seated, after the usual complimentary phrases, Campeggio caused his secretary, by name —— [Francesco Florian], to deliver a learned oration, narrating the distresses of Rome and the injuries suffered lately by the Church, notwithstanding which his Holiness, in like manner as he is styled Pope Clement, shows himself clement and is anxious for the peace of Christendom. He then besought the King to interfere, adding other words whereby all who heard him were moved to compassion. Thereupon the King had an answer given him, testifying his good will towards the welfare of Christendom. His Majesty has also elected two ambassadors, whom he is sending to Spain to the Emperor, to see if he will make a general peace. The King having heard that Cardinal Sta. Croce, late General of the Franciscan Friars Observant, has left Spain for Rome to negotiate an agreement between the Pope and the Emperor, his Majesty is sending an ambassador express to his Holiness to deter him from doing so.

London, 28th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th November.*

[*Italian.*]

* The brothers Cassalis were natives of Bologna.

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Oct. 28. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 70, St. Mark's Library.

365. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Prothonotary Casal has received letters from Cardinal Wolsey, dated the 5th instant,* purporting that the Pope should accredit some one to Genoa and to Andrea Doria, promising to negotiate with King Francis that he should give the Genoese their liberty and restore Savona, on condition of their neutrality, and that they detach Andrea Doria from the Emperor.

The Pope thinks Doria will not quit the Emperor's service. Prothonotary Casal also considers it difficult to withdraw him from the Emperor's service at present, and that the attempt should be made through the community of Genoa.

Joan Joachino [Passano] thinks Paulo Casal (the younger brother of Sir Gregory and the Prothonotary) should be sent to Genoa, because he declared he was going to Savona on behalf of the King of England.

Rome, 28th October.

[*Italian*, 3¾ *pages.*]

Oct. 28. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 71, St. Mark's Library.

366. The SAME to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Joan Joachino [Passano] said, "Paulo Casal will go to Genoa, and the Pope has promised him credentials."

Rome, 28th October.

[*Italian*, 10 *lines.*]

Oct. 31. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 72, St. Mark's Library.

367. The SAME to the SIGNORY.

The Pope received a letter from Andrea Doria, dated the 27th, announcing the surrender of Savona, and that he should enter the town on the morrow. On this account the French ambassadors consider the journey of Paulo Casal unnecessary, and he therefore remains at Rome.

Rome, 31st October.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages.*]

Nov. 6. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 74, St. Mark's Library.

368. The SAME to the SAME.

Prothonotary Casal sent his secretary requesting he would beseech the Doge not to permit the Patriarch's Vicar to report upon the dispute between Casal and Giovanni Pisani about the abbacy of Sacco Longo, he (Casal?) not having yet produced his claims.

Rome, 4th November.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages.*]

Nov. 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 162.

369. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The affair of the divorce continues. The King has to wife the Emperor's sister (*sic*), with whom he has lived ——— years, bearing him ——— children. She was the widow of his brother (who was killed by a fall from his horse), on which account the King says he has always had this on his conscience, and has therefore obtained

* This letter from Wolsey to Casal, dated 4th October 1528, is published in vol. vii., part 5, State Papers, pp. 95–101.

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judges from the Pope to decide the case juridically. The Pope has referred it to the Cardinal Legate of York, sending also the new Legate, Campeggio, so that the two together may be judges, with benefit of appeal; and he has chosen the Queen to have advocates, and that this matter be intimated to her. She has retained (*tolti*) some very learned bishops and some doctors [of canon law?] (named in the letter) from Flanders, who will be her counsel.*

London, 6th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File 11.

370. The DOGE and COLLEGE to VENIER and FALIER, Ambassadors in England.

The Signory and the French agents have added to the troops in Puglia. Renzo da Ceri, with 3,000 infantry, embarked near Ancona for Puglia, on board vessels sent by the Signory. With these troops and the re-enforcement under the Venetian Proveditor General, there will be in that province 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse, who will attack the enemy, who have held many consultations about invading Puglia. That undertaking has been delayed on account of the plague and other maladies, of which many have died; and now the Marchese del Guasto and Joan d'Urbino, the most experienced and bravest of their commanders, are grievously ill; in addition to which, the infantry will not march unless they receive all their arrears. Many of their troops, having made booty in Italy, were departing for Spain, and all the barons and people in the kingdom were greatly molested by the insolence and gross extortion of the soldiery, some 500 of whose cavalry have lately gone into the Abbruzzi. The inhabitants of "La Matrice" (*sic*), and other neighbouring places, rose and killed part of them, capturing the rest, and raising the French flag.

In Lombardy, Antonio da Leva having withdrawn his troops into Milan, Mons. de S. Pol, after the loss of Genoa,† retired to Alexandria. The troops of the Duke of Milan are at Pavia and Lodi and the Signory's army on the Adda expect 2,500 Lansquenets, who have already arrived at Briançon. Both the French and Venetian forces are now strengthening themselves, and will soon finish the war in Lombardy, which will be the foundation of the quiet of all Italy.

To communicate the above to the King and Cardinal, as becoming; to do the like by Cardinal Campeggio, congratulating him in the Signory's name on his safe arrival in England. Are glad to learn that he will proceed with due moderation in the affairs of Ravenna and Cervia. Commend the reply made by him to Campeggio.

[*Italian.*]

* In vol. vii. State Papers (p. 115), there is a letter from Sir John Hackett to King Henry VIII., dated Mechlin, 16th November 1528. The Archduchess, at the King and Queen's request, has appointed two jurists to proceed to England, and requires a safe-conduct for them.

† Andrea Doria, with 500 men, surprised Genoa on the 12th September 1528.

Nov. 11. Lettre du Collège (Secrets), File 11.

judges from the Pope to decide the case juridically. The Pope has referred it to the Cardinal Legate of Trent, sending also the new Legate, Campeggio, to abet the two together may be judges with benefit of appeal; and he has given the Queen to have advocates and that this matter be unlimited to her. The Pope referred (left) some very learned bishops and sure doctors [of canon law ?] (named in the letter) from Flanders, who will be for counsel."

London, 11th November. [Signed] by Sturmio, 4th Despatches [Italian].

370. The Duke and Cardinal to Vianesi and Paulus Ambassadors in England.

The Signory and the French agents have added to the troops in Puglia. Hence the Cav. with 3,000 infantry, embarked here Athens for Puglia, on board vessels sent by the Signory. With these troops and the reinforcement under the Venetian Provveditor Generel there will be in that province 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse, who will attack the enemy, who have held many consultations about invading Puglia. That undertaking has been delayed on account of the plague and other maladies, of which many have died; and now the Marchese del Guasto and Don d'Urbino, the most experienced and bravest of their commanders, are grievously ill; in addition to which, the infantry will not march unless they receive all their arrears. Many of their troops, having made booty in Italy, were departing for Spain, and all the barons and people in the kingdom were greatly molested by the insolence and grave extortion of the soldiery, some 300 of whose cavalry have lately gone into the Abbruzzi. The inhabitants of "la Matrice" (sic), and other neighbouring places, rose and killed part of them, capturing the rest, and raising the French flag.

In Lombardy, Antonio da Leva having withdrawn his troops into Milan, Mons. de St Pol, after the loss of Cremona, retired to Alexandria. The troops of the Duke of Milan are at Pavia and Lodi and the Signory's army on the Adda, except 2,500 Lansquenets, who have already arrived at Brescia. Both the French and Venetian forces are now strengthening themselves, and will soon finish the war in Lombardy, which will be the foundation of the quiet of all Italy.

To communicate the above to the King and Cardinal, as becoming; to do the like by Cardinal Campeggio, congratulating him in the Signory's name on his safe arrival in England. Are glad to learn that he will proceed with due moderation in the affairs of Terranova and Cervia. Continued the reply made by him to Carpeggio.

[Italian.]

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* In vol. vii. since Tapes (p. 1161), there is a letter from Sir John Hacket to King Henry VIII., dated Medina, 10th November 1528. The Ambassador at the Diet and Cassa's request, has appointed two Spains to proceed to England, and requires a safe-conduct for them.

† Andrea Doria, with 800 men, surprised Genoa on the 12th September 1528.

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Nov. 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 162.

371. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Went to have audience of the most Christian King with Lodovico Falier, ambassador to England. Falier informed his Majesty that the Signory was sending him to England to urge King Henry to make war and join the League. The most Christian King replied that he purposed waging war by sea and land, and would have the 25 galleys afloat, as demanded of the Signory; namely, 16 at the Republic's cost, and nine to be fitted out by himself. He said the Emperor purposed forming a powerful armada, and therefore the League must have 50 galleys at sea, besides the other large vessels. He added that he had now more money than ever.

Asked his Majesty whether he had any news of the Emperor's wishing for peace. The King replied that he was more bent on war than ever, and has sent two gentlemen to the King of England to tell him that he is content to make peace on two conditions; that he be paid all the damages incurred by him since the coming of Lautrec into Italy, and that should the King of England choose to mediate, he must first of all be reconciled to the Emperor, with whom he is at enmity.

Melun? 16th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th December.*

Note by Sanuto, that Lodovico Falier wrote as above concerning the audience had by him, and that he was departing for England.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 21. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 80, St. Mark's Library.

372. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Pope has received letters from England. Cardinal Campeggio endeavoured to dissuade King Henry from attempting to divorce the Queen. This his Majesty resented, and wrote hither saying he chose to be clearly informed whether such exhortation proceeds from the Pope or from Cardinal Campeggio, evincing resentment as aforesaid.

Rome, 20th and 21st November.

[*Italian*, 3¾ *pages.*]

Nov. 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 178.

373. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Cardinal Campeggio having tried to persuade the Queen of England to make choice of a monastic life, and consent to the divorce, so that it may be decreed justly (*con ragione*), she refused positively, and sent to Flanders for advocates to defend her case.

Paris, 23rd November. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 25. Mantuan Archives.

374. GERARDO MOLZA to the MARCHIONESS OF MANTUA.

The only news discussed in London is war. Few foreigners arrive here, letters arrive rarely, and the intelligence received comes stale from Italy.

Some 50 days ago we * arrived in London after great toil and trouble. Cardinal Campeggio, on the night preceding our depar-

† Viz., Cardinal Campeggio and his attendants.

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ture from Paris, on the 18th September, had a fit of the gout accompanied with fever, the attack inconveniencing him the more as he was weaker than usual, having had a double tertian fever on the road between Avignon and Lyons. We were compelled to leave Paris on that day, so that the poor Cardinal in constant pain travelled in a litter the whole way to Calais, where he rested two days, and after a stormy passage landed in England with his scanty retinue, being overwhelmed with ceremonies ill suited to our small number and to the Cardinal's gouty twinges. At the seaside we found prelates and a number of noblemen sent thither to accompany us, and under this good escort, undergoing ceremonies in every place through which we passed, we with very great exertion accomplished 40 miles in eight days; so that, when it pleased Heaven, we got to London, where as stately an entry as seen anywhere had been prepared for us, but in vain, owing to the illness of the Cardinal, who to finish the business embarked in a barge with me and the others, and went to the palace assigned for our lodging.*

Cardinal Wolsey came immediately to visit us. The King was absent, but came to London after a lapse of three days. During this interval Cardinal Campeggio suffered much from his illness, so it was reported over London, and considered certain in many places, that the Legate was dead. This rumour rather roused the sick man, in such wise that on hearing of the King's arrival he determined to go and pay his respects to him, as he did on the morrow of the decision thus made. The King resided very near us,† most especially by water carriage, which was convenient; so the arrangement having been made, Cardinal Campeggio was carried to his barge, and accompanied by Cardinal Wolsey we went to the Court. The dwelling being at some distance from the landing-place, we had a long way to go before reaching the palace stair; and as this procession had partly to make amends for the [omission of the?] pontifical entry, and was also to celebrate the first audience of the King, it was performed with many ceremonies; amongst which I wish your Excellency could have seen two Cardinals abreast, one mounted on his mule, the other sick and carried upon a chair by men, the rain moreover falling very fast. At length, however, when it pleased God, after many halts, we arrived, all drenched, to pay our respects to the King. We found the palace superbly decorated according to the fashion of the country, and full of many princes, prelates, and a great quantity of noblemen. After the due obeisance and greeting, our Messer Floriano (*Messer Floriano nostro*),‡ carried into the midst by so dense a crowd, delivered a most eloquent oration, so efficacious and so well recited that it moved all who understood it to tears, and most especially the King. Besides other things in the oration, the calamities of the

* Hall writes that on the 9th of October Cardinal Campeggio went from St. Mary Overey's, by water, to the Bishop of Bathe's place, without Temple-barre; but by a note in the 7th vol., State Papers, p. 95, the entry probably took place on the 7th, as stated in the anonymous letter to the Marquis of Mantua.

† At Bridewell? (See Hall, p. 753, ed. 1809.)

‡ Francesco Florian. (See Hall, as above.)

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Church and the misery of unfortunate Italy were alluded to. It was a fine discourse, and will obtain for him eternal glory. The King caused him to receive an answer,* and then withdrew with the Cardinals into a smaller chamber, where they conferred for four hours, I and my companions awaiting them. After this, accompanied by Cardinal Wolsey, we went home, being much pushed by the great crowd, so that some of us lost our shoes. Cardinal Campeggio was grievously tired by such protracted fatigue, so that he became worse. Next day he was visited by the King, and subsequently by the Queen and Cardinal Wolsey, they doing the like several times, but always discussing the matter on account of which Cardinal Campeggio and we came to England, and I hope it will be speedily and auspiciously despatched. I wish the Cardinal were in health, as we expected. He is now free from gout, and is beginning to walk about the house with a stick, but he has been unexpectedly seized with an attack of lumbago, which troubled him greatly, though it is beginning to give way, and we think he will have no further inconvenience from it; though the climate of England is so damp, and the weather so damp and changeable, that we expect him to be somewhat ailing during the whole of his stay here. It would therefore not be amiss for your Excellency to pray God for our removal hence and speedy return home. Cardinal Campeggio charged me to kiss your hand in his name, the like being done by Messer Floriano and the Signor Rodolpho; I myself humbly kissing your feet.

London, 25th November 1528.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 3. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File 11.

375. The Doge and College to Marc' Antonio Venier and Lodovico Falier, Ambassadors in England.

Mons. de S. Pol is still in Alexandria, having been re-enforced and will attack Gavi† and some other places, and advance towards Milan, to blockade it closely and prevent the entry of provisions.

The Signory will re-enforce their army with infantry and join M. de S. Pol.

To communicate the above to the King and Cardinal, and to such other personages as he shall think fit.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 246.

376. Marco Antonio Venier to the Signory.

With regard to the affair of the King's marriage, they are awaiting the arrival of the Queen's jurists, the doctors who are coming from Flanders. The doctors-jurists on the King's side are not agreed, so it is thought the affair will be referred to the Pope.

Advice has been received of the Emperor's intention to come into Italy, and then proceed to Germany.

In the presence of the Cardinals, Wolsey and Campeggio, the King told him (Venier) he was determined that the Signory should

* From Dr. Fox, Provost of Cambridge.

† See Guicciardini, vol. iv. p. 340. In the College "file," the word is written "*Casei.*" The passage in Guicciardini is printed as follows:—"Perchè i Veneziani non davano i fanti promessi a San Polo, per la impresa di Serravalle, Gavi, e altri luoghi del Genovese."

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restore Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope, and that neither his Majesty nor the King of France would tolerate a refusal, and desired him to write this to the Signory.

London, 9th December. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd Jan,* 1529.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 268.

377. Lodovico Falier, Venetian Ambassador on his way to England, to the Signory.

Announces his arrival at Calais, and intention of embarking for England on the . . . . .

Calais, 10th December. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd Jan.* 1529.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 87, St. Mark's Library.

378. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

The Pope has received letters from Germany informing him that the Bishop of Utrecht has renounced his temporal jurisdiction in favour of the Emperor, whose agents have accepted it.

The Papal Court has been in consultation respecting the reply to be made by them to the Cardinal of Mayence, elector of the Empire, who lately sent an envoy and letters to the Pope and College of Cardinals, informing them that the Lutheran doctrines could be remedied solely, either by a Council-General, or, should the nature of the times forbid that, by a convocation to be attended by deputies from every province in Christendom, with full powers, etc.

Considers the Church of Rome to be in great trouble. Does not know to what end the Almighty will lead it.

Rome, 11th December.

[*Italian,* 3½ *pages.*]

Dec. 13. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 88, St. Mark's Library.

379. The Same to the Same.

Was told by the Pope that there were very great disturbances in Switzerland, and open wars between the Lutherans and Catholics.

Rome, 13th December.

[*Italian,* 3¾ *pages.*]

Dec. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 301.

380. Lodovico Falier, Venetian Ambassador in England, to his brother Lorenzo "*and the others.*"

Arrived in London yesterday an hour before sunset. Was met first of all, at a distance of eight miles from the city, by the ambassador Venier and all the Venetians, then a little in advance by a knight, privy counsellor, with a good number of horsemen, and thirdly by another privy counsellor, an LL.D., who all, one by one, paid the usual compliments in Latin in the name of the King and Cardinal (*in nome dilla Maestà Regia e dil Revmo. Cardinal*), on receiving him, and he performed the like office by them in reply. They next met the ambassadors from France, Milan, and Ferrara, and then the Grand Prior of St. John's [Sir William Weston], with a numerous retinue, he being a very great personage, the chief in London (*il primario in questa Città.*)

They all accompanied him with very great honour to his lodging, in the centre of the city, near that of the French ambassador, a very

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worthy person. The apartment is furnished with arras and green serge (*sarze verde*).

London, 18th December 1528. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th January* 1529.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 246.

381. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The King sent for the ambassadors of the League, namely, him (Giustinian), the Florentine, and the Milanese, and told them that the King of England is intent on making the general peace, and urges the League to send an ambassador with powers to Rome, so that on the arrival of Cardinal Sta. Croce from Spain, the peace may be negotiated. His Majesty said he had determined to send a person express to the Pope at Rome to negotiate without stipulating anything, and he then read to them the form of the power which he was sending, as by the enclosed copy. Said his Majesty knew that, by the articles of the League, none of the confederates might negotiate an agreement with any one, without the consent of the colleagues. His Majesty rejoined, "We will not conclude anything without the knowledge of the allies; there is no harm in negotiating; I do not choose to lose the King of England, who is thus inclined." The Milanese ambassador, Taverna, also said that this was an important step (*che questo erra gran moto*).

Paris, 23rd December. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd Jan.* 1529.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 94, St. Mark's Library.

382. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Prothonotary Casal has taken leave of the Pope, and will depart tomorrow on his way to the Signory.

His brother, Sir Gregory, told him (Contarini) he was present at the audience of leave, and that they spoke at great length about Ravenna and Cervia, urging the Pope to make some arrangement, and that he ought to avoid ruining himself by joing the Imperialists. Sir Gregory said the Pope would not be persuaded, and all he could elicit from him was, "If I ruin myself, I shall not be alone." After thanking Sir Gregory for his good offices, repeated to him what he had already said a thousand times to the agents for the League at the Papal Court, that were Ravenna and Cervia restored to the Pope he would not alter his course, as those two cities do but mask his infinite desire to obtain Florence and Ferrara, which concern his private advantage, and the project formed by him to exalt his family.

Rome, 28th December 1528.

[*Italian,* 3¼ *pages.*]

Dec. 29. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 95, St. Mark's Library.

383. The SAME to the SAME.

This afternoon, the Pope told me he had received letters from France, dated the 16th, announcing the passage that way (*de li*) of two ambassadors from England, on their road hither to the Court, about the English King's marriage.*

* The ambassadors were Sir Francis Bryan and Master Peter Vannes. (See "State Papers," vol. vii., part 5, p. 117.)

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His Holiness discussed the matter at great length, saying it was of a bad sort; the King being so firm and obstinate in his opinion, that Cardinal Wolsey, who, as known, has supreme authority, did not dare contradict him; nay, that he ruminated by night what he should say to the King in the morning, to gratify him in this affair of the divorce, although aware that it would be his ruin, as should the King take this other wife, her father and her other adherents would rise in repute, and proportionately diminish that of Wolsey. The Pope said, in conclusion, "I perceive that King of England to be so determined, that the Emperor might thus do much mischief." Having asked adroitly, what sort of mischief, his Holiness replied, "Very great mischief indeed, because by interposing his authority with his aunt, the Queen of England, he might make her consent to this divorce, and thus bring the King over to his side; for I see that he is ready to do anything for the attainment of this his will about the divorce." Rejoined that besides many other reasons, I did not believe that the Emperor would be able to accomplish this with the Queen, his aunt, because her personal and most important interests were concerned in the matter; it being a question of exchanging the grade of Queen for that of a private person (*tractandosi di Regina, diventar una bassa dona*).

Rome, 29th December 1528.

[*Italian, 3 pages.*]

A.D. 1529.

1529. January. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. pp. 398, 399.

384. MARTIN LUTHER.—Copy of a Letter from Germany, dated in the year 1528–29.

Here (?) we are in peace and health, and there is bread, but dearer than usual, though throughout Germany it is cheap; the whole country being quiet, with the exception of the Duke of Guelders, who is always at strife with some one, and his present dispute is with the Bishop of Wurtzburg; both parties have a strong army and are doing their worst. Between the Prince Elector, Duke John of Saxony, and his cousin, Duke George, there is a wish for war rather than war itself, because the former (?) and the Elector Frederick [his son?] favour Luther. Duke George is a good Catholic, and when able to catch a heretic he disposes of him without mercy, for from this Lutheran root six or eight diabolically heretical sects have sprung up, more opposed and hostile to each other than to the good Catholics. At Zurich in Switzerland there is one Zuingle,* who seduced Zurich, Berne, and Basle, where he

* Zuingle fell in a battle, fought in the year 1530, between the Protestants of Zurich and their Roman Catholic compatriots, who drew the sword in defence of the old religion as opposed to the new one. (See Mosheim, Eng. Tr., vol. ii. p. 168.)

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found great firmness (*ale qual ha veduto molto costanza*), and chose to hold a disputation about certain articles. The controversy was attended by but a few persons; and when King Ferdinand and the other Cantons wrote stringent letters to the effect that it did not appertain to them to dispute or judge about faith, and they must persevere in that faith in which they and their ancestors were born, and whereby they swore to their confederation, they refused to do so, and remain in their errors.

The most important of the articles are as follows:—

That human precepts, not being based on the word of God, are not binding.

That Christ is the only redemption and atonement (*satisfactio*) for all sins, and to acknowledge any other is to deny Christ himself.

That the consecrated Host does not essentially contain the true body and blood of Christ.

That the mass which is in use is contrary to scripture, and a scandal to the atonement—an abomination to the passion and death of Christ.

That Christ alone is mediator between God the Father and man, and the intercession (*suffragia*) of the Virgin Mary and other Saints is to be abolished.

That to no class or condition of persons is matrimony forbidden.

There were also some other dogmas, so that at these disputations they proceeded from words to blows (*de verbis devenerunt ad verbera*); the magistrates (*magistrati*) withdrew, and the plague interrupted their controversies; they (the Reformers) remaining in great disrepute and hatred with these Cantons, and the others, which will perhaps cause the rejection of some of the articles.

That there is no purgatory, wherefore those things which are done for the dead (*fiunt pro mortuis*) are done in vain (*frustra fiunt*).

That the images of the Saints are to be abolished.

There is another heretical sect which increases greatly, notwithstanding their being violently persecuted everywhere, namely of Brethren and Sisters* who have everything in common, and cause themselves to be rebaptized.

The heresy maintained by them is that infant baptism is unnecessary, as children are pure, but adults being in sin, require it.

That original sin is removed by the death of Christ.

That the real body of Christ is not contained under the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

They do not acknowledge any other Sacrament.

They break the communion bread, without any regard for the Sacrament or the regulation.

They choose everything to be in common, and those who refuse are compelled to consent.

There are also others who maintain that Lucifer is not damned.

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* The title "*Brethren and Sisters*," would make it appear that the first Anabaptists resembled the "*Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit*," a sect concerning which, in the 13th and 14th centuries, see Mosheim.

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Others admit two principles, and two Gods, one good and one evil.

Others have no belief at all in our Lady or the Saints.

These sectarians multiply so that in many places they might constrain the others, but being all discordant, it may be expected instead that they will all dissolve, though in the meanwhile they might doubtless do some mischief, most especially those who, having wasted their own property, would fain consume in the like manner that of their neighbours, and therefore choose everything to be in common.

[*Latin and Italian, mixed.*]

Jan. 2. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 301.

385. LODOVICO FALIER, Venetian Ambassador in England, to his brother LORENZO "*and the others.*"

Could not obtain audience of the Cardinal until the 23rd ultimo. Presented himself with the Ambassador Venier. First they entered a hall (*sala*) hung with tapestry, at the extremity of which was a canopy of gold brocade. Were received by a number of dignified prelates and noblemen, and after waiting a short while, and then passing through another hall no less sumptuously decorated, entered a gallery, a walking-place (*una galaria loco ambulatorio*), lately built by his Right Reverend Lordship, and not yet completed, where there were many prelates in his company. After they had bowed to him, he moved forward, doffing his cap, and embracing them, and congratulated himself on his (Falier's) arrival. They then withdrew to a window, where the Cardinal having received and perused the ambassador's credentials, he (Falier) delivered a Latin oration, which was in the Cardinal's praise, and which by his gestures seemed to please him, he listening most attentively ; and at its close the Cardinal answered word for word, in suitable form, also in Latin. Then communicated to him certain ducal missives, dated 2nd December, which he answered as by the public despatch.

On taking leave of Wolsey, went to visit the Cardinal Legate Campeggio, presenting the letter of credence, and paying suitable compliments, which were reciprocated as by Falier's despatch to the Signory.

Then returned to his lodging, for which he pays 100 ducats rental, and has spent 250 ducats in furnishing it, exclusively of the parlour (*il parlatorio*).

The 29th December, the festival of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which in England is celebrated more than any other day in the year, was appointed by the King for his audience, and all the great prelates, dukes, barons, and noblemen assembled at the Court at Greenwich, with numerous followers. On that morning, one hour after daybreak, a prelate, Dean of the King's chapel, accompanied by a knight, a nobleman, came to his house with many people, to conduct him, and having taken to horse, rode towards the harbour, where they embarked in the barges prepared for them,* and pro-

* In the Trevelyan Papers (p. 144), printed for the Camden Society, A.D. 1857, there is an entry showing the sum paid on this occasion "*for conveying of the ambassadors of Venice from London to Grenewich, and to London again, with* viii. *ores* . . . . viij^{li}."

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ceeding down the Thames, arrived in an hour at Greenwich, where a multitude of persons was assembled, having preceded them on foot, the royal palace being full of barons sumptuously clad. The hall into which they were ushered was very well decorated, and after they had remained there a short while, the King entered it from a chamber. In advance of him walked a baron, bearing the sword, another carrying a cushion. They bowed to his Majesty, who came to meet them, and cap in hand embraced them, congratulating himself on his (Falier's) arrival. His Majesty then placed himself under a canopy of cloth of gold, and stood there, being dressed in a doublet of cloth of gold with a raised pile, and having at his side a dagger (*una spanticha*), on which he kept his hand the whole time. He wore a gown of gold brocade, lined with very beautiful lynx's skins; which apparel, combined with an excellently formed head and a very well proportioned body of tall stature, gave him an air of royal majesty, such as has not been witnessed in any other Sovereign for many years. Having presented the credentials to the King, and after their perusal by the Bishop of London, he (Falier) commenced a Latin oration in praise of the kingdom, of the former Kings of England, and of his present Majesty, by reason of their royal feats. Demonstrated the extreme observance of the noble Senate towards his Majesty, to whom it was much indebted. The King listened so attentively that he never stirred, nor did any of the others; the hall being filled with an infinite number of dukes, marquises, prelates, barons, lords, and others. The oration being ended, the King called to his side the Magnifico, the LL.D. and Knight, Sir Thomas More, desiring him to reply, as he did, learnedly; but first of all, chose to have the copy of the oration which Cardinal Wolsey asked for, when he (Falier) had audience of him; so he was obliged to give it. At the close of the reply, they accompanied his Majesty to the mass, which in celebration of the festival, and from the great concourse of nobility, was most grandly sung, and delighted him (Falier) much. After the mass, they sat down to dinner, the King and Queen being alone in one hall, and the ambassadors, with the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, and a cousin of the King's, in another; the rest of the company being distributed in the remaining apartments. The banquet was sumptuous, both by reason of the exquisite viands, and the great number of guests. After dinner the King rose, and approaching the ambassadors (Venier and Falier) they, with the secretaries, placed themselves alone at a balcony. Communicated his special commission to the King, and having remained a good while together, discussing at great length the affairs of the world, as stated in the public letters, took leave of his Majesty, who is a most gracious and benign prince. After sunset, having embarked in the barges with the same company which brought them, returned very rapidly with the flood-tide to his abode in London.

Has been unable as yet to see the Queen or the King's sister. Will give daily notice of all that occurs.

London, 2nd January. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th January.*

. . . . [*Italian.*]

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Jan. 2.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 31.

386. Hironimo Moriano, Secretary of Lodovico Falier, Venetian Ambassador in England, to ———.

Arrived there on the 17th December, and were met at a good five miles distance from London, in the names of the King and Cardinal, by an honourable knight and an eminent doctor of laws, by the French, Milanese, and Ferrarese ambassadors, by the Prior of St. John's [Sir William Weston], and by the ambassador Venier and all the Venetians; so they made their entry into the city with an honourable company, which caused admiration, and proceeded thus to their lodging.

On the 23rd paid their respects to Cardinal Wolsey, who gave them good greeting, and then on the 29th presented themselves to the King. The ambassador made a fine, elegant, skilful, and much praised oration, to which his Majesty listened with the utmost attention, standing immoveable under the canopy, with his eyes always fixed on the ambassador's eyes and countenance, so that he seemed very much delighted both with him and his fluent discourse. Falier having finished haranguing, his Majesty desired an LL.D. called "the Moor,"* to reply, as he did, commending the ambassador in so fine, learned, eloquent, and well devised a discourse, that greater praise could not have been desired, so that everybody was satisfied; and he likewise alluded to the other points (*a le altre parte.*) This being ended, the King commenced discoursing very familiarly with the ambassadors, Venier likewise being present; and during the conversation, the Dean of his Majesty's chapel came to invite him to the mass, to which the ambassadors accompanied him; and after "*the Belief,*" the King went to make his offering at the altar, accompanied by all the princes, barons, and noblemen of his kingdom, all richly and superbly clad. After his Majesty had offered, the Queen did the like, being accompanied by her handsome and virtuously-educated daughter,† and by many other ladies all much adorned, but who were less handsome. After divine service, all went to the royal banquet, the viands being so plentiful and of such various sorts, that from lack of memory he does not describe them. After dinner, the ambassadors again conversed with the King; so he (Moriano) having nothing else to do, remained contemplating the physical beauty and perfection of his Majesty, for he can declare that never in his days did he see any—he will not say sovereign, the number of whom is small, but—man handsomer, more elegant, and better proportioned than this King, who is pink and white, fair, tall, agile, well formed, and graceful in all his movements and gestures (*acti et gesti*). Chooses to believe that nature, in producing this prince, did her utmost to create a perfect model of manly beauty in these times.

The ambassadors then took leave, and returned to their lodging; he being unable to abstain from discoursing about what he had seen,

* "Impose ad un Dotor che si chiama *lo Moro.*"
† "Accompagnata dalla sua bella et nella virtù allevata et nutrita fiola."

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and most especially with regard to so glorious and admirable a Sovereign, in favour both with God and man.

London, 2nd January 1529. Received on the 29th (*sic*). *Registered by Sanuto, 27th January.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 2. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 343.

387. Anonymous Letter from London.

On the 11th February 1529, there was read in the Senate a letter brought for the Doge's inspection, by the secretary of the Hungarian ambassador, dated London, 2nd January.

The King of England will give pecuniary assistance to King John [Zapolsky, Vaivod of Transylvania] of Hungary; and it is heard from Germany that the free towns purposed holding a Diet, and the greater part of them coincided with the Duke of Saxony. At the Diet about to be held at Augsburg [query, Spires], three promises made by the Emperor at the Diet of Worms, and which he has not kept, are to be discussed. First, the repayment of the money lent to him for his coronation. Secondly, when he went to Spain, he promised to return to Germany at the end of two years. Thirdly, he promised to convoke a Council-general, to reform the Church, which he has not done, so that the Lutheran sect has greatly increased.

The Hungarian barons who held for the Archduke have apparently formed a friendship with King John, so that he (the Hungarian ambassador) hoped the affairs of his King would prosper.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 3. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 99, St. Mark's Library.

388. Gasparo Contarini to the Council of Ten.

Informed today by the Cardinal of Mantua, that the Emperor earnestly exhorts the Pope to go to Spain, and that the Cardinal had spoken to him about it, and found him very ready to do so. The Cardinal understands that the most Christian King also gave similar advice, promising to have an interview with his Holiness at Marseilles, after which he could proceed to Spain.

Has been told by the Pope's house steward (*il Rdo. Maistro di Casa*) that the Kings of France and England are extremely desirous that peace should be made through the Pope. The steward added, "I do not know whether they act in concert with you or not." He also said that England and France made no difficulty with his Holiness about the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia.

Rome, 3rd January 1529.

[*Italian*, 1¼ *page.*]

Jan. 4. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 100, St. Mark's Library.

389. The Same to the Signory.

The Pope said to me, "You tell me to be the means of making this peace, &c.! I have received letters from France informing me that the King of England sent to tell the most Christian King that a general peace ought to be negotiated, and through my medium; requesting King Francis to assemble all the ambassadors of the

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League, and notify to them this mutual opinion of the two kings. Thus did the King of France do. Your ambassador [Sebastian Giustinian], who was the first to reply, made answer that he approved of negotiations for peace, and that he believed the Signory would be of this opinion, though it did not appear to him that the matter should be treated by me, but that ambassadors should be sent to the Emperor, and the peace be treated at his Court."

On hearing this from the Pope, expressed surprise, and said that ambassadors are often not well acquainted with their masters' intentions, and answer according to their own views; and added, "Does not your Holiness remember that a few days ago, I told you quite the contrary *nomine Senatus*, from whom I had received a missive on the subject; so your Holiness must abide by what the Senate announces to you, and not by what an ambassador at a distance says of his own accord."

Rome, 4th January.

[*Italian*, 13 *pages*.]

Jan. 8. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 103, St. Mark's Library.

390. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Paulo Casal has heard on excellent authority that the Pope has been ill of continual fever and tertian ague, and he represents the case to me as dangerous.

Rome, 8th January.

[*Italian*, 15 *lines*.]

Jan. 8. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 104, St. Mark's Library.

391. The SAME to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The person who acquainted Sir Gregory Casal with the Pope's indisposition is D. Jacopo Salviati.

Rome, 8th January.

[*Italian*, 4 *lines*.]

Jan. 9. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), File 8.

392. The DOGE and SENATE to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France.

Understand by his letters that his most Christian Majesty, at the request of the King of England, has sent a mandate to Rome for the negotiation of the general peace. This mandate has not yet arrived.

To inform his most Christian Majesty that on hearing its contents, we will draw up a power for our ambassador at Rome, to proceed in perfect uniformity with his Majesty. Share the King's opinion, that with difficulty can the peace be accomplished by the Pope.

Ayes, 181. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian*.]

Jan. 12. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 345.

393. LODOVICO FALIER, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

The ambassador Venier departed on his way home on the ——.

An ambassador had arrived in London from King John of Hungary, to ask pecuniary assistance of the King.

He (Falier) has visited the Queen.

London, 12th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th February.*

[*Italian*.]

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Jan. 12. **394.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 105, St. Mark's Library.

Sir Gregory Casal has sent the accompanying packet addressed to his brother, the ambassador with your Highness, requesting you, as it is of importance, to deliver it into his own hands.

Rome, 12th January.

[*Italian*, 2¾ *pages.*]

Jan. 13. Consiglio X., Parti Secrete. Filza 2. **395.** The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to GABRIELE VENIER, Venetian Ambassador with the Duke of Milan.

Have received his letters of the 20th ult. and 1st inst., narrating what the Duke said to him about the present undertaking, that it must be completed by the allies, either by a brisk war or peace. Delayed their reply, awaiting letters concerning the peace from the most Christian King to the Bishop of Avranches, his ambassador at Venice, which arrived lately, dated St. Germain, the 17th ult. Their contents will have been communicated to the Duke through his ambassador Taberna in France. On the arrival at the French Court of the English ambassadors, Sir Francis Brian and Master Peter Vannes,* on their way to the Pope,—being also commissioned to treat the peace with the Emperor, who in like manner was sending a power to Rome for the Cardinal General of the Franciscans,† as the King of England had been informed by the Pope,—his most Christian Majesty, at the suggestion of the English ambassadors, determined to do the like, and through them sent to his ambassadors at Rome a power to treat the peace, provided it be on good, fair, and reasonable terms, and by the will and consent of all the confederates, naming the Duke of Milan and the Signory; and he declares that he will not enter into any negotiation unless it be to the satisfaction of the allies, exhorting us to send a power to our ambassador at Rome, as we intend to do. Believe the Duke will do the like, and give orders to treat conjointly with the ambassador from France, and with those from the other confederates, according to his Majesty's request.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 13. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 11. **396.** The DOGE and COLLEGE to VENIER and FALIER, Venetian Ambassadors in England.

Send summaries of news from various quarters for communication to the King and Cardinal. The Signory is intent on reinforcing their army and navy, in order both to harass the enemy, especially at this present, in Lombardy, and to finish that undertaking, so as to be ready for any event.

When opportunity offers, to exhort the King towards the general peace, which the State desires above all things.

The Reverend Ambassador of the Archduke [Ferdinand], resident with the Signory, has acquainted them with the order received from his master to return. He has therefore taken leave, and will depart in eight or ten days.

[*Italian.*]

* See their instructions in "State Papers," vol. vii., part v. continued, p. 117.
† Francisco de Quiñones.

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397. The Proposed General Peace.

Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Filza 8.

Power from the Doge and Senate for Gasparo Contarini, Venetian ambassador at the Papal Court, authorizing him to negotiate the general peace, they having been informed by the King of France that at the request of the King of England he has sent an ample mandate to the like effect to his agents at Rome.

[*Latin.*]

Jan. 18.

398. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 108, St. Mark's Library.

On the night of the 15th, when the accompanying letter was written, anticipated having to add a postscript with the announcement of the Pope's death, which news was expected hourly; and, indeed, until the following morning, the majority believed him to be already dead, but that his adherents kept the fact secret, to provide for their own interests; so all Rome was in great fear and perturbation, especially as it was also understood that Ascanio Colonna was at one of his castles, ten miles off, and the Cavalier Colonna in another place at no great distance. All persons therefore endeavoured to clear their houses, and arm for self-defence, getting in some small supply of bread, of which there was, and still is, extreme scarcity. But after all, the Pope's malady took a turn, contrary to the general expectation, as on that very night of the 15th he improved, and thenceforth continued doing so until today; so unless he have a relapse tonight or tomorrow, which is the fourteenth day, he may be considered out of danger, provided no fresh and unexpected ailment supervene.

On the day before yesterday the two ambassadors from England, namely, the Rev. D. Peter Vannes and Master Brian, Gentleman of the King's Chamber, arrived. They are lodged in the house of Sir Gregory Casal. Went yesterday to visit them, and after the usual compliments, Master Brian having quitted the chamber, the Reverend Peter Vannes, whom I had met at Bruges, and subsequently in London, and who is really a most amiable person, and partial to the Signory, being a Lucchese,* drew me aside, and told me that his King had given him a commission about the "*general*" peace, having understood from the Pope that the Cardinal of Sta. Croce† was the bearer of a commission from the Emperor [to that effect], as by no means would his Majesty hear talk of a particular peace (*pace particular*), and had clearly explained this point to the Imperial ambassador in England, writing also in the like sense to the Almoner, his ambassador in Spain.‡

Then, with regard to the commission which he brought for the *general peace*, he told me that his King chose to know whether the Emperor was content with the conditions of peace proposed to him

* The Lucchese were the first who established the manufacture of silk at Venice, and the subjects of their industrious Republic long continued to be the chief supporters of the Venetian silk trade, their heraldic shields carved in marble, being placed in the Signory's "silk office," from which an entire series, from 1547 to 1621, was on sale at an antiquary's in Venice (in the month of January 1869).

† Namely the Spanish Cardinal (a Franciscan friar), by name Francesco Quiñones, who arrived at Rome as envoy from Charles V., on the 30th December 1528. In a letter dated, Rome 26 January 1529, Sir Francis Bryan represents him to Henry VIII. as a "*horesun flateryng Fryer.*" (See State Papers, vol. vii., part v. continued, p. 149.)

‡ Edward Lee. (See State Papers, as above, p. 86.)

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heretofore; and that if not satisfied with them, he would hear the terms proposed by the Emperor, and if reasonable, counsel the confederates to accept them, the King on his part doing the like. In the event of the conditions being unreasonable, or should the Emperor seem to cajole his Majesty and the confederates with words, for the sake of impeding or checking the preparations destined for the spring, in that case his Majesty would take such procrastination on the part of the Emperor as a reply, and then make such provision as would cause him to repent of his resolve.

Such was the communication made to me by Peter Vannes, who added that as soon as they could transact business with the Pope they would not fail to make this statement to him, and learn what proposals had been brought by the Spanish Cardinal.

I thanked him for this loving communication, praising the determination of his King, as it was most sage, and in accordance with his goodness, to reject the "*particular*" peace, which the Emperor evidently attempts for the sole purpose of annihilating each of the allies singly, and obtaining for himself the monarchy of the world. Concerning this, I told Vannes that the Signory was most firmly determined not to listen to one word about "*particular*" peace, and that I had recently announced this clearly to the Pope and some of his councillors or intimates, and that he (Vannes) must first of all endeavour to persuade the Pope that, should he choose to be the medium for negotiating this "*general*" peace, it is necessary for him to be neutral, and not adhere to one side more than to the other for the sake of any personal interest of his own, as by adhering to the Emperor, or showing himself opposed to any one of the confederates, it was impossible that he could be a confidential mediator to negotiate this "*general*" peace. To this Vannes assented, using many bland expressions, both on behalf of his King, with regard to your Serenity, as likewise in his own name, saying he was your good servant by reason of the affection always evinced by the State towards Lucca, his country; and with this I took leave of him.

Rome, 18th January.

[*Italian*, 4 *pages*.]

Jan. 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 297.

399. ZUAN MARIA DALLA PORTA, Envoy from the DUKE OF URBINO, to his Ambassador in Venice, ZUAN JACOMO LEONARDO.

Some new English ambassadors have come to the Pope, for the purpose, it is supposed, of hastening the divorce, about the despatch of which it seems that Cardinal Campeggio proceeds very coldly.

Rome, 19th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th January.*

[*Italian*.]

Jan. 21. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File 11.

400. The DOGE and COLLEGE to LODOVICO FALIER, Ambassador in England.

Acquaint him with the death of the Pope, as heard by them through their Captain General [the Duke of Urbino], dated Pesaro, the 19th instant, as by the enclosed copy.

To communicate the news to the King and Cardinal.

[*Italian*.]

Jan. 19. Senato Dietro, v. xlix. p. 297.

Jan. 21. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), Xlle 11.

1529. Jan. 22. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 110, St. Mark's Library.

401. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Informed the French ambassador that on the Signory being acquainted with the opinion of the most Christian King, formed at the instigation of the King of England, to the effect that on the arrival of Cardinal Sta. Croce the "powers" of the confederates should be sent to Rome for the negotiation of the general peace, the Signory's "power" was transmitted to me, so that, with his Lordship and the English ambassadors, we might see what this Cardinal had brought touching the general peace, and what terms he offered.

He replied that the English ambassadors [Vannes and Brian] brought him letters from his King, and the "power," though he had not yet read it; and that when the Pope should be able to negotiate, we were to consult together and act in concert, although he had no hope of any means whereby to treat the general peace here at Rome; and he speaks the truth, as this Cardinal [Quiñones] has merely a commission concerning the peace between Italy and the Emperor; and with regard to the general peace he is urging the Pope to go to Spain, telling him that on speaking with the Emperor he will obtain everything.

On quitting the French ambassador, went to Vannes and his colleagues [Brian and Sir Gregory Casal]. The Rev. Peter Vannes said that when able to negotiate with the Pope they would ascertain from him what he had heard about this peace, and then communicate the result to me, so that we might proceed according to the general "power." Rejoined that although this Cardinal [Quiñones] had no commission for a general peace, and that I therefore did not believe my "power" would have to be used, yet was it well adapted to encourage the Pope not to rush headlong into the arms of the Imperialists, but to maintain his position as common Father, and seek the general peace, because, perceiving the promptitude with which the confederates on his invitation had sent the "powers" to their ambassadors, it was impossible for him, unless utterly devoid of shame, to detach himself from the League and adhere to the Imperial party.

They all assented, and Vannes and Brian having then withdrawn, I remained alone with Sir Gregory Casal, who told me that he had strong letters from his King to your Highness about the restitution to the Pope of Ravenna and Cervia, written he believed by Dr. Stephen [Gardyner].

Replied that I was surprised that the King of England and Cardinal Wolsey, who are most sage personages, should at so unseasonable a moment attempt such a matter, which, if accomplished according to their demand, would cause the greatest possible detriment to the affairs of the League, the course pursued by the Pope being such as it is. Sir Gregory went on to say, "Believe me the King of France will send Zuan Joachino [Passano] about this same matter; and the two crowns do not require the Signory to restore those cities to the Pope, but to deposit them in their hands." Replied that this other mode surprised me yet more, because choosing to have them as a deposit, and being in their hands, the two Kings placed themselves

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To this Casal answered, "Do not suppose that the King of France will restore them, unless he first gets back his sons, whose recovery he desires above all things." I then said to him, "With you, Sir Gregory, I can speak freely; solve me one little doubt. Your King of England, for his private affair of the marriage, depends, as you perceive, upon the Pope; to avoid displeasing him he cannot deny his requests, and thus what I have told you will inevitably come to pass." Casal replied, "I do not believe the Pope to be so disposed towards that affair of the marriage as to expedite it any further.* I have written to England that this Cardinal [Quiñones] has only brought conditions for peace with Italy alone, and most especially with the Signory, and that although I was certain Venice would do her duty, yet was it unfit to keep the Republic dissatisfied, considering the nature of the times; and really, in my opinion, they do not view the matter as it appears to me it should be viewed."

Do not believe that Sir Gregory Casal fails to use his good offices, for in truth all those brothers are real gentlemen.

Rome, 22nd January.

[*Italian*, 6 *pages.*]

Jan. 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 288.

402. AUDIENCE in the VENETIAN COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador, Prothonotary Casal, who went to Bologna, and from thence to Rome, having now returned, came and said he went to Rome on private business of his own.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 25. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 111, St. Mark's Library.

403. GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Place no hope in the French ambassador; although a good man (*una buona persona*), he is as cold and ill adapted to business as possible. Though he had received from his King the letter containing the "power" to negotiate this general peace together with these English ambassadors, some eight or ten days before I spoke to him on the subject, yet he had not read his "power" or scarcely looked at it, having perhaps treated the missive of his King in like manner; nor did he mention the matter to any of the English ambassadors, although King Francis wrote to him that he had sent the "power" for the sole purpose of satisfying the King of England; so your Serenity perceives what sort of a man he is.

Sir Gregory Casal, through his brother Master Paul, showed me the copy of the letter from the King of England to your Highness, about the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia. It is a long letter, and full of great threats should this surrender not be made. Indeed, it says at the close that as his prayers are of no avail with the State

* "Io non credo il Pontefice così disposto a quella cosa del matrimonio che la sia per expedir più."

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he shall be compelled, when requested, to aid the Pope to recover his own by force of arms; and, in short, it is a very sharp letter. Sir Gregory has, however, determined not to send it for the present, and will write to England that on account of the Pope's illness he defers executing the commission.

Really, in like manner as the proceedings of Giovanni Gioachino [Passano] about your Serenity's affairs dissatisfied me, so, with regard to these Casals, I can but express gratification and praise, as they appear to me honourable gentlemen, such being also the general opinion of them at this Court.

Rome, 25th January.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

Jan. 27. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 112, St. Mark's Library.

404. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Today when speaking with Sir Gregory Casal about the report circulated at Naples by the Imperialists, that the Emperor had obtained the Crusade bull from the Pope, he told me that Cardinal Sta. Croce, through whose hands all similar grants pass, has most constantly assured him that the Pope had not conceded it, though with regard to profit derivable by the Emperor it matters little, as he farms the duty, and exacts it, although not conceded by the Pope, and in three years it yields 500,000 crowns; but the grant would be of importance as an indication that the Pope was inclining towards the Imperial party.

Have this day written to the Signory's ambassadors in France and England, informing them how much more disposed towards the general peace the Pope appears to be now than he was before he fell ill; telling them also that I had received the "power" from the State, and adding how undesirable it was under existing circumstances for their Majesties to urge the restitution to the Pope of Ravenna and Cervia, as it would doubtless disturb the negotiation for the general peace.

Rome, 27th January.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

Jan. 27. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 113, St. Mark's Library.

405. The SAME to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

I have been with Sir Gregory Casal and thanked him for having shown me the copy of the letter from the King of England to your Highness, and for the good office he intended to perform by delaying its delivery, proving to him that not merely on account of the Pope's illness, but also for the sake of the negotiation of the general peace (towards which the Pope was well inclined, as told me by the "*Maestro di Casa*"), it would be very unfitting to send such a letter to your Highness, and enter upon this question of the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia. Sir Gregory took the arguments adduced by me very well, and assures me that he had a very long dispute on the subject with the other English ambassadors, and at length persuaded them to suspend the letter until the result of the Pope's illness should be known. I am aware that they have discussed this matter with the Cardinal of Mantua, who was of the same opinion in favour of delay; and for the present thus is it settled.

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It really seems to me that your Serenity has reason to be well satisfied with the proceedings of Sir Gregory Casal.

Rome, 27th January.

Note by the writer, that copies of this letter were sent to England and France.

[*Italian*, 1 *page*.]

Jan. 26. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 114, St. Mark's Library.

406. GASPARO CONTARINI, at Rome, to LODOVICO FALIER, in London.

On the 24th received his letter from London announcing his safe arrival at the English Court, which good news he heard with such pleasure as becoming their reciprocal friendship. On the arrival at Rome of the Spanish Cardinal Sta. Croce [Quiñones], knowing that the Prince of Orange was authorized by the Emperor to stipulate a treaty,—to which effect he had written to the Pope, that according to his Holiness' wish, he was charged by the Emperor to restore to him the Cardinals who were in hostage,* and Cività Vecchia and Hostia, concessions made for the purpose of inducing the Pope to throw himself into the arms of the Imperialists, —I therefore determined, not officially as the Signory's ambassador, but as a private individual, loving the Christian religion and his Holiness, to speak to the Pope, and on the day before he fell ill, I stated to him in detail what utter ruin threatened Christendom, unless he who should be the common father interfered with his authority and assistance, in such wise as not to lean more to one side than to the other, and above all advocate the general peace. That by setting this good example to the Emperor and the King of France, and preferring the common weal to his own advantage, there would be a hope of its more easy accomplishment; whilst on the other hand that hope must vanish should they see his Holiness neglect the common weal for his own aggrandizement; adding such other remarks as seemed to me opportune and necessary,† the repetition of which would be tedious, but they may easily be imagined.

The Pope answered me, assenting apparently to the truth of what I had said, and admitting that to follow my suggestion would be the part of an honest man, but that there would be need of a mutual understanding. It seemed to me nevertheless, from what he said, that the discourse delivered by me, as his servant, impressed itself upon him; and I now hear on good authority that since this illness his Holiness, when speaking about the general peace, shows himself better inclined towards it than at first, which may God grant. I will not fail doing my utmost, most especially now that I have received the power from the Signory; it appearing to me that in no other way can Christendom be aided, save by a general peace, as it is very evident that the Emperor aims solely at disuniting the sovereigns, and rendering them one by one subservient to his wishes, for their destruction.

* Cardinals Cesis and Orsino. (See Guicciardini, vol. iv., p. 274, ed. Friburgo, 1776.)

† A full account of the conversation between Clement VII. and Gasparo Contarini exists in letter No. 100; date, Rome, 4th January 1529.

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In order to obtain so necessary and desirable a result as this general peace, above all knowing that it was recommended by the King of England, the Signory, as I said, sent me the power, concerning which I have conferred with the ambassadors of France and England, that we may conjointly attend to this general peace. As soon as the Pope can give audience, the English ambassadors will advocate it, and we will proceed as shall be deemed expedient, although this Spanish Cardinal has no authority to negotiate a general peace at the Court, contrary to what was supposed before his arrival here. But should nothing else be done, the Pope will at least have proof of the good will of the Princes of the League.

I am certain that you exert yourself most diligently with the King of England about Ravenna and Cervia, showing how inopportune it would be, under the present circumstances, to make further change, or restitution of those two cities; and that we should attend solely to what is of the greatest importance, namely this general peace, according to what Sir Gregory Casal will, I am sure, have written to his Majesty.

I will now tell you, in a few words, the course of the Pope's illness. On the day of the Epiphany he came into chapel with a slight cold, accompanied, it was said, with fever. Then on the 9th he had a disagreeable paroxysm; so that on the 10th he determined to confer the grade of Cardinal on his nephew Hipolito, and on that day summoned the Cardinals to the palace in such haste as to cause great alarm and confusion in Rome. On their assembling in consistory, the Pope proposed his said nephew for the Cardinalate, and Cardinal he was by vote elected. To return to the Pope's illness. From the 9th to the 15th he had fits and paroxysms, and was so debilitated that in the evening of the 15th the physicians and others believed him to be dead. Then during that night he slept well, and is so much better as to be out of danger, according to the physicians, though not entirely free from fever.

With regard to the sword and hat [cap of maintenance?], which it is customary to bless on Christmas eve, they have been sent it as a present and mark of honour to the Prince of Orange.

The Cardinals Triultio and Gadi* have arrived, and from day to day we are expecting the Cardinal Pisani, who will travel in a litter, being ill of fever. Moreover the Imperial ambassador D. Michiel Mai is to arrive this evening, and this other, the Neapolitan Musetola, will depart.

Rome, 26th January.

[*Italian*, 3½ *pages.*]

Jan. 29.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 369.

407. TABERNA, Milanese Ambassador in France, to the DUKE OF MILAN.

The French hope to arrange their affairs with the Emperor through the Cardinal Santa Croce, to whom Madame the Regent purposed sending a present of wrought silver.

* Francesco Gadi, or Gaddi, was created Cardinal by Clement VII., in the year 1527.

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Giovanni Gioachino [Passano] is conveying the commission for the captain-generalship of the Duke of Ferrara.

The English King is urging his most Christian Majesty to wage war on Spain.

Paris? 29th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th February. Deciphered despatch.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 323.

408. News of Rome from Sir Gregory Casal.

Letters from Rome dated the 28th ult. written by the English ambassador, Sir Gregory Casal, to his brother the Prothonotary here, concerning the Pope's illness, and the coming hither of two English ambassadors with a letter from the King to the Signory in strong terms about restoring Ravenna and Cervia. Sir Gregory has been with them, and they wrote back to their King that the letter ought not to be delivered, to avoid exasperating the Venetians, by reason of the coming of the Cardinal Santa Croce, and the Spanish ambassador; wherefore, as important negotiations will take place, it is unadvisable to do more about these towns for the present. Sir Gregory writes that thus does he do the State good service.

Registered by Sanuto, 1st February.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 370.

409. Taberna, Milanese Ambassador in France, to the Duke of Milan.

The most Christian King promises to supply the Duke of Milan with 10,000 crowns. All his Majesty's designs tend towards the Milanese expedition. Giovanni Gioachino has departed, and is negotiating peace with hope of success through the Pope and the Capuchin Cardinal [Sta. Croce].

His most Christian Majesty purposes forming an army of 30,000 foot and 3,000 horse, to which, according to agreement, the King of England will contribute 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse; and with this force his most Christian Majesty will pass either into Spain or Italy, as shall seem best. Owing to the news of the Pope's death he said he would raise 10,000 infantry to secure for the Cardinals the freedom of the new creation.

Two ambassadors from the Lady Margaret have arrived in France to confirm, it is said, the truce in Flanders.

Paris, 1st February. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 2. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 344.

410. Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory.

Told by the King that two ambassadors have arrived from the Lady Margaret to prolong the truce with Flanders, which expires in February. Also that an ambassador from the King of England, and one from Lady Margaret, wished to mediate between him and the Emperor.

1529.

Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., late ambassador in England, has arrived in Paris. We went together to the King, who gave him good greeting and much praise.

Poissi, 2nd February. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th February.*

[*Italian.*]

[Feb. 2 ?] Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 344.

411. Marco Antonio Venier to the Signory.

Quitted London with permission from the King and Cardinal on the —— December, and was well received by his most Christian Majesty.

Had been unable to visit "Madame," his mother, as she was indisposed. Praises the ambassador Guistinian, who is very acceptable to the King and Court.

Paris, ———. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th February.*

Note by Sanuto: That when Venier left England the King gave him silver to the value of 700 ducats, and in like manner to his secretary, Gasparo Spinelli, silver worth 200 ducats.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 2. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 115, St. Mark's Library.

412. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

The ambassadors from England who arrived lately have not yet been admitted into the Pope's presence; they will not have audience unless he gets better. The length of the illness cannot but cause apprehension, though the fine weather, which is already commencing here, may be of great benefit.

Rome, 2nd February.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

Feb. 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 395.

413. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

The King and Cardinal are absent from London, and Wolsey having heard by letter of the death of the Pope immediately despatched the Bishop of Bayonne post-wise to France, to ask the most Christian King to direct his three French Cardinals, and such others as he can influence, to go to Rome and make the Cardinal of York Pope.

Understands that Dr. Stephen [Gardyner] and the other [Sir Francis Bryan ?], who went to Rome to negotiate the general peace, have been commissioned to propose a two years' truce during which to treat the peace.

London, 4th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6–17. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. pp. 395.

414. Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory.

Having heard from the Ambassador Falier that Dr. Stephen [Gardyner] went to Rome to negotiate a two years' truce, went to King Francis and acquainted him with this news, saying it would be bad to negotiate anything without the Signory's knowledge. The King replied that without the Signory's knowledge they would do nothing.

Paris, 6–17th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th February.*

[*Italian.*]

1529.
Feb. 8.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 352.

415. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Envoy accredited to Count de S. Pol, to the SIGNORY.

An ambassador from the King of England has come to Monsignor.* He† is going to Rome, and will perhaps come first to the Signory.

Alexandria (della Paglia), 8th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th February.*

Feb. 10.
Original Letter Book, Letter no. 118, St. Mark's Library.

416. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The two English ambassadors [Sir Francis Brian and Peter Vannes], on hearing that the ambassador from the Emperor had been admitted to pay his respects and kiss the Pope's feet, made an attempt to do the like; so, to avoid the display of any partiality, the Pope gave them audience on the 6th, the topics they were to discuss being prescribed to them. On entering they presented their credentials, and departed after uttering a few commonplace phrases, as told me by Jacopo Salviati, from whom I also heard that the Kings of England and France have behaved well to the Pope, not merely making him verbal offers of money, but giving orders to merchants to pay; but the Pope will not inconvenience any of his friends unless his own need and penury be intense.

Rome, 10th February 1529.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

Feb. 12.
Consiglio X., Parti Secrete, Filza 2.

417. COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR and VICE "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Emperor has sent a commission to his aunt, Madame Margaret, to stipulate a truce with Flanders, France, and England, and to make peace with the King of France and his confederates; and the King of France sent one of his gentlemen to inspect this commission, which he says is drawn up in suitable form to negotiate the said peace; so the King told the ambassadors of the confederates that he would send to treat it, but did not acquaint our ambassador with the terms.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian*.]

Feb. 13.
Original Letter Book, Letter no. 121, St. Mark's Library.

418. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The English ambassadors lately received letters from the French Court, dated the 16th ult., announcing the preparations making by the Emperor.

Rome, 13th February 1529.

[*Italian*, 3½ *pages*.]

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* Namely, Mons. de St. Pol, French Commander-in-Chief in the Milanese. (See Andrea Morosini, pp. 276, 278, 301, 302.)

† Stephen Gardyner? See State Papers, vol. i., parts i. and ii., p. 330; also vol. vii., footnote p. 152, showing that Gardyner arrived at Rome on the 15th February 1529.

1529.
Feb. 18.
Original Letter Book, Letter no. 125, St. Mark's Library.

419. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Three days ago Dr. Stephen [Gardyner] arrived, having quitted England on the 21st ult.* The cause of his coming, as told me by Sir Gregory Casal, is because at a disputation held in England about the marriage, and in which some French doctors took part, certain briefs were produced in favour of the Queen, which the King's partizans declare to be false, or that they suspect them of falsity, and so this ambassador Stephen is come to the Court to ascertain the fact.†

I went to visit him yesterday, and together with the other English ambassadors, we consulted whether it was desirable that the Abbot of Farfà (who has written from Bracciano to the French ambassador for advice in this matter) ought now to raise a certain amount of infantry, as ordered of him, for the garrison of Aquila.

It appeared to us all that this stir would be to no purpose, as the troops thus mustered would prove insufficient to enter the Abruzzi, the Prince of Orange being in Aquila with a considerable force, and these foot soldiers might provoke the Imperial army to push forward in this direction.

Sir Gregory Casal tells me that on the day before yesterday he heard from Fabio Penuzo that the Count dell' Aquila and Camillo Pardo were in Spoleto. The French ambassador, although he has no letters, understands that the aforesaid Count and Camillo Pardo are at Florence. As yet there is no further certainty.

Rome, 18th February 1529.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 18.
Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 41.

420. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

The Cardinal tells him there are letters from the Spanish Court, dated Toledo, 4th February, purporting that the coming of the Emperor into Italy seemed to have cooled, though he would not fail to do so were the King [of France?] to go thither.

London, 18th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20, 21.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlix. p. 390.

421. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador at Florence, to the SIGNORY.

The truce with Madame Margaret is settled; the ambassador who stipulated it has gone to Spain. The King of England has sent two ambassadors for the purpose of avoiding‡ certain briefs made in favour of the Queen about the divorce.

Florence, 20th and 21st February. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th February.*

[*Italian.*]

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* In the "Trevelyan Papers" it is stated that he was sent to Rome on 14th January 1529.

† Concerning Gardyner at Rome on the 3rd March 1529, see his letter to Henry VIII. "State Papers," vol. vii., part v., p. 152, where in a footnote it is stated that he announced his arrival to the King on the 15th February, but the object of the mission is not specified.

‡ "Per causa di *remuover* certi brievi." About the brief found in Spain, which the Emperor was required to send either to England or to Rome, see "State Papers," vol. vii., p. 118, and following.

1529.

Feb. 20. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 127, St. Mark's Library.

422. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Pope is now free from fever; so, provided the physicians do not commit any more extravagances, as they in fact did by giving him two doses of rhubarb in three days, it is hoped he will recover.

At the suggestion of the French ambassador, went to the English ambassadors to consult about writing to the Abbot of Farfà concerning the succour of Matrice, and they approved of sending a certain amount of infantry thither.

Rome, 20th February 1529.

[*Italian*, 4½ *pages*.]

Feb. 23. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 128, St. Mark's Library.

423. The SAME to the SAME.

On Sunday last was visited by Sir Gregory Casal and Bernardino, the agent of the Abbot of Farfà, who gave a very different account from the one received by my secretary from the French ambassador, telling me that the Abbot, having no news from La Matrice, supposed it to have been taken. Sir Gregory and I and Bernardino agreed to send a letter to the townspeople of La Matrice and to the Count of Aquila, exhorting them to hold out, and promising them all possible assistance; to which letter we obtained the signature of the French ambassador, and Sir Gregory (thinking thus to render it more authoritative) signed it in like manner, as did I also.

Rome, 23rd February 1529.

[*Italian*, 4¼ *pages*.]

Feb. 26. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 48.

424. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

Letters from Rome dated 30th January announcing that the Pope was worse, Cardinal Wolsey has a stronger fantasy than ever to be made Pope, and spoke to him (Falier), requesting that he would write to the Signory to give him all favour, and desire the Venetian Cardinals to bestir themselves. It would be well to write the Cardinal a judicious letter, which would be very efficacious.

An ambassador has arrived in London from King Ferdinand [of Hungary], and with the Imperial ambassador had audience of the Cardinal, requesting subsidy against the Turk, who is about to attack them. Wolsey told the ambassadors that the best assistance would be for the Emperor to make peace with the most Christian King, who requires nothing but his sons, and that then the Powers might unite Christendom against the Turks.

London, 26th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th March.*

[*Italian*.]

Feb. 27. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 131, St. Mark's Library.

425. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The messenger despatched by Sir Gregory Casal with our letters for La Matrice got as far as Arieta (*sic*) where he met the servants of Camillo Pardo, who insisted on carrying them on, saying that if conveyed by others the bearers would fare badly, having to pass through places occupied by the enemy, whereas Camillo's servants, being natives of the country, traverse it in all safety by night.

Rome 27th February 1529.

[*Italian*, 3¼ *pages*.]

1529.
March 2.
Sanuto Diaries, v. l. pp. 40, 41.

426. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The most Christian King has advices from Spain and Biscay that the Emperor is coming into Italy, and on the 2nd March was to quit Toledo for Barcelona, proceeding thence to Roses* for embarkation. He leaves the regency of the kingdom of Spain to the Empress, and will take with him the eldest sons of all the grandees of Castile.

For this reason his most Christian Majesty chooses to attack Spain. He said he was sending the brother of the Bishop of Bayonne to England because Cardinal Wolsey has a fancy for the Popedom (*ha fantasia al Papato*), and that he (Wolsey) sent the Bishop himself to his Majesty to obtain his assistance to be made Pope, which his Majesty promised him, and the Bishop is going to Rome.

Through Cardinal Wolsey his Majesty will endeavour to obtain from the King of England pecuniary assistance wherewith to pay the 14,000 Lansquenets which he purposes employing for this expedition.

Paris, 2nd March. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 4.
Original Letter Book, Letter no. 133, St. Mark's Library.

427. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Imperial ambassador here has received letters from the Prince of Orange, announcing the capture of La Matrice, on the 25th ult. The Imperialists committed great slaughter, sparing neither women nor children, although the Prince did his utmost to prevent them, so that a few women were saved notwithstanding.†

Rome, 4th March 1529.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

March 7.
Original Letter Book, Letter no. 137, St. Mark's Library.

428. The SAME to the SAME.

The Secretary Sanga, on behalf of the Pope, is sending Count Giovanni Tomaso della Mirandola to attend the Diet which is being held at Spires for the Lutheran affairs. Requests the Governors of Verona and other Venetian agents not to impede Count Tomaso, as the Diet must have already commenced.

Rome, 7th March 1529.

[*Italian,* 2¼ *pages.*]

March 9.
Sanuto Diaries, v. l. pp. 33, 34.

429. ZUAM FERRO, Vice "Podestà," and CRISTOFAL CAPELLO, Captain of Brescia, to the SIGNORY.

King Ferdinand attended the Diet of Inspruck, which determined to give him 120,000 Rhenish guilders, to be expended against the Turks; but they will not give him money [for hostilities] against Italy.

King Ferdinand is gone to Constance to hold another Diet. In

* Roses in Catalonia, now called Rosas, 2½ leagues from Gerona. Rosas is a "*very important maritime place*" (see Ford's Handbook for Spain, Part 1, p. 438, ed. 1855.)

† Guicciardini (vol. iv. p. 344), records the capture of La Matrice, but makes no mention of the efforts made by the English ambassador to succour the place.

1529.

Germany there has sprung up another sect, whose followers baptize themselves twice; and sixteen Lutherans were beheaded by order of King Ferdinand. Considers it most certain that for this year not a single German will come into Italy.

Brescia, 9th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 11. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 138, St. Mark's Library.

430. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

A few days ago the Abbot of Farfà* captured at Palo two barges bound to Rome with 250 "*rugi*" of corn, which the Cardinals resent greatly, and having sent for the French ambassador to appear before the "Congregation," they complained loudly, threatening to call the Colonna faction and the Imperialists for their aid and defence; so after discussing the matter with the Imperial ambassador (*sic*) [query, French ambassador], Sir Gregory Casal, and myself, we wrote a suitable letter to the Abbot, and spoke to his agent Giovanni Battista, who resides here at the court. The French ambassador tells me he will write to Mons. de S. Pol, to send for the Abbot into Lombardy, as his proceedings here are really scandalous and unprofitable, and may produce some mischievous result. To oblige them both [the French ambassador and Casal] I was obliged to sign the letter, Sir Gregory doing the like.

The Bishop of Verona [Gianmatteo Giberti] has requested me to beseech your Highness, in his name, to give licence to one Master Jacob Mantino, a Jewish physician, and a very eminent man (*et homo molto excellente*), to wear the black cap, so that during his stay at Venice he may live at ease, and free from any insult. His Lordship tells me they have been friends for several years, and that he employed him to translate certain Hebrew works into Latin. I promised him to perform the office, assuring him that your Serenity wishes to do him pleasure.

Rome, 11th March 1529.

[*Italian*, 4¼ *pages.*]

March 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 158.

431. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

The King answered the French ambassadors that he will send an ambassador with his reply, but will try and make a general peace; the Pope to stipulate a peace and excommunicate those who reject it.

His Majesty has given Mons. de Langes, the French ambassador,† a silver-gilt basin and ewer, two large jars (*vasi*), four silver cups, and a cover,‡ said to be worth 500 crowns.

To another [envoy ?]§, on his way to Scotland, he gave a basin and jug (*ramina*), four bowls, and a cover, all of ungilt silver; to the third [ambassador] who came with the ambassador, 200 crowns; to

* Regarding this Napoleone Orsini, Abbot of Farfà, there are many details in these letters of Gasparo Contarini, as likewise in Guicciardini's Italian History.

† See "Trevelyan Papers," p. 156.

‡ "*Una coperta*;" query, covered bowl or tankard.

§ From Ferdinand? See 22 April, *post.*

1529.

Germany there has sprung up another sect, whose followers baptize themselves (wedey), and style themselves Lutheran, being befriended by order of King Ferdinand. Considers it most certain that, for this year 1529, a single German will come into Italy.

Brescia, 9th March. Registered by Gamelio, 11th March.

[Italian.]

March 11. 1230. GIFFORD CONSTABLE to the STEWARD.

Original Letter Book. Letter no. 122, St. John's Library.

A few days ago the Abbot of [St.] Ouen captured my clerk as he [was bound to Rome with 250 ?] cups, [of corn, which the Cardinals assert] greatly, and having sent for the French ambassador to appear before the "Congregation," they complained loudly, threatening to cut the Colonna faction and the Imperialists for ever and ever, unless he after discussing the matter with the Imperial ambassador (sic) [query, French ambassador] Sir Gregory Casal, and myself, wrote a suitable letter to the Abbot, and spoke to his agent Giovanni Battista, who resides here at the court. The French ambassador tells me he will write to Mons. de St. Val, to send for the Abbot into Lombardy, as his proceedings here are really scandalous and unprofitable, and may produce some mischievous result. To oblige them both [the French ambassador and Casal] I was obliged to sign the letter; Sir Gregory delay the like.

The Bishop of Verona [Giammatteo Giberti] has requested me to beseech your Highness, in his name, to give license to one Master Jacob Mantino, a Jewish physician, and a very eminent man (et homo multe excellenti), to serve the Duke of Urbino, so that during his stay at Verona he may live as easy and free from any insult. The Cardinal tells me they have been friends for several years and that he employed him to translate certain Hebrew works into Latin. I promised him to perform the office, assuring him that [he] your Excellency wishes to do him pleasure.

Rome, 11th March 1529.

[Italian, 34 pages.]

March 12. 1231. LORENZO PIZZIE to the STEWARD.

Senate Decrees, v. I. p. 188.

The King answered the French ambassadors that he will send an ambassador with his reply, but will try and make a general peace; the Pope to stipulate a peace and excommunicate those who reject it.

His Majesty has given Mons. de Langey, the French ambassador, a silver-gilt basin and ever two large pots (pezi), four silver cups, and a cover; said to be worth 500 ducats.

To another [envoy ?], on his way to Scotland, he gave a basin and jug (resmino), four bowls, and a cover, all of [gilt] silver; to the third [ambassador] who came with the ambassador, [all of] the same; to

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* Regesto dei Sapienti Dandi, Atti, 4° Reg., does not mention it.
Letter of Cardinal Contarini, as likewise is Contarini's Diario (MS.).
† See "Treaties, Leagues," p. 438.
‡ "Due coppe," query, covered bowl or basin?
§ From Portland? See 22 April post.

1529.

the fourth, who adjusted the litter, 50 crowns ; and they (the envoys) have returned to France.*

London, 13th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 141, St. Mark's Library.

432. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On the 12th, at the dinner-hour, the Pope's house steward informed me that if I wished to pay my respects to his Holiness, though not to transact any business, nor as ambassador, but as a private gentleman, I might go to him, as he would be glad to see me. I went to the palace at the appointed hour, when the Pope sent for me immediately into his chamber, where I found him in bed, looking so well as not to display the slightest sign of having had so serious an illness. Having had a stool placed for me at his bedside, we discussed various matters. We spoke much about his illness, and about the Emperor's coming into Italy, and he said he did not think it would take place this year, although his Majesty very much desired it, asking my opinion on the subject. I answered that to me also it seemed very difficult for him to quit Spain and come into Italy at present, as he could not do so without bringing a great quantity of money and a large army ; and also that as Spain was apprehensive lest France with the assistance of England make war in the direction of Navarre, I did not know how the Spaniards would approve of the departure of their Sovereign, and of his draining the country of much treasure and many good troops.

Rome, 14th March 1529.

[*Italian, 5¼ pages.*]

March 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 143.

433. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

The King and Cardinal are out of London. Letters have been received from the two English ambassadors in Spain [Ghinucci and Lee], dated Toledo, 25th February. They state that the coming of the Emperor into Italy has cooled (*è raffredata*), and the biscuit which had been prepared [for the sea voyage] is being sold.

London, 15th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 17. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. lii. p. 9.

434. PETITION from the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR.

Earnest suit having been made by the Rev. Legate, resident here [Averoldi, Bishop of Pola ?] (in conformity with a letter from our ambassador at Rome) ; by the French ambassador, the Bishop of Avranches ; and by the ambassador from the King of England, Prothonotary Casal, to prolong the concession made to Master Jacob, the Jewish physician, to wear the black cap, we deem it fitting to admit the intercession of such worthy personages, especially in these very troublesome times, when it is not advisable to disoblige them in similar matters, by reason of our Signory's present need, especially

* With reference to this litter, there is an entry at p. 152 of the "Trevelyan Papers," published by the Camden Society, A.D. 1857, thus, "Item geven to a vaulet of the French "Kinges chambre, which brought riche bedds in present from the said Frenche King to the "Kinges highnes, in rewarde CC crounes of V^s the pece . . . l^li." (See Trevelyan Papers, page 152, entry 8.)

1529.

as we are assured that the said Jew is learned in the theory and practice of medicine, and has effected some very successful cures (*de belissime cure*).

Put to the ballot, that Master Jacob, the Jewish physician, be allowed freely to wear the black cap throughout the City of Venice, he residing in Jewry where the other Hebrews dwell; and this concession to be available and to last for four months, to commence after the next Easter holidays.*

Ayes - 10—10
Noes - 7— 7
Neutrals - 0— 0

Lecta fuit lex in Rubeo ad C[a] (at page) 105.

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 143, St. Mark's Library.

435. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Last evening the Pope gave audience to the Cardinal of Mantua, and on the day before yesterday to the Cardinal Triultio. As yet he has not admitted any other cardinals. The French ambassador likewise had audience previously. The English ambassadors had audience on the day before yesterday.

Rome, 18th March 1529.

[*Italian,* 3 *pages.*]

March 20. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 144, St. Mark's Library.

436. The SAME to the SAME.

The English ambassadors [Gregory Casal, Brian, Vannes, and Gardyner] at their audience of the Pope did not negotiate either about the marriage or any other matter relating to their King, but merely spoke about the general peace, and to conclude it more easily, exhorted his Holiness and D. Jacomo Salviati first of all to make a truce, as if to demand the galleys for the Pope's voyage to Spain.

Rome, 20th March 1529.

[*Italian,* 3½ *pages.*]

March 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 157.

437. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

An ambassador from the most Christian King has arrived in London, demanding of King Henry pecuniary assistance, troops, and a fleet against the Emperor. King Henry is quite disposed to annul his marriage with the Queen, saying, "If the Pope will not annul it, I will annul it myself."

The King of Scotland had been negotiating a marriage with the Queen Widow of Hungary [Maria], the Emperor's sister, and the most Christian King sent to remonstrate with him against this, his English Majesty likewise being averse to it.

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* In the year 1395 the Grand Council of Venice decreed that the Jews were to have the front of their gabardines wrought with a *yellow* O, but as by various devices they contrived to conceal this mark, the Senate enacted a law in 1496 compelling them to wear a *yellow* cap, thus distinguishing them from *black*-capped Christians. (See Sandi, Storia Civile Veneziana, vol. v. pp. 438. 439.

By the letter from Gasparo Contarini, dated Rome, 11th March 1529, it appears that Matteo Giberti, Bishop of Verona, was the prelate who urged the grant of a black cap to Master Jacob, and the ambassador also shows that the surname of this eminent physician was Mantino, a native of Spain, many of whose works were printed in the 16th and 17th centuries.

1529.

King Henry says, "I have a weight on my conscience; the Pope who gave me a dispensation to take my brother's wife who had consummated the marriage, was not authorised to do so."

London, 31st March. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th April.*

[*Italian.*]

April 1. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. lii. p. 9.

438. BALLOT by the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

That by authority of this Council the Jewish physician, Master Jacob, be allowed freely to wear the black cap throughout this our city of Venice, he residing in Jewry, where the other Hebrews dwell; and this concession to be available and to last during the whole of the next month of May.

The law of the Grand Council (105) concerning $\frac{5}{6}$ was read.

Ayes, 13. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.*

[*Italian.*]

April 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 72.

439. REPORT of ENGLAND.

Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., having returned from his embassy to England, came into the College, wearing a gown of purple velvet with a raised pile, and narrated a few particulars. He was desired to make his report in the Senate, where he took his seat as sage for the main land.

[*Italian.*]

440. REPORT of ENGLAND.

April 2. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 73.

The Senate sat in the afternoon, and after perusal of the letters, Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., who took his seat as sage for the main land, on his return from the embassy to England, went to the platform, and made a very unskilful report (*riferite molto inesperta-mente*) of the country and of the King, whom he supposes to have much money, having 600,000 ducats revenue, and 200,000 expenses. The Cardinal of York is more than King; he is the enemy of the Emperor, but they will not spend money; they greatly love the Signory and the King of France. The Cardinal wishes for the popedom, and is supposed to have much money.

The embassy lasted — months. Praised his secretary, Gasparo Spinelli, and said that on his (Venier's) departure, the King gave him — pieces of silver, worth about 500 ducats. On his way home he returned through France and spoke with the most Christian King; also at Lodi he had audience of the Duke of Milan. He also mentioned other particulars; and on his coming down from the platform, the Doge praised him as usual.

The Councillors (with the exception of Nicolò Venier, ordered to withdraw on account of relationship), the Chiefs of the Forty, and the Sages, then moved that by reason of the toil endured by him, Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., late ambassador in England, be allowed to retain the silver plate given him by the King. The motion was balloted for twice, and lost, as it required a majority of five-sixths.

[*Italian.*]

* On the margin of the register there is a cross thus:—"✝ *De parte* 13;" the cross signifying that the motion was carried.

1529.

April 3. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 75.

441. Present from Henry VIII.

Motion made in the Senate by the Councillors, Chiefs of the Forty, and Sages, that there be given to Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., late ambassador in England, the silver plate presented to him by the King.

Balloted for twice, and not carried.

1st Ballot. Ayes, 160. Noes, 47. Neutrals, 3.

2nd Ballot. Ayes, 159. Noes, 51. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

April 3. Senato Terra, v. xxv. p. 131.

442. Venetian Ambassador in England.

The munificence of the State should make a substantial demonstration of gratitude towards the nobleman, Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., returned from his embassy to England, where he resided for three years and — months, to the satisfaction of the Signory and to the honour and advantage of the State, and to his own detriment and cost.

Put to the ballot,—that there be given him the twelve pieces of silver, worth about 500 ducats, which he received on his departure from the King of England, as done by other ambassadors in similar cases.

Ayes, 160. Noes, 47. Neutrals, 3.

Ayes, 159. Noes, 51. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

April 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 153.

443. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

The most Christian King has sent the King of England a very beautiful present of four mules, loaded with most handsome effects, with velvet coverings exquisitely wrought. Two of the mules bore a cradle (*cariola*), bed, and bolster, all of cloth of gold with a raised pile, on which were many embroidered devices, the woodwork being gilt. He also sent two other mules for Cardinal Wolsey. King Henry is sending another ambassador to the Signory.

London, 5th April. Letter sent by way of Florence. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th April.*

[*Italian.*]

April 7. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 153, St. Mark's Library.

444. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Dom. Andrea dal Borgo, ambassador from King Ferdinand, went to the Pope on the day before yesterday, and narrated to him how in Germany the Lutherans had so multiplied and prevailed in such a manner that in some of the chief cities the one single mass which was celebrated for the Catholics had been abolished, and in another city a crucifix had been shamefully defaced, so that well nigh all Germany might be considered Lutheran.

Rome, 7th April 1529.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

April 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 94.

445. English Secretary in the College Hall.

In the morning the secretary of the English ambassador came into the College, bringing advices, dated Rome, the 2nd instant, from

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the English ambassadors, announcing the determination of the Emperor to come into Italy.

[*Italian.*]

April 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 143.

446. News from France.

The Council of Ten has received letters from the Signory's ambassador in France, dated Blois, 9th April. The King was not there. The Emperor had arrived at St. Mary's of Montserrat, seven leagues from Barcelona, whither he was going to embark for Italy, taking with him the French Princes.

The most Christian King purposes going into Italy, but will first send to Guienne, and then to Languedoc; he will have 20,000 Switzers, 10,000 Lansquenets, and 10,000 adventurers. He wishes the Signory likewise to have 20,000 infantry; and he will send money to Italy to Mons. de S. Pol, and for the affairs of Puglia. The King of England is sending Cardinal Wolsey to his most Christian Majesty. An ambassador has arrived at Blois from the Lady Margaret, on account of certain disputes about the truce with Flanders, and they purpose electing ten [commissioners?] for each side. The coming of Cardinal Wolsey to Blois is because the King of England chooses absolutely (*al tutto*) to annul the marriage.

Blois, 9th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th April.*

[*Italian.*]

April 13. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 156, St. Mark's Library.

447. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

The day before yesterday the English ambassadors conferred with the Pope, and most earnestly demanded of him the repeal of a certain brief made by Pope Julius in favour of the King's marriage. His Holiness answered them that he could not repeal it without citing the advisers of the Queen (*senza citar l'altra parte de la Regina*); and assuredly from what I heard from the Cardinal of Mantua, with whom the Pope spoke yesterday on the subject, he finds himself much embarrassed, nor does he know how to extricate himself from the matter, in accordance with justice and to the satisfaction of the King.

Rome, 13th April 1529.

[*Italian, 4½ pages.*]

April 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 248.

448. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

The ambassador from the King of Bohemia [Archduke Ferdinand], who came to his Majesty here for assistance against the Turks, proceeded subsequently to Scotland, and returned without obtaining anything.

An ambassador from the Emperor, now in England,* wishing to return to France, King Henry wrote for a safeconduct for him, and King Francis replied that the like must be given to him also, to enable him to effect the return to France of his own ambassador, and that he would then grant the Spaniard's demand.

London, 22nd April. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th May.*

[*Italian.*]

* Don Iñigo de Mendoza, Bishop of Burgos.

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April 26. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 162, St. Mark's Library.

449. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Sir Gregory tells me he has been informed by Jacopo Salviati that these proceedings of the League, and the outrages perpetrated by the Abbot of Farfà in the neighbourhood of Rome, are of such a nature that they will compel the Pope to become an Imperialist.

Rome, 26th April 1529.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages*.]

April 27. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 163, St. Mark's Library.

450. The SAME to the SAME.

Yesterday, whilst I was visiting Cardinal Pisani, Jacopo Salviati came to him, and told me what I had already heard about the statement made by him to Sir Gregory Casal concerning the Pope's disapproval of the proceedings of the Abbot of Farfà.

This morning, moreover, while I was at the house of the Cardinal of Mantua (who this day departed, to the great regret of the whole Court), he received visits from the ambassadors of the Emperor and of King Ferdinand, who informed him, with regard to Spanish news, that they had merely letters from the Treasurer, dated Barcelona, concerning the postponement of the Cortes of Aragon until the 4th of May, and the consequent protracted stay of the Emperor in that city; but they did not say anything to him about the sale of the biscuits.*

They also told him that they went this morning to the Pope, and made a protest to him, in the name of the Emperor and of Ferdinand, against the dissolution of the English marriage, which was heard and accepted by his Holiness, who, I believe, is much embarrassed about this matter.

Rome, 27th April 1529.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

April 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 167.

451. ENGLISH AMBASSADOR in the COLLEGE.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] came into the College Hall, and presented a Latin letter from his King to the Signory, writing warmly in very atrocious terms (*parole molto atroze*), desiring the State to restore Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope.

Note by Sanuto, that the letter was read subsequently in the Senate, and that if able to obtain a copy it shall be noted by him hereafter.

[*Italian*.]

April 30. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 164, St. Mark's Library.

452. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

By my last of the 27th I notified what the ambassadors of the Emperor and of Ferdinand told the Cardinal of Mantua about the protest made to the Pope concerning the affair of the divorce, to which the King of England lays claim. Subsequently heard these further particulars. The ambassadors aforesaid made a protest to the Pope that this divorce case should not be tried in England, but here at the Court, in the presence of his Holiness and the Sacred College

* Query, sale of biscuits for the fleet no longer required if the Emperor renounced his voyage to Italy. (See 15th March, *ante*.)

1529. of Cardinals, to which effect they served a summons on the English ambassadors for yesterday, charging them to appear before the Pope "*in signatura.*" This summons was served on them by a Spanish cursitor. At this the English ambassadors took great offence, most especially Dr. Stephen [Gardyner], and yesterday morning accordingly they made their appearance, "*in signatura,*" before the Pope and the Cardinal of Ancona*,—the aforesaid ambassadors of the Emperor and King Ferdinand, and the English ambassadors also. Thereupon much altercation ensued between them about the summons and the mode observed by the Imperial ambassadors, but they came to no conclusion of any sort.†

Rome, 30th April 1529.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages.*]

May 6. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 166, St. Mark's Library.

453. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Cardinal Triultio tells me he has letters from his brother, dated the 23rd ult., purporting that should the Emperor enter Italy King Francis was determined in like manner to come with a very large army, but on condition that the Italian powers give him a good number of troops, to which the King of England had fully assented.

His brother also told him that the merchants of Lyons had news from Spain of the conclusion of the bargain between the Emperor and the King of Portugal about the navigation of the Indies, and that thereby the Emperor would obtain from 300,000 to 350,000 crowns.

Rome, 6th May 1529.

[*Italian*, 1¾ *page.*]

May 6. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 167, St. Mark's Library.

454. The SAME to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Yesterday at vespers, when seated beside the Imperial ambassador, he mentioned to me this treaty of peace [between the Emperor and France], saying he was informed that an ambassador from England had arrived at the Emperor's court about this matter, and that perhaps the Duke of Savoy would go in person to Spain to bring it to a conclusion.

Rome, 6th May 1529.

[*Italian*, 1 *page.*]

May 9. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 169. St. Mark's Library.

455. The SAME to the SAME.

I hear from Cardinal Triultio that he has letters from the Court of France dated the 27th ult., alluding to the negotiation for peace, which was said to be in the hands of Madame Margaret and the King of England, and drawing very close.‡ From Spain he was also

* Pietro degli Accolti, Bishop of Ancona. It will be seen hereafter, date April 1533, that the Cardinal of Ancona was the author of the postscript dated 15th November and 23rd December 1533, which postscript was the final cause of the schism, and shows that the Cardinal of Ancona opposed the divorce throughout.

† Some account of this summons was probably contained in certain *missing* letters of the English ambassadors, to which allusion is made in "State Papers," vol. vii. part v. p. 169, note 2.

‡ "La qual dicono stringersi assai."

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informed that it was near conclusion; he tells me that the Duke of Savoy and Madame Margaret were conducting it.

He also told me that the ambassador Navagero was ill of a very dangerous fever, from which may the Almighty deign to relieve him, and preserve for the service of the State so excellent a nobleman.

Rome, 9th May 1529.

[*Italian*, ¼ *page.*]

May 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 228.

456. Report of the Death of Luther.

Note by Sanuto.

Through the German warehouse,* by letters addressed to the merchants there, it is reported that in the Diet of Spires, where they also discussed the Lutheran faith, it has been determined to do nothing further for the present, until the coming of the Emperor, everybody being allowed to follow what doctrine he pleases, either the Roman or the Lutheran. They have elected as superintendents for these affairs, the Duke of Saxony, the Marquis of Saltzburg, and the Bishop of Augsburg. They also discussed a levy of troops for the defence of Germany against the Turks. Moreover, in Saxony, Friar Martin Luther, who was married, and leaves — children, has died.†

[*Italian.*]

May 14. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 170, St. Mark's Library.

457. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

So great were the annoyance and vexation experienced by the Pope at the frequent audiences given him before his last relapse, and most especially from those which he gave to the English and Imperial ambassadors, concerning the divorce, that although since my last of the 9th he has constantly improved in health, he will nevertheless not admit anyone, or give the slightest audience, and I believe he will persist in this seclusion until after the Whitsuntide holydays.

I was told this morning by D. Jacopo Salviati that there are letters of the 11th and 12th ult. from the Nuncio, who writes from Spires that the Diet was about to decree that the mass and other divine services now abolished by Luther were to be continued in the ancient fashion, and according to the custom of the universal church, until the session of the next Council. How true this may be I know not, but the determination would be excellent.

Rome, 14th May 1529.

[*Italian*, 3¼ *pages.*]

May 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 290.

458. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

The French ambassador, the Bishop of Bayonne, arrived in haste in London. The King, who was taking his pleasure here and there in the island, and Cardinal Wolsey, who was doing the like, came to London to give audience to him. Went to Cardinal Wolsey to learn what the Bishop had brought back, but was unable to have

* "*Fontego de Tedeschi.*" A building still visible, and which was painted externally by Giorgione and Titian.

† The death of Luther took place at Eisleben on the 14th February 1546.

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audience. Will endeavour to inquire, etc. Encloses a letter written by the Emperor to a certain prelate on the Spanish frontiers (*a quelli confini*), dated 20th February, announcing his (the Emperor's) resolve to proceed into Italy.

The King is dissatisfied with the Pope about the divorce, but nevertheless perseveres in choosing to have it settled.

London, 15th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 21. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 172, St. Mark's Library.

459. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Cardinal Triultio has received from Lyons some particulars about the Diet which is being held at Spires. They are contained in a letter which the electors and princes of the Diet are sending to the Emperor, the document having been sent from Spires to Captain Morello, the French agent in Switzerland, who forwarded it to Pomponio Triultio, from whom his brother the Cardinal received it. Therein the members of the Diet announce having seen what the Emperor wrote to them, both about the steps to be taken concerning the faith, and also with regard to the Turkish invasion of Hungary and Germany.

With regard to providing for the faith, they say the only provision is to call a Council General, the Pope himself summoning it, and the Emperor doing his utmost to have it held within a year, and in some city of Germany, such as Metz, Cologne, Mayence, or some other; and should there be no means of holding a Council General, the Emperor to assemble a "congregation" in Germany of all the States (*de tuti li stadi*), and he himself to be present at it, for the avoidance of many scandalous proceedings which might occur in his absence.

Rome, 21st May.

[*Italian*, 4¼ *pages.*]

May 24. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 173, St. Mark's Library.

460. The SAME to the SAME.

Yesterday in chapel the Emperor's ambassador told me that Dom. Andrea dal Borgo had received letters of a recent date from the Diet at Spires, announcing its determination to give King Ferdinand 16,000 infantry and 4,000 horse for the expedition against the Turks. With regard to the Lutheran affairs, it was decided that until the next council, which will be held within a year, all persons are to follow their own fashion (*ognuno deba far a suo modo*), but on the other hand, that the masses are to be re-established in those places where the Lutherans suppressed them, because they were more powerful there than the Roman Catholics.

This morning D. Jacopo Salviati spoke to me in favour of Paolo Luzasco, as likewise did Sir Gregory Casal.

Rome, 24th May 1529.

[*Italian*, 4¾ *pages.*]

May 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 383.

461. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

Narrates colloquies between himself and Cardinal Wolsey, and that in Spain a paper had been printed announcing the conclusion of a truce for eighteen months between the Emperor and the King

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of France. This caused King Henry and the Cardinal to complain greatly, but the French ambassador in London denied the fact, and pledged his head that it was invented by the Spaniards; so the King and Cardinal were pacified. The King is ill disposed towards the Legate Campeggio, on account of the Queen's marriage, which he will not annul. Has also heard on good authority that Cardinal Wolsey does not wish the divorce to take place, because, should the King take to wife the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, according to his intention, her father, one of the chief personages in England, will deprive Wolsey of his repute. The King is very dissatisfied with the Pope, on account of this marriage.

London, 24th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 26. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. pp. 279, 280.

462. Thoma Lippomano, Podestà and Captain of Feltre, to the Signory.

A trustworthy person who quitted Trent on Tuesday morning, the 25th, reports that on Sunday, the 23rd, the governor of the town desired the preachers of the convents to preach, and on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, to have processions made for the coming of the Emperor, and to pray that he may have the Divine assistance for the establishment of peace and quiet, and that he may prosper in this his coming to take the crown; so they preached and made the procession accordingly. He also said that at Spires the Archduke [King Ferdinand] had a procession made, and attended it in person, carrying the host, and that the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse would not attend the procession because they are Lutherans, and they stood at a window scoffing the procession, and using gross language (*et dir parole grande*), and when the Archduke passed, Saxony withdrew, Hesse remaining at the window, jeering more than ever.

The Emperor does not choose the affair of the Lutherans to be discussed at the Diets, saying he will hold a council about it; but in Germany Lutheranism has more followers than ever.

Feltre, 26th May 1529. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 408.

463. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

Cardinal Wolsey told him that the Duke of Suffolk went to France about the adjustment, and they gave him instructions concerning the Signory's affairs.

An envoy has arrived in England from the Lady Margaret.* Went to Wolsey to learn the object of his mission. The Cardinal replied that the envoy told him the Emperor had sent the "power" to Madame Margaret to conclude the general peace, but Wolsey said nothing would be done because the power contains certain points which will not be accepted, and the Emperor induced the King of France to negotiate, to prevent his making provision for Italy.

London, 21st—28th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 25th June.*

[*Italian.*]

* John de la Sauch.

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May 29.
Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 317.

464. ——— to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

The English ambassadors here* have letters from their King dated the 12th instant, recalling Sir Francis Bryan and Dr. Stephen, Master Peter Vannes and Sir Gregory Casal remaining, though Master Peter says he likewise will depart for England in a fortnight. The Pope has desired the Auditor [Ghinucci], who had been in Spain for the purpose of getting possession of the brief of dispensation for the marriage of England, made heretofore,† and which is in the custody of the Emperor, to return to England.‡ The King of England is sending the Duke of Suffolk and another personage to France, which, according to these English ambassadors, proves that there is small hope of peace, the Duke being a person to treat warlike operations, and not experienced in diplomacy; and it is understood that should his most Christian Majesty choose even the Duke himself to come into Italy by reason of his military repute, yet the Duke will act according to the commission from King Francis.§ Affairs of the kingdom of Naples as usual. The Prince of Orange writes that very recent letters from Spain announce the firm intention of the Emperor to come into Italy, in which direction he has sent a part of his infantry. The Emperor much wished Doria to go to him, but Doria, considering how perilous his absence from Genoa might prove, has determined not to go, being convinced that his stay is more serviceable for the Emperor.

Rome, 29th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 31.
Original Letter Book, Letter no. 175, St. Mark's Library.

465. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Master Bryan departed hence this evening; he is travelling post to Ferrara, and will proceed thence to see Venice before he returns to England. Sir Gregory Casal tells me that Bryan is much in favour with his King, so it would be advisable to give him good greeting. Dr. Stephen [Gardyner], the other English ambassador, will also depart tomorrow morning. There remain here the Rev. Dom. Peter Vannes, Cardinal Wolsey's secretary, and Sir Gregory Casal. Dr. Stephen and Bryan go away dissatisfied with the Court of Rome.‖

Rome, 31st May 1529.

[*Italian*, 3¼ *pages.*]

June 3.
Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 383.

466. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The Duke of Suffolk arrived at . . . . , in the name of the King of England. His most Christian Majesty is hunting at

* Namely, Stephen Gardyner, Peter Vannes, Sir Francis Bryan, and Sir Gregory Casal. (See "State Papers," vol. vii. pp. 166–169.)

† A.D. 1502, on the death of Prince Arthur. See Hume.

‡ "Sua Santità ha fatto intender allo Auditor della Camera che ritorni in Anglia, quale " erra in Spagna per causa di haver il breve che altre volte fu fatto della dispensa dil " matrimonio de Ingilterra ch' è appresso l'Imperator."

§ "Et se intende che parendo alla Maestà Cristianissima che anche esso Ducha venga in " Italia, per esser persona praticha nell'armi, habbia ad exequir secondo la commissione " di sua Maestà."

‖ For the causes of this dissatisfaction, see Bryan's letters to Henry VIII. ("State Papers," vol. vii., part v. continued, pp. 166, 169.)

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Fontainebleau, where the Duke is to confer with him. Conversed with the Lord Steward, who complained of the King's having replied so publicly in the presence of the ambassadors, that he will not come into Italy. The Lord Steward said his Majesty would not abandon the affairs of Italy, and that he is sending the Lord Francesco (*Francesco Monsignor*) with 300 Lansquenets and 1,000 . . . . . , to take the marquisate of Saluzzo held by his brother, an Imperialist. Said that the Emperor would certainly come into Italy, but not so speedily, because the plague is at Barcelona; the money also not being ready.

Orleans, 30th May.

Details conversations held at Fontainebleau, with the Duke of Suffolk, purporting that the King complains of the Signory for not doing what is due.

The King is at Melun; he (Giustinian) cannot find him, and the Admiral said it was ill done [on the part of the King?].

Fontainebleau, 3rd June. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 5.
Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 322.

467. Venier's Embassy in England.

Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., Sage for the Mainland, went to the platform (in the Senate) and narrated the toil undergone by him in England, and the expenses he had incurred; requesting that as he was poor he might be allowed to retain the silver given him by the King.

Motion repeated by the Councillors, Chiefs of the Forty, and Sages, that the silver plate given by the King of England to Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., be granted him in consideration of the toil endured by him on that embassy.

Balloted for twice and not carried, a majority of two-thirds being required.

1st ballot. Neutrals, 3. Noes, 41. Ayes, —.
2nd „ „ 4. „ 47. „ 14.

Nothing carried, and it is undecided.

[*Italian.*]

June 8?
Sanuto Diaries, v. li. p. 24.

468. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

The King of France was suspected of having made an agreement with the Emperor, but the Bishop of Bayonne, the French ambassador, assured the King and Cardinal there was nothing of the sort, and that his King would do nothing without the knowledge of King Henry; the English ambassador in France writing to the like effect.

King Henry has announced to the Cardinal Legates Wolsey and Campeggio that he chooses them to settle the affair of the divorce between his Majesty and the Queen; so the Cardinals intimated to the King and Queen that they or their proctors (*procuratori*) were to be ready by the 18th of June, on which day they intended to

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hear the case; and the Queen protested to them that she would not be heard by them, but by the Pope.

London, June 8th? *Registered by Sanuto, 5th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 13. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 183, St. Mark's Library.

469. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Cardinal Triultio tells me there are letters from the Court of France dated Remorantin, the 3rd, on which day the Duke of Suffolk arrived there. Filippo Strozzi also wrote from Lyons on the 6th that the peace was considered well nigh concluded, and that the most Christian King was forthwith to give the Emperor 1,200,000 ducats, of which, however, 700,000 were to be given to the King of England, or to be placed to his account.*

Rome, 13th June 1529.

[*Italian*, 1 *page.*]

June 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 366.

470. ENGLISH AMBASSADOR in the COLLEGE.

The Prothonotary Casal came into the College and showed letters from his brother, Sir Gregory, at Rome, dated the 13th, about the departure from Genoa of Andrea Doria, and other particulars.

[*Italian.*]

June 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 375.

471. LETTER from the SIGNORY to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Senate by the Sages for a letter to Lodovico Falier.

Have heard that Cardinal Wolsey is going to Cambrai, whither the King has already sent his brother-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk, to negotiate the general peace with the Emperor—an operation worthy of a magnanimous sovereign. To request his Majesty and the Cardinal, that should his Right Reverend Lordship go, he will act so as to effect the peace.

[*Italian.*]

June 18. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 184, St. Mark's Library.

472. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday I was with the Pope, whose health still continues improving, though as yet from what he told me he has not recovered his appetite.

With regard to the peace now in course of negotiation at Cambrai, when I asked him what result he anticipated, he said he was inclined to believe it would not come to pass, it not appearing to him that such steps had been taken at this conference as to warrant a belief that the many questions between the Emperor and the most Christian King, which they consider important, have been solved; and at length in conclusion he said to me, "I shall believe in the stipulation of the peace when I see Cardinal Wolsey cross the Channel, for never can I convince myself that he will allow it to

* "Delli qualli però 700 m. se dariano, over se poneriano a conto del Re de Ingelterra."

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take place without his intervention;" which words his Holiness uttered, laughing in my face.

Rome, 18th June 1529.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages*.]

June 18. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Filza 9.

473. The DOGE and SENATE to LODOVICO FALIER, Venetian Ambassador in England.

As they are anxious to learn the negotiations which are to be transacted at Cambrai in the discussion of the general peace, he, through Cardinal Wolsey and such other persons as he shall think expedient, is to endeavour to ascertain the true state of the negotiations there, and the terms proposed, especially such as relate to the Signory; and when with the King and Cardinal to recommend the interests of the Republic, adroitly representing that were anything decided prejudicial to the State, besides injuring a power who has upheld the liberty of Italy to the utmost, it would prove mischievous to Italy, in which case, *quod absit*, the Emperor would realize his designs in Italy. The King and Cardinal of their prudence may easily comprehend the perilous position of the Christian Powers.

Enclose letters for communication to the King and Cardinal, and, for his (Falier's) own instruction solely, a copy of their reply to the French ambassadors, Theodoro Triultio and Giovanni Gioachino, concerning Ravenna and Cervia, so that, if spoken to, he may reply according to their intention.

Have lately exacted the loan of a subsidy from the clergy in their cities and places on the mainland and in the Levant. Should any persons in England give him to understand that the King and Cardinal resent this, is to apologize for the resolve as induced by necessity from inability to defray the very urgent expenditure constantly incurred by them for the maintenance of the liberty of Italy, and for the joint advantage of the ecclesiastics themselves, whose property, if not preserved by the Republic's efforts to keep the enemy at a distance, would be destroyed and annihilated like the greater part of Italy. The Signory is therefore of opinion that all persons have cause promptly to contribute an insignificant part of their property for the maintenance of the rest.

Ayes, 151. Noes, 12. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian*.]

June 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. pp. 387, 388.

474. CRISTOFAL CAPELLO, Captain of Brescia, to the SIGNORY.

Has received advices from Switzerland in date of Coir, that 24,000 Swiss infantry had taken the field, the Lutherans of the canton of Zurich being 12,000; and opposed to them were the cantons of Uri and Underwald, who are good Christians. The dispute was caused by the Lutherans, on which account the other cantons choose to send a confederate body of troops with them to prevent the war (*per il che li altri cantoni vogliono insieme con l'horo mandar, &c.*). Has also heard that the Zurich cantons have leagued with the free towns, which are all Lutherans.

Brescia, 19th June 1529. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st June.*

[*Italian*.]

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June 22.
Original Letter Book, Letter no. 185, St. Mark's Library.

475. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

There arrived here lately an ambassador from the King of England, a Doctor,* with whom I performed such offices as due.

On the day before yesterday the Pope, feeling himself much better, rode out on horseback for a short while. Yesterday morning he held consistory, thanking God, in the first place, for having restored him to health; and he then mentioned the negotiation for peace to be treated at Cambrai, the conclusion of which ought to be prayed for, as the Christian commonwealth, besides many other tribulations, was in great peril from the threatened attack on Hungary and Germany by Sultan Solyman. His Holiness also dropped a word about the bishopric of Utrecht in Holland, the temporal jurisdiction of which, so long ago as last winter,† was resigned by its Bishop to the Emperor, whose ambassadors now require the Apostolic See to confirm this resignation, concerning which nothing was decided.

The day before the consistory was held, some of these Cardinals asked me my opinion about this matter. I answered them that it appeared to me one of very great importance for the Apostolic See, as this was a beginning in favour of what the Lutherans demand, namely, to despoil the Church of her temporal jurisdiction. That, in the next place, I suspected this business would prove very mischievous in Germany,‡ because many bishops there who were temporal princes, and had hitherto supported the Roman Catholic party against the Lutherans, should they now witness the concession to the Emperor by the Apostolic See of the temporal jurisdiction of the bishopric of Utrecht, would think it expedient to follow the example, which could by no means benefit the interests of the Apostolic See. Such was what I thought it desirable to say to those Cardinals who asked me my opinion, as by thus telling it them truly, some advantage may result to the League and to the Signory.

Rome, 22nd June 1529.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages.*]

June 23.
Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 400.

476. AUDIENCE in the COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador came with condolences for the rout of the French. The intelligence received by the Signory was read to him.

[*Italian.*]

June 25.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. lii. p. 51. tergo.

477. The LATE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Ballot of the Council of Ten and Junta.

Put to the ballot, that the Treasurer of this Council do pay to the nobleman, Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., for the arrears of his embassy in England, according to the voucher (now read) from the New Accountant's Office dated 12th May, and according to the

* William Bennet, "Doctour of both Lawes." His credentials were dated Windsor, 20th May 1529. (See "State Papers," vol. vii., part v., p. 171, footnote.)

† See before, letter dated 17 December 1528.

‡ "Partureria in Alemagna gran scandolo."

June 22. Original Letter pp. Mark's Library.

June 23. Senate Decree, p. 409.

June 23. Paul Council, Consilio X., v. iii. p. 81. 1529.

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ballot made in the College on the 19th inst., 80 ducats, nine "grossi," and two "piccoli," from the moneys of the Ambassadors' Limitation Fund.

Ayes, 27. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

Venier and his kinsfolk made to withdraw. Order made out.

[*Italian.*]

June 29. Senato Terra, v. xxv. p. 144, tergo.

478. The LATE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

There was again put to the ballot by all the Councillors, the Chiefs of the Forty, the Sages of the Council, and the Sages for the Mainland, the motion in favour of the nobleman, Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., as registered above at p. 131.

The numbers were—

Ayes	-	144—145.
Noes	-	47— 47.
Neutrals	-	3— 4.

[*Latin.*]

June 29. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 187, St. Mark's Library.

479. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Pope has received letters from the "Mastro di Casa," his Nuncio [with the Emperor], dated the 5th and 6th. He has been received with honour, and the Emperor listened to him graciously, and was expecting the 4,000 infantry and ships which the Archbishop of Bari had to send him from Andalusia and Malaga. The Emperor's coming into Italy was much talked of.

Rome, 29th June 1529.

[*Italian*, 2½ *pages.*]

June 29. Sanuto Diaries. v. li. pp. 39, 40.

480. ZUAN FRANCESCO TABERNA, Milanese Ambassador in France, to the DUKE OF MILAN.

A confused account has been received of the rout of Mons. de St. Pol and his army by the Imperialists, when passing from Landriano to Lardirago (*sic*). The King has therefore announced to the ambassadors his firm resolve not only to proceed into Italy, but to augment the forces destined by him for the expedition from 20,000 to 30,000 infantry, of which he has arranged the payment of 10,000 with the King of England, so that in all, including those of Italy, he will have 50,000 foot, 3,000 spears, and 3,000 light horse.

Cossé, 29th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. li. p. 127.

481. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

Juan Peris, of Alcantara, a Biscayan, who laded a galleon of 800 butts in London, on arriving at Cadiz was made to discharge his cargo, and having shipped military stores, went on the 7th [June?] to Malaga, where many other ships were reported to be.

Letters from Flanders received by the merchants state that the Lady Margaret had departed on her way to Cambrai, whither Madame the Regent of France was to go to negotiate the peace; but the English Government (*questi de qui*) does not wish it to

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take place. The two English ambassadors who have returned from Rome, namely, Sir Francis Bryan and Dr. Stephen [Gardyner], passed through the army [of the confederates?] and report it as being very weak, and they have faint hopes of Italian affairs.

With regard to the divorce case of the King and Queen, the two Legates continue hearing it, and at the last sitting of their court the Queen was [not?] present. She has been proclaimed contumacious (*contumaze*) for having absented herself, although her proctors (*procuratori*) represented her, and said it was her Majesty's intention to abide by the writing containing the appeal from these judges, who are therefore expected not to proceed with the trial.

London, 23rd and 29th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 25th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 29. **482.** Lodovico Falier to ———.

Sanuto Diaries, v. li. p. 127.

On the 16th [June] the first conference (*parlameto*) or audience (*audientia*) took place, and the Legates Wolsey and Campeggio being assembled, the Queen appeared and said before the people that she chose to have other judges than these Cardinals, declaring them under suspicion (*sospetti*), because Wolsey had received very great benefits (*beneficii*) from the King her husband; a bishopric in England having in like manner been bestowed on Campeggio by his Majesty; wherefore she appealed, choosing to have judges unsuspected; and she delivered a writing, and then departed, and the judges rose.

On the 21st, the Cardinal judges assembled in a hall on a raised platform, the Queen having preceded them, followed by the King, who was the first to seat himself under a canopy of gold brocade, on the right, the Queen being on the left, under another canopy on a lower level. [The King then said a few words in English to the judges, to the effect that he would no longer remain in mortal sin, as he had done during the last 20 years, and that he should never be at ease until the rights of this marriage were decided, requesting these judges to despatch the case, &c. &c.] (*con altre parole*). Cardinal Wolsey replied, that although he had received infinite benefits from his Majesty, and was declared suspected, yet as this case had been committed to him and Cardinal Campeggio by the Pope, he would judge it according to such reason as his poor ability supplied, saying that he was unworthy to judge such a case, but would nevertheless not omit to do what appeared to him just. The Queen then rose, and, throwing herself on her knees before the King, said aloud that she had lived for 20 years with his Majesty as his lawful wife, keeping her faith to him, and that she did not deserve to be repudiated and thus put to shame without any cause; and she besought the said judges to show her favour. The Queen said nothing more, and the King sent for his privy councillors, with whom he remained for half an hour, after which the judges prorogued the term until the 22nd. On that day two bishops appeared as advocates and proctors for the Queen, namely, the Bishop of Rochester and the Bishop of Bath, saying

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that to prevent the King from falling into mortal sin, they would defend the rights of the Queen, and show that she was his legitimate and true wife; and they presented the writ of appeal, rejecting the judges as suspected, so that nothing farther was done.

On this evening the 23rd, the eve of St. John the Baptist, the Londoners perform a very beautiful pageant.

In a letter dated the 29th, adds,—

Two very fine entertainments were made—one last night, on St. Peter's eve, which was a most beautiful sight, so many lights and bonfires, and so many armed men about the town, the entire population coming forth to see the pageant; nor did any strife take place notwithstanding such a quantity of weapons, which is highly creditable (*una cossa bellissima*), considering the multitude of armed men there present.

London, 22nd, 23rd, and 29th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 25th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. l. p. 423.

483. PRESENT from HENRY VIII. to VENIER.

Motion made in the Senate by the Councillors, Chiefs of the Forty, and Sages, that to Marco Antonio Venier, late ambassador in England, there be given the silver plate received from the King. Balloted for twice.

1st ballot.—Ayes, 144. Noes, 47. Neutrals, 3.
2nd,, „ 145. „ 47. „ 4.
Not carried.

[*Italian.*]

July 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. li. p. 105.

484. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

His most Christian Majesty, having been there at St. Quentin in close conversation with the English ambassador, the Duke of Suffolk, then turned towards him (Giustinian) and the Milanese ambassador, saying, "Mons. de St. Pol has been routed and taken on account of you Venetians." He (Giustinian) and the Milanese ambassador defended the Signory. The King retracted, and said he would at any rate enter Italy in force, if the Emperor went thither.

St. Quentin, 1st July. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 6. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 189, St. Mark's Library.

485. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Sentence given concerning the bishopric of Cividal di Belluno in favour of the Prothonotary Casal, against the Reverend Dom. Francesco (*sic*) Barozi.

Sir Gregory Casal, who really in this business has comported himself with great moderation towards the aforesaid Zuan (*sic*) Barozi, now that sentence has been passed in the Prothonotary's favour, requests possession for his brother. They are all* excellent gentlemen (*bonissimi gentilhomini*), and have always done the State good service.

* As already mentioned, there were three brothers of the Casal family employed in Italy at this period by Henry VIII.

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Today the ambassadors from England* were called before the Pope, who hinted to them† that he purposed advoking‡ the suit for their King's divorce from the two Legates [Wolsey and Campeggio], and placing it here in the Court. This the Pope did at the instigation of the Imperialists, which these English ambassadors resent greatly.

The Emperor's ambassadors have advices from Germany that the [Free ?] Towns and the chief Lutherans have assembled a Diet amongst themselves, and determined to give assistance to such Swiss cantons as profess Lutheranism.

Some bulls of Pope Leo's which I thought might be of use to your noblemen and subjects have come into my hands. *They were taken at the sack of Rome; I purchased them for a crown and half, and send them to your Highness accordingly.*§

Rome, 6th July 1529.

[*Italian*, 3¼ *pages.*]

July 10. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 190, St Mark's Library.

486. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Letters received from the Court of France dated the 27th. The negotiation for the peace had rather cooled than otherwise;‖ according to report, the King of England was the chief cause of this, which agrees with the French newsletters, sent with my last.¶

A bishop has arrived at Rome as ambassador from the Duke of Savoy. He informed the Pope and the Cardinals that in many cities in the Duke's territory the Lutheran sect makes great progress, that Geneva had become entirely Lutheran, and that at Lucerne and Aosta many parishes had risen several times against their bishops, so that unless farther steps be taken, the country is in great peril.

Rome, 10th July 1529.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages.*]

July 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. li. p. 120.

487. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY,

Madame the Regent went to Cambrai in great state, being clad in black velvet, with four ladies' litters, and with her daughter the Queen of Navarre, and ladies on horseback. The Lord Chancellor preceded her, and the ambassadors followed, but the Duke of Suffolk was not there, having returned to England; the English King having sent thither two others, viz., the Bishop of London and . . . . . The Lady Margaret had already arrived, accompanied by the Cardinal of Liége. On the 6th, the two Madames

* Sir Gregory Casal, Peter Vannes, and Dr. Bennet.

† "Li ha cignato. "*Cignato*" for "*accennato.*"

‡ For the term "*advoke*," see "State Papers," vol. vii., part v., pp. 193–217.

§ This paragraph was printed in the preface to vol. ii., "Venetian Calendar," p. lii. In the original the words are—"Mi sono venute alle mani alcune bolle di Papa Lion, le qual "mi ha parso al proposito di vostra Serenità et di sui gentilhomini et subditj, et furon prese "al sacco di Roma; le ho recuperate per uno scudo et mezo, et così le mando a vostra "Celsitudine."

‖ "Più presto esser refredita che altramente."

¶ The "advices" or "news-letters" are never transcribed in the letter-books of the Venetian Ambassadors.

July 10.
Original
Letter Book.
Letter no. 120.
St Mark's
Library.

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(*le do Madame*) had an interview. Went to visit Madame Margaret; she was in bed, dressed, having a slight pain in her leg. Assured her exuberantly of the Signory's observance towards the Emperor and herself, requesting her to favour the State in these negotiations. She replied graciously and lovingly, offering to do everything for the Signory.

His visit to Madame Margaret was by order of the Lords of the Council. Having spoken several times with the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Steward about these negotiations, they did not answer to the point, saying it would be well to acquaint him with any difficulty, that he may write to the State. The Lord Chancellor told him they would act according to the former negotiations with regard to the Signory's giving money to the Emperor, and in case of any difference, it might be compromised after the arrival of the most Christian King at Lyons. Touching the duchy of Milan, the Duke's ambassador, Taverna, was also present. The Chancellor said that those in possession were to hold what they had, until it was known whether the Duke had committed an act of felony. Taverna rejoined that it was unfair to commence by despoiling any one, and that everything should be placed in its original state preparatory to judgment. In this matter, he (Giustinian) favoured Taverna, saying that the whole war had been waged for the purpose of maintaining the Duke of Milan in his duchy; to which the Chancellor replied, "The King will have good care for his allies." It is thus seen that they do not explain their intentions; but the Lady Margaret is indisposed, and therefore they cannot negotiate together. Madame the Regent writes that the Cardinal Legate Salviati has not arrived [in Paris], and it seems that neither the members of the French Privy Council, nor yet the Imperialists, approve of the Papal Nuncio, the Archbishop of Capua [Schomberg], who is coming to Cambrai. The French privy councillors say it is quite certain that immediately on the Emperor's coming to Italy, the most Christian King will go to Lyons and from thence to Italy, and speedily. The Lord Chancellor says he hopes peace will be made, but the others [his colleagues?] do not say so.

Cambrai, 5th, 8th, 9th, and 10th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 25th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 12.

Sanuto Diaries, v. li. p 68.

488. ——— to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

In a letter dated the 5th instant the Prince of Orange writes to the Imperial ambassador that to show the Pope how much the Emperor wishes him to receive due obedience from the subjects of the Church, he, the Prince, is about to march upon Perugia, with the Marquis del Guasto and a considerable body of troops.

Concerning the rest of the Imperial forces, there remain in the kingdom of Naples 7,000 infantry, and the light horse of the Marquis's brother, Don Ferrando [Ferrante], who is elected Lieutenant General of the kingdom in Naples, with the same authority as he, the Prince (of Orange), himself.

Tomorrow the Pope gives his signature (*fa signatura*), on which occasion they will discuss the appeal for transfer to Rome of

1529. the English divorce case; which appeal the Pope is expected to sanction, although the English ambassadors at Rome strongly urge him to delay for a few days.

According to the last advices from England, the trial of this case will have already commenced, against which the Queen appealed, declaring the judges and the Court under suspicion (*suspetti*), but the appeal has not hitherto been admitted. The Queen's proctor (*procurator*) at Rome is the Imperial ambassador.

Rome, 12th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 12. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 191, St. Mark's Library.

489. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

When talking with the Pope this afternoon about the peace, and the letters from France, which represented it as having somewhat cooled, his Holiness said to me, "I do not draw this inference, though it is true that the King of England, who would wish the sentence of divorce to be given before the stipulation of the peace, goes on delaying it." He then detailed to me at great length, how the affair of the divorce proceeded, and in what state it was, saying, "These Imperialists urged me to advoke the suit from England hither to the Court, and the news of the negotiation for the peace having arrived, I told them that this advocation at the present moment might disturb the conclusion of the peace, wherefore it was better to leave the matter as it stood until then, and that I would provide against their proceeding farther in England,* to which effect a courier was despatched, and subsequently Dr. Stephen [Gardyner] departed with this decision; and now by letters of the 26th June from England, Dr. Stephen having arrived there on the 23rd, they are carrying on the suit in great haste." The Pope then described to me a ceremony which had taken place in public in the presence of the two Legates, at which the King and Queen attended; but I will not give a farther account of it, knowing that your Serenity will have heard the particulars from your ambassador, Falier. At length, the Queen replied, and protested to God, that having no other aid in that kingdom, she would not appear, nor allege any of her rights, but merely hoped in God that he would uphold them. She also said that no other husband than the present King had consummated marriage with her, the Pope adding, "And to me the Queen has written the like, swearing that such is the truth."

The Pope now tells me that since this ceremony, they are carrying on the suit (*causa*) there in England in despite of the Queen,† who has now sent a power to the Imperial ambassador ‡ concerning

* "Et che provederio che de lì in Anglia non se procederia più oltra."

† "In contumatia della Regina."

‡ In letter No. 38, date Viterbo, 12th August 1528, Gasparo Contarini writes that the ambassador then appointed by Charles V. to Clement VII. was a gentleman of Barcelona, one Michiel Maj, who had studied at Padua, and been rector of the University there; so he was probably a good jurist. Gasparo Contarini had known him in Spain, and considered him a "*gentil et dextro gentilhomo.*" He succeeded Cesare Musetola, a Neapolitan, and arrived at Rome on the evening of the 24th of January 1529, as stated in letter No. 112, 27th January, in which Contarini writes, "*certo io lo cognoscho per gentilhomo da bene.*"

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this advocation of her suit (*causa*) here to the Court. "Wherefore (said the Pope) I have ordered *Signatura* for tomorrow, to prohibit them from proceeding in this fashion." "Then (said I) tomorrow your Holiness will advoke this suit?" He replied, "I do not know, because I choose to proceed justifiably (*justificatamente*)." Then in conclusion, the Pope complained much and said much evil of the late Bishop of Sebenico, Staphileo, who was the person who led the King of England this dance.*

Rome, 12th July 1529.

[*Italian*, 4 *pages.*]

July 16. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 194, St. Mark's Library.

490. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

"*Signatura*" was held for the affair of the advocation of the divorce suit from the Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio hither to the Court, and the Pope took the votes of the referendaries, and of the three Cardinals, namely, Ancona, Santi Quattro, and Cesis, which I understand were almost all for the advocation of the suit. Today they have determined to hold a congregation about this matter, which I believe they will advoke.

Rome, 16th July 1529.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page.*]

July 20. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 105, St. Mark's Library.

491. The SAME to the SAME.

On the 16th, when I wrote my letter to your Serenity, the congregation of Cardinals assembled concerning the English divorce, whereupon the Cardinal Sta. Croce (Francesco Quinoñes) "proposed" the Pope's vote for advoking the suit from the Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio hither to the Court, and that his Holiness wished also to have the vote (*il voto*) of their Right Reverend Lordships, who, from what I understand, were of the same opinion, so that the advocation of the suit was decided. I do not know in what mode and form they have written to England.

Rome, 20th July 1529.

[*Italian*, 2¼ *pages.*]

July 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. li. p. 250.

492. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

Cardinal Wolsey wished to proceed with the divorce case, etc., but Cardinal Campeggio did not think fit [to do so], saying it was holiday time when the law courts are up (*che schiva la raxom*); so he has prorogued the affair until the kalends of October.

Letters have been received in London from Cambrai, dated the 3rd.

Cardinal Wolsey told him the Emperor is coming into Italy, and

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* "Che havea posto il Ser^mo Re di Anglia in questo ballo." (See note about Staphileo, date 2nd January, and the letter of 8th March 1528.)

† The names of these three Cardinals were Pietro degli Accolti, Antonio Puccio, and Paolo Cesis; and Accolti, having been Secretary to Pope Julius II., was well acquainted with the history of the dispensation for the marriage of Henry and Katharine.

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that the Signory's towns ought to be well garrisoned, and above all Ravenna and Cervia.*

London, 30th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 2. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Filza 9.

493. COMMISSION from CARDINAL WOLSEY.

The Right Reverend Cardinal of York having asked our ambassador in England to obtain a remnant (*cavezo*) of tawny-coloured damask, as notified by him in his letters to the Signory, it is very fitting to comply with his right Reverend Lordship's wish.

Put to the ballot, that our College effect the purchase of 45 yards of the handsomest tawny-coloured damask there be (*visij*); and, when purchased, make a present of it to the aforesaid Cardinal.

Ayes, 132. Noes, 35. Neutrals 3.
„ 126. „ 66. „ 3. "*Pendet.*"

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 3. Sanuto Diaries, v. li. p. 224.

494. NICOLÒ DE NOBILI (a Lucchese) to ———.

(Intelligence dated Lyons, 3rd August, and from the French Court at Cambrai . . . . ., received at Lucca, 6th August.)

Sure news was received last night that the peace is concluded. The King signed it on Thursday, and on Friday everything was broken off. On Saturday they again assembled, and agreed that all the confederates and persons proscribed (*banditi*) should be included. It remains for the Venetians to settle many affairs which have been referred to the Kings of France and England. The King of France and the Pope are to decide whether the Duke of Bari [Francesco Maria Sforza] has erred against the Emperor or not, so as to forfeit some part of the duchy [of Milan] or not. The King [of France] renounces the Milanese, the county of Asti, and the kingdom of Naples. Four marriages are to ensue: the King to Madame Eleanor; the Dauphin to the Princess of Portugal, daughter of Madame Eleanor; the Duke of Orleans to the daughter of the King of England, where he will remain; the son of the Duke of Lorraine to Madame Madelaine, daughter of the King of France, with the duchy of Bourbon for dower. He (the King of France) is to pay two millions of gold—thus, 400,000 to be disbursed to the King of England; 600,000 to be delivered in ready money at Bayonne; the rest at stated intervals. If needed by the Emperor, the King is to supply him for one year with 500 paid spears, and 10,000 infantry; besides many other conditions and particulars (*particolarità*).

Lyons, 3rd August. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th August.*

[*Italian.*]

* At the close of April, Prothonotary Casal presented a letter from Henry VIII., ordering the Signory to restore Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope. We now find him averse to the surrender, and thus learn that between May and July he had obtained proofs of the Pope's intention not to grant the divorce. *See* also "State Papers," vol. vii. p. 164, letter to Henry VIII. from Clement VII., date Rome, 21 April 1529. "He (the Pope) cannot grant the King's request."

1529. Aug. 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. li. pp. 272-273.

495. HIERONIMO FRANCO, in the service of Marshal Triulzio, to POMPONIO TRIULZI.

Yesterday the Bishop of Cambrai sang his first mass, and a sermon was preached by Monsig. de Venza. The mass being ended, the two "Madames" [Margaret and Louise], together with (*con l' assistentia del*) the Legate Salviati and the ambassadors of King Ferdinand and of the King of England, swore to the articles most solemnly; after which the Dean of Cambrai proclaimed aloud, peace, union, and alliance for personal defence, and maintenance of the states of each of the parties; namely, the Pope, the Emperor, the most Christian King, the King of England, and King Ferdinand; after which, another peace was proclaimed, between the King of England and Madame Margaret; and it was ordered for these treaties of peace to be published throughout the kingdom.

The Confederates [Venice, Milan, and Florence?] have not been named, neither was mention made in the proclamation of place reserved for any Princes and Republics.

The ambassadors [from Venice, Milan, and Florence?] departed yesterday morning, dissatisfied, before the proclamation; as on the preceding evening, being called before the Council, they were shown the articles, which they saw for the first time, purporting that the powers they represented were included in the peace, provided that within four months they gave the Emperor and King Ferdinand what was due to them, without specifying either money or towns. It seems that the Venetian ambassador was required in virtue of the treaty of Cognac (*sic*),* to surrender the Signory's possessions in the kingdom of Naples [Trani, Monopoli, etc.]. He replied that his Republic never refused to do what was fitting, and would also manfully maintain her rights in all Venetian places and towns. So this rather bold announcement caused them to tell him to beware of increasing the number of the Republic's enemies. King Francis has now no longer territory or anything else in Italy, which will cease to be a power dependent on France, who will however remain united and entire; and the King will get his sons, and it may be supposed that in a few years he will be more powerful and richer than ever. The root thus taken by the Emperor in Italy is nevertheless a fearful thing. It is evident that the King and his Council most deeply regretted deserting the Confederates, having done his utmost to include them in the peace; and the negotiation was well nigh broken off twice. A member of the Council with whom I had a long discourse last evening makes it appear that "questi Signori" [*query*, the representatives of France?] seek to retain their confederates, most especially the Signory, saying that many valid excuses could be made; and, first of all, for the recovery of his children it was lawful for King Francis to attempt anything, and to effect this all the confederates had promised to give both towns and money. But, leaving aside all these arguments, they purpose holding their confederates in account, and

* The League stipulated at Cognac on the 22nd May 1526 was between France, the Pope, the Venetians, England, the Switzers, and the Florentines, for the liberty and security of Italy. (*See* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.)

1529. assisting them should the Emperor choose to exceed fair limits. They say that King Francis will well know how to direct himself, and live with the Emperor, and that if they are to remain friends, his Imperial Majesty must concede him many things for the benefit of the two confederates [*query*, the Signory of Venice and the Duke of Milan ?] and likewise of those who were proscribed (*li foraussiti*), about whom they talk of sending as ambassador to the Emperor one of the chief personages of France, who will have many commissions concerning this matter.

Some persons say that these two Madames will ride today to the abbey of Mont St. Martin, four leagues hence, where the King is. As this peace is concluded, I shall depart tomorrow morning for Flanders, and remain absent for a fortnight. In the meanwhile Messer Mauro, who is with the King, will transmit the news of the day.

Cambrai, 6th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 205, St. Mark's Library.

496. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

When with the Pope this afternoon, he said to me, "I see two good things in this peace; the first is, that the King of France will get back his sons, and be no longer bound to the Emperor by that tie; so that in the end all will recover their own. The other good thing is, that the Emperor cannot do less than go to Germany, both for the affairs of the Turk and also on account of the Lutherans. So to me it seems prudent to dissemble with him, even were we to know for certain that he bears the Italians ill will. Time brings with itself sundry opportunities" (*il tempo porta seco diverse occasion*).

Rome, 10th August 1529.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

Aug. 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. li. p. 239.

497. Prothonotary Casal in the College.

The English ambassador came into the College, and condoled on what he had heard. It seems his King would not be a party to the peace, and on hearing this news will take it very much amiss.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. li. p. 373.

498. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

Has received the Signory's letters announcing the invasion of Hungary by the Turks.

The King is at a distance of 50 miles from London.

Has also heard of the conclusion of the peace at Cambrai.

London, 16th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 17. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 207, St. Mark's Library.

499. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

A courier from England, who arrived yesterday and came through Lyons, brought letters thence dated the 10th.

The Emperor arrived at Genoa on Thursday the 12th instant, the

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courier from England declaring that he saw him, as told me by Salviati.

Rome, 17th August 1529.

[*Italian*, 1¾ *page.*]

Aug. 18. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 208, St. Mark's Library.

500. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Pope told me today that he had received letters from England dated the 29th ult., informing him that the two Legates had prorogued the term, within which the Queen was to reply, until the close of October. The [brief of] advocation of the suit to Rome had not yet arrived [in England], but was expected.

Of the two millions of gold, to be disbursed by the King of France, 390,000 crowns are to be placed to the credit of the King of England on account of the debt due to him from the Emperor. The Pope also told me that the King of England had exerted and continued exerting himself for the conclusion of the peace.

Rome, 18th August 1529.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages.*]

Aug. 21. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 209, St. Mark's Library.

501. The SAME to the SAME.

On the day before yesterday, in consistory, there was a discussion about the bishopric of Utrecht, the temporal jurisdiction of which see was renounced to the Emperor. The Imperial ambassadors here are now very urgent with the Pope and Cardinals, for the renunciation to be approved by the Apostolic See.

All the cardinals, except five, adapting themselves to the times, give their assent; but as the five are of a contrary opinion, which is, I believe, shared by the Pope himself, his Holiness has not formed any decision, but depending as he does upon the Emperor, I think he will comply with his demand.

Rome, 21st August 1529.

[*Italian*, 1¼ *page.*]

Aug. 23. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 210, St. Mark's Library.

502. The SAME to the COUNCIL of TEN.

The Pope told me this morning, that according to letters from the Archbishop of Capua to his Nuncio at Genoa, the King of France was to pay the Emperor one million and 200,000 crowns; but the Pope believes this sum to comprise some 400,000 crowns due from the Emperor to the King of England.

Rome, 23rd August 1529.

[*Italian*, 4 *pages.*]

Aug. 25. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Filza 9.

503. The DOGE and SENATE to ALVISE GRITI * (at Constantinople.)

On the 5th inst., at Cambrai, peace was solemnly proclaimed between the Pope, the Emperor, the King of France, the King of

* Concerning Alvise Griti, natural son of the Doge, and who was born at Constantinople, where he resided and had great power, see Ramberti's account of Turkey, published by Aldus at Venice, in the year 1545, p. 140, and following. Alvise Griti perished at Meghies, in Hungary, A.D. 1534, Sept. 29. In May 1523, at the time of the election of Doge Griti, Alvise Priuli assigned as a reason for opposing it, that Griti, on retiring from business at Constantinople, left fifty bastards there, one of whom was this Alvise. (*See* "Sanuto Diaries," 1523, May 20, vol. xxxiv. p. 123.)

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England, and the Archduke of Austria, styled by them King of Hungary.

They do not name or include the Signory and the other confederates.

Ayes, 48. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 5.

Reballoted on the 26th August.

Letter to be dated 23rd August.

Ayes 115.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 31.

504. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 39.

Has a person sick of plague in his house. The King and Cardinal are abroad about the island. On the 28th the league between the Emperor and the King of England was proclaimed.

London, 31st August. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3.

505. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 216, St. Mark's Library.

When visiting the French ambassador, the Bishop of Tarbes, he complained to me not a little that your Serenity had not chosen to place Ravenna and Cervia in deposit, in the hands of the Kings of France and England.

Rome, 3rd September 1529.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

Sept. 9.

506. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 48.

Writes from a village near London, whither he has betaken himself on account of the plague. Gives nothing but stale news.

———, 9th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 10th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.

507. The Doge and Senate to Alvise Griti (at Constantinople).

Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Filza 9.

By their last of the 25th ult. he will have heard of the Emperor's arrival at Genoa, and intention to proceed to Piacenza. At Genoa the Emperor proclaimed and swore to the peace between himself, the Pope, the King of France, the King of England, and the Archduke of Austria, to the exclusion of the Signory and the other confederates.

On the 30th ult. the Emperor quitted Genoa, and they are expecting hourly to hear of his arrival at Piacenza. Are assured that he has with him the ambassadors of well nigh all the potentates of Italy, declaring that he wishes for peace with every body, although he makes his troops (who have arrived from Germany) advance. They traverse the Veronese territory, where they do much mischief, exacting ransom, and burning and plundering the Signory's places. They are on their march to the Emperor, who is reinforcing himself both with these Germans and with the troops now in Tuscany, where they have arrived from the kingdom of Naples; and when all his forces are united, less than two days' march may bring

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them into the Republic's territories. Find themselves in great peril, as it is very difficult to resist single-handed.

Are also informed that Andrea Doria is greasing* the galleys at Genoa, viz., his own and those of Spain and Sicily, which together with the twelve galleys promised to the Emperor by the King of France, according to the articles of the peace, will amount to forty-two. It is said that Doria is to come into the Gulf, off the coast of Puglia.

Ayes, 171. Noes, 11. Neutrals, 23.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 13. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 216, St. Mark's Library.

508. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The English ambassador, the Rev. Dom. Peter Vannes, will depart hence tomorrow. He used most loving language to me, making great offers of service to your Highness, in whatever was consistent with his honour. He then apologized for his King, who occasionally in the affair of Ravenna and Cervia used rather strong language, and wrote a few letters in the like strain.

Rome, 13th September 1529.

[*Italian, 2½ pages.*]

Sept. 19. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 222, St. Mark's Library.

509. The SAME to the SAME.

The day before yesterday, when visiting the Bishop of Tarbes, he informed me that, to remove all suspicion, he had told the Pope it would be well to place Ravenna and Cervia in the hands of France and England. I said to him, "I am of opinion that no farther attempt should be made, because the Pope, knowing the Kings of France and England to be dissatisfied with him, when urged to make the arrangement, would not approve it; but were he to assent, it would be a feint for the purpose of getting those cities into his own hands, for, when made over to France, he would arrange with the Emperor for their surrender, as the most Christian King has renounced all interference in Italian affairs, and thus the release of his sons would be impeded; so it is more advisable to await their freedom, in order to deprive the Emperor of any excuse for not effecting it, after which, the negotiation might be conducted in another form."

Rome, 19th September 1529.

[*Italian, 2½ pages.*]

Sept. 20. Original Letter Book. Letter no. 223, St. Mark's Library.

510. The SAME to the SAME.

The Pope departs hence for Bologna at the beginning of next month. He has written to the Emperor, announcing his intended arrival there by All Saints' Day. He will not return to Rome until the middle of next Lent.

Sir Gregory Casal is arrived from Florence. Sir Gregory says the Florentines are well supplied with troops, and inclined to defend

* The word in the original is "*impalmar.*" To this day, at Venice, the grease on gondola-bottoms is applied with the *palm* of the hand. In Jal's Nautical Dictionary, the word is *impalmare.*

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themselves; that they have 12,000 paid infantry, and 8,000 of their own trained bands (*de li bataglioni loro*); and that they had given orders to abandon Cortona.

Rome, 20th September 1529.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages.*]

Sept. 28. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 225, St. Marks' Library.

511. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Pope will depart for Bologna about the 5th of October. I forward this packet by a messenger from Sir Gregory Casal to certain relations of his in Venice, and he says it will arrive safely.

Rome, 28th September 1529.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page.*]

Sept. 28. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 226, St. Mark's Library.

512. The SAME to the SAME.

Sir Gregory Casal said that the Pope was sending the Bishop of Como, of the Triultio family, as his Nuncio to France, accrediting to England Sir Gregory's brother, Paulo Casal, that they may acquaint those Kings with the course of events hitherto; and that the Pope was going to Bologna for the interview (*vista*) with the Emperor, and would there seek the general peace and the welfare of Christendom, of which there was such great need by reason of the Turkish power.

Rome, 28th September 1529.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page.*]

Oct. 2. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 227, St. Mark's Library.

513. The SAME to the SAME.

I despatched the accompanying letters on the 28th by Sir Gregory Casal's messenger, who on the road met with some impediment or business, so that he came back, and last evening Sir Gregory returned the letters to me.

Rome, 2nd October.

[*Italian*, 4½ *pages.*]

Oct. 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 101.

514. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

It is heard that the King of England, of his own authority, has divorced the Queen from his bed, and deprived Cardinal Wolsey of the Seal, which is a great dignity, and very profitable, and that he has given it to the father of his favourite, by name ———.*

He has also sent to the King of France a very handsome jewelled ———, worth 150,000 ducats, that he may give it to the Emperor as security for that amount in order to ransom his sons.

Madame Margaret has sent an envoy to the most Christian King, asking for money with which to raise troops against the Turk. The King answered him that he would give both money and troops, and go in person, on getting back his sons, and that he wishes to

* Cardinal Wolsey resigned the Great Seal into the hands of the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk at Michaelmas term 1529. (See Lingard's History of England, vol. iv. pp. 260-261. ed. London, 1854.) In the 7th volume of "State Papers," p. 219, there is a footnote thus, "Wolsey was deprived of the Great Seal on the 18th," (October) "and convicted of "præmunire on the 23rd."

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speak to the Emperor, and will forthwith go to Savoy, where the Emperor, who is in Italy, might hold a colloquy with him.

The King exhorts the Signory to make peace with the Emperor, whose treasurer he says he is, for the purpose of amassing money.

Paris, 4th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 153.

515. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

Narrates conversations held with Cardinal Wolsey, and Cardinal Campeggio, late Legate in England, who has departed on his way to Rome.

King Henry has sent two ambassadors to the Emperor,* and two ambassadors to the King of France,† with congratulations on the peace made; and he has also sent an ambassador to the Pope.

London, 11th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 15. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 229, St. Mark's Library.

516. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

At my audience this evening the Pope informed me that the Emperor told the Archbishop of Capua [Schomberg] he would not fail to prove to the whole world his exertions for the welfare of the Christian commonwealth, to effect which he had sent his agents to France, England, Germany, and Spain, and throughout his dominions.

Cagli, 15th October 1529.

[*Italian, 5¼ pages.*]

Oct. 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 74.

517. Disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey.

Report in Venice, though there were no letters to that effect, that in England the King had deprived Cardinal Wolsey of his authority, taken away from him the seal of the Chancery, and dispossessed him of certain bishopries which he held, and this because he opposed the divorce from the King's wife.

Although there were no letters, the merchant Pagnoti Morosini has arrived in Venice, having quitted London on the 7th inst.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 79.

518. Dr. William Bennet at Venice.

The English ambassador, Prothonotary Casal, came into the College with another ambassador from the King, late with the Pope, come from . . . ., by name the Dr. Benet.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 176.

519. Piero Francesco de' Bardi to Maffio Bernardo, of the Bank.

From London there is nothing to write, save that Campeggio was still awaiting his passage at Dover. Several days ago he had leave

* Qu., Sir Nicholas Carew and Dr. Richard Sampson.
† Qu., George Boleyn and Dr. John Stokesley.

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from his Majesty, who, including silver and money, gave him to the amount of 2,000 marks sterling, and upwards.

Cardinal Wolsey, after so much long continued prosperity, has at length found fortune irate and hostile beyond measure, in such wise that she has brought him to ruin, which may be said to exceed his late fame and elevation. He has lost the royal favour, and incurred his Majesty's utmost indignation, his supreme authority being converted into bondage and calamity. He has been forbidden to act as Legate, and has lost the Chancellorship, the bishopric of Winchester, the abbacy of St. Alban's, and, in fine, all his other revenues and property, with the exception of the archbishopric of York, together with 1,000 pounds ready money, and 1,000 pounds worth of silver plate and common furniture; and he is left with a retinue suited to a prelate. Of all the rest of his other property, furniture and everything, he has been despoiled; the value of his silver vases and furniture amounting to 40,000 pounds, his ready money to 30,000 pounds, besides other jewels and household goods. The loss is very considerable for one single individual, most especially considering his habitual pomp; yet in a moment, and unexpectedly, he has lost everything, in truth a memorable example for such as believe worldly prosperity to be stable and true happiness. It remains to be seen what determination will be taken concerning him at the next Parliament, which commences on the 3rd of November. God grant that all may proceed prosperously.

London, 24th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26.

520. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 232, St. Mark's Library.

This morning, after mass, I had audience of the Pope.

I said to him, with regard to Ravenna and Cervia, that your Serenity's ambassadors told the King of France and Cardinal Wolsey that on his Holiness' release from the Castle [St. Angelo] the Signory would act in such a way as to satisfy him, but that perhaps as usual (*come sol' accader*) the ambassadors exceeded the terms of their commission.

Bologna, 26th October 1529.

[*Italian, 6 pages.*]

Oct. 28.

521. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 254.

Cardinal Wolsey has been deprived by the King of the Seal, which is given to Sir Thomas More, a most learned man; and his Majesty remains bent on the divorce from the Queen.

London, 28th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31.

522. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 235, St. Mark's Library.

Sir Gregory Casal tells me he has had a long conversation with the Pope about the affairs of your Highness, of the Duke of Ferrara, and of the Florentines, etc., and found him harsher than ever, for his Holiness said that should the Emperor not keep faith with him he will return to Rome immediately, and have the agreement (*capitulatione*) made with his Imperial Majesty printed, so that the

1529. world may know that he (the Pope) will have been deceived by him (*azo che tuti intendano che serà sta inganata da Ces.*).

Bologna, 31st October 1529.

[*Italian*, 2⅓ *pages.*]

Nov. 1. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 236, St. Mark's Library.

523. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Sir Gregory Casal does the State most excellent service, and is a very worthy gentleman (*bonissimo gentilhomo*), his brother, Messer Francesco, being the stipendiary of your Highness, and the Prothonotary, their brother, now negotiating the permanent engagement of Francesco by the Signory. Sir Gregory has requested me to recommend this affair to your Serenity.

Bologna, 1st November 1529.

[*Italian*, 3½ *pages.*]

Nov. 5. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 238, St. Mark's Library.

524. The SAME to the SAME.

Yesterday morning, on quitting the palace, I met a chaplain in the service of the Bishop of Bari,* the Imperial ambassador, who, through this chaplain, informed me that the Emperor was quite content that I and the Milanese and Florentine ambassadors should go to meet him.

After dinner I went with the ambassadors aforesaid a good distance beyond the Certosa, where the Cardinals awaited the Emperor processionally, we (the ambassadors) halting on the road, a long way in advance of them.

First, besides many baggage waggons and stragglers, there came ten field-pieces, three companies (*compagnie*) of cavalry (one of men-at-arms in number about 42, and two of Burgundian horse numbering about 150 in all), followed by some 28 to 30 horses, with the Emperor's pages in a livery of yellow and violet-coloured velvet. The pages preceded the Imperial secretaries, councillors, and similar personages, behind whom was the Emperor in person in complete armour, with the exception of his helmet, wearing a surcoat of most costly gold brocade with a raised pile; he rode a dapple-grey, whose furniture was of the same material. On the Emperor's head was a black velvet cap, and in his hand a [gold?] sceptre.†

After his Majesty came the Count of Nassau, the Marquis of Astorga, the Marquises of Villafranca, Arescot, and Monferrat, the eldest sons of the Duke dell' Infantasgo, the Marquis of Vilgena and other grandees (*signoroti*), followed by other companies of horsemen, so that, as told me by a person who counted them, they numbered 800 horse; after which came the Spanish infantry and Lansquenets, with Antonio da Leva, in number from three to four thousand.

When the Emperor arrived at the spot where we stood, I purposed getting off my horse to pay my respects to him, but his Majesty sent me word through De Praet requesting me on no

* Stefano Gabriel Merino, a Spaniard, Archbishop of Bari.

† In the original, "*una bachetta*," in Sanuto's Diaries, vol. lii. p. 134, and following, "*una bacheta d' oro.*"

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account to dismount; so I approached and paid him my respects, on horseback, congratulating myself on seeing him again,* safe and sound, in Italy, in these times, which had so much need of his Majesty's wisdom and goodness. He received me most lovingly, as demonstrated both by gesture and countenance, and answered me that he, on his part, would not fail to be the good friend of your Highness; and then he added a few kind words about myself, making so gracious a display, that it was remarked by all the bystanders.

From what was told me,—for I rode on, and could not see,—his Majesty gave very bad greeting to the Milanese and Florentine ambassadors, who accosted him after me; and I and they proceeding in advance of his Majesty, he was met by the Cardinals, on approaching whom, he doffed his bonnet, being received by them, and placed between the two senior Cardinal-Bishops [Farnese and Ancona]; and he remained cap in hand, until all the Cardinals had saluted him.

We then went on to the Certosa, where the Emperor was lodged; and having stopped there at the door, he dismissed the Cardinals, who, one by one, bowed to him.

This morning I went to the Pope, and first spoke to him about the Emperor's arrival and the ceremony of yesterday. I then narrated to him the gracious reception given me by his Majesty, *which his Holiness, it seemed to me, did not hear very willingly.*†

At the close of my audience, the Pope asked me to dine with him, because we ambassadors were to be at the palace in the afternoon, to accompany his Holiness to the site prepared in front of the principal entry of the church of S. Petronio, there (together with the Cardinals and the Papal Court) to receive the Emperor. After dinner, Cardinal Cibo made a second attack upon me, about Ravenna and Cervia, using very strong language.

To-day, about the 21st hour [3 p.m.], we ambassadors and the Cardinals accompanied the Pope to a stage prepared outside the church of S. Petronio, near the great door on the square of this city. The Pope was apparelled with the mantle and a mitre well ornamented with jewels, and was carried on his throne to the spot, where all were seated in their places; and we awaited the Emperor, who came through the town, preceded by a herald scattering money. The Emperor was in armour, over which he wore a surcoat of gold brocade; he had no helmet, in like manner as yesterday, when he did not wear one. He was accompanied by his retinue and by the men-at-arms and his gentlemen, and he came under the canopy as far as the stage, on ascending which, when in front of the Pope, who was seated on his throne, he did him homage (*li fece riverentia*), kneeling on the ground, and on drawing near, made him another reverence. Then, when in contact, he kissed the Pope's

* Gasparo Contarini had resided during four years and four months at the Imperial Court. He quitted Toledo on his return home A.D. 1525, August 11. (*See* "Venetian Calendar," vol. iii. p. 470.)

† In the despatch sent to the Senate the words in italics were ciphered, but in the letter book they are written thus, "*Il che mi parse non fusse udito molto volentieri da Sua Santità.*"

1529.

foot*, and on rising, kissed his hand; and after the Pope had raised him with his hand, he kissed his Holiness' face, and gave him "*osculum pacis*," presenting him with a purse, containing certain gold medals to the amount of about a thousand crowns, amongst which were two large ones, worth 100 crowns each, with the arms of Aragon on one side, and on the other, the heads of his mother and himself; besides which, as seen by me, there were many small medals, with the arms of Castile and Aragon.

Being very near, I heard the Pope's first words, thus,—

"Be your Majesty welcome. I hope in God, that he will have brought you hither for the general good of Christendom."

The words uttered by the Emperor, I did not hear, as he usually speaks in a very low tone. His Majesty then insisted on addressing the Pope, on his knees, nor despite the exhortations of his Holiness would he rise from the ground; in which kneeling posture, he said what I did not hear; but Cardinal Cesis, who was the Pope's assistant, told me the speech purported that his Majesty was come to kiss his Holiness' foot, and that such business as it had been impossible to despatch by letter, he would expedite better by speaking to his Holiness. The Emperor then rose, and was placed, standing, on the Pope's right hand, in a very reverential attitude, and at length put on his cap; and all his gentlemen kissed the Pope's foot.

This ceremony being ended, the Pope rose from his throne, and with his own left hand took the Emperor's right, and thus hand-in-hand they came down from the stage, as far as the door of the church, which the Emperor entered; and the Pope having ascended his throne, was carried to the palace, accompanied by us ambassadors resident with him, and by the Cardinals.

The Emperor's own lodging is in the palace, in the chambers adjoining those of the Pope, so that by opening a door, as the Pope showed me this morning, one passes from the chamber of the Emperor to that of the Pope.

The ambassadors from Ferrara tell me that this morning the Pope flew into a very great passion with them, and is extremely harsh about the affairs of their Duke.

Bologna, 5th November 1529.

[*Italian*, 8½ *pages.*]

Nov. 26–29. Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 295.

525. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

Nothing more is known about Cardinal Wolsey; the Seal was given to Sir Thomas More. In London there is an ambassador from the Emperor,† and one from the King of France.

London, 26–29th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th Dec.*

[*Italian.*]

* This contradicts Burnet, who says:—"When the Pope and he [the Emperor] first met, the ceremony of kissing of the Pope's foot was much looked for, and the Emperor very gently kneeled to pay that submission, but the Pope (whether it was that he thought it was no more seasonable to expect such compliments, or more signally to oblige the Emperor) did humble himself so far as to draw in his foot and kiss his cheek." (Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. i. p. 147, ed. London, 1865.) In the original Italian, the words are, "li fece riverentia *cum* li zenochij in terra, et accostatosi, li fece un' altra riverentia, poi appropiquatosi, basò il piede a Sua Beatitudine," etc.

† Eustace Chappuis.

1529.
Dec. 7?
Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 254.

526. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Cardinal Wolsey has been condemned by the King of England, according to the trial, for the crime of lese-Majesty, in order to take his property and life, which last however, the King of his mercy has granted him; he (the Cardinal) being confined to his house.

Bologna, 7th (?) December. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th December.*

[*Italian.*]*

Dec. 8.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 176.

527. ANONYMOUS letter from BOLOGNA.

Today, in the church of St. Francis, the Emperor swore to the peace with England; the English ambassadors† doing the like on behalf of their King.

Bologna, 8th December. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th Dec.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 260.

528. PROTHONOTARY CASAL in the COLLEGE.

The English ambassador came into the College, and showed a letter received from Bologna from his brother Sir Gregory Casal, also ambassador from the King, which letter was addressed from England to Sir Gregory with a very copious account of the disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey; the copy of which shall be transcribed hereunder.‡

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 291.

559. —— to the MARQUIS of MANTUA.

It is heard that Cardinal Wolsey was taken bare-footed and in his shirt into the King's presence by one of his attendants whom he had benefited more than any other person, and who read to him a list of all the crimes laid to his charge. At the close of the proceedings, he was condemned to death, the people exclaiming, "Stone him;" but the King rose, saying that for the honour of the Cardinalship, he did not choose him to be put to death, and has confined him in a small village belonging to him (Wolsey), and which contains but three or four houses.

Bologna, 21st December. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th December.*

[*Italian.*]

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* The last letter in the letter-book of Gasparo Contarini, is addressed to the Chiefs of the Ten, in date of Bologna, 5th November 1529. Sanuto made his extract apparently from an original despatch.

† Query, Ghinucci, Carew, Sampson, and Gregory Casal. (*See* "State Papers," vol. vii. pp. 224–227.)

‡ The copy does not exist in the Diaries.

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Jan. 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 365.

560. ZUAN BATISTA MALASPINA, Mantuan Ambassador, to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

The King of England insists on the dispensation from his marriage, and gives out that if the divorce is not granted by the Apostolic See, he will take the licence for himself, on the ground that many [legal authorities] are of opinion he may do so, and that he will do worse to remain in sin, rather than ascertain whether his marriage with the Queen is legitimate.

Bologna, 8th January, 1530. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th January.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 418.

561. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

Parliament prorogued until the middle of April. The Pope sent to the King asking him for money to spend against the Turks; his Majesty answered that he will send money, but first requires the sentence of divorce to be passed.

London, 13th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 365.

562. ENGLISH AMBASSADOR in the COLLEGE.

The Prothonotary Casal arrived yesterday from Bologna. Today he came into the College, and congratulated the Signory on the peace made.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. lii. p. 443.

563. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

Acquainted the King with the peace and league made. His Majesty said he disapproved of the League [between Venice, Ferrara, and Milan?], most especially because it was against Christians, whereas the Signory leagued habitually against Infidels. The French ambassador, Giovanni Gioachino [Passano], has arrived, so there is close friendship with France. The King wishes above all things for the divorce, about which something will be heard at the next session of Parliament.

Cardinal Wolsey has been seriously ill [at Esher], and the King sent his own physician to attend him.

It is reported in London that the King of Portugal is fitting out a fleet against the King of Tunis, in Africa.

London, 29th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 12.

564. The SAME to the SAME.

Cardinal Wolsey appeared before the King asking pardon, should he have done anything against his Majesty, and the King pardoned him; and at the meeting of Parliament, which is to be held in

1530.

April, his fate will be decided. Some wish him to retain his benefices, others that he be allowed a sufficiency for his daily maintenance.

London, 15th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 2. **565.** Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 37.

The Privy Council (*conseio dil Re*) has decided that Cardinal Wolsey is to reside at York (distant 190 miles from London), of which place he is bishop; but he is not to have the revenue of the see, but of the abbacy [*sic*] of Winchester, which yields 16,000 ducats annually. The Cardinal has recovered his health, and sent to say he cannot go (to York) for the next four months, as the archiepiscopal palace there is dilapidated and needs repair.

The King is going to see the Queen and Princess, who are at . . . . . ., but he is intent on effecting the divorce, and obtaining a reply from the ambassadors sent to Italy. He also sends an ambassador to France, to whom the most Christian King's sons will be consigned, and also the money due from the Emperor, according to the agreement made.

London, 2nd March. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 7. **566.** Prothonotary Casal.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 6.

The English ambassador came into the College, having arrived from Bologna, where he attended the Emperor's coronation. He said something about the Emperor's goodwill, (nothing of importance,) and that his (Casal's) brother, who had been in the Signory's service in Puglia, was coming hither, recommending him, etc.

[*Italian.*]

March 10. **567.** Letter from ——— to the Marquis of Mantua.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 24.

The English ambassadors,* amongst whom is the father of the King's sweetheart (*inamorata*), are expected. They come to declare to the Pope and the Emperor that their King insists upon a divorce, and will repudiate his first wife. Two Florentines within the city (of Florence) sent a challenge to two of their countrymen in the camp of the besiegers, giving them the choice of weapons, and calling them rebels and traitors, and the enemies of God; and tomorrow is the day appointed for this contest.

Bologna, 10th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 16. **568.** Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 72.

Cardinal Wolsey has departed to the residence assigned him at his see of York.

The King is determined to be divorced, and is sending the case to all the universities to obtain counsel's opinion. He has already

* Thomas Boleyn, Lord Wiltshire, Stokisley, and Lee. (*See* "State Papers," vol. vii., part v. continued, p. 230, footnote.)

1530.

obtained that of the Doctors of the University of Louvain, and he now sends to Padua to obtain counsel's opinion from the doctors of canon law, as he does not choose to remain thus in sin; and he requests the Signory's assistance (*li dagi favori*).

London, 16th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 102.

569. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

The King is gone to . . . . . to see his natural son, the Duke of . . . . . [Richmond], aged 12 years,* and to bring him to the Court. Two of his (Falier's) servants have died of plague, so he must live apart from the Court for 40 days.

Some . . . . . [apprentices?], under pretence of playing a cudgel game, took up arms; it is said they intended to kill our merchants, because as they export the English wools the people have no employment. The Mayor went to the spot and arrested 60 of the rioters, so that the disturbance ceased. According to report, had the project succeeded, it would have kindled a great conflagration.

London, 23rd March. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 27. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 12.

570. The Doge and College to Lodovico Falier, Venetian Ambassador in England.

The Emperor remained at Bologna until the 22nd, and was to enter Mantua yesterday; he will traverse the Veronese territory to Trent, and then proceed to meet his brother at Augsburg, where they will hold a diet for regulating the Lutheran opinions, which are advancing in many places in Germany.

The Emperor left the army under Florence to continue the siege. The city perseveres in its defence. The besiegers have not battered the place, or made assault, being of opinion that they can reduce it by blockade.

The Pope leaves Bologna next Monday for Rome. The Duke of Ferrara, at the Emperor's request, went to Bologna with a safe-conduct from the Pope, and was well received by his Imperial Majesty and by his Holiness. The matters in dispute were referred to the Emperor, into whose hands the Duke delivers Modena and its territory, the Emperor to decide all questions within the next six months. If the same be then not settled, he is to restore Modena and its territory to the Duke.

[*Italian.*]

March 30. Lettere del Collegio, (Secreta), File no. 12.

571. The Same to the Same.

The galleys for the Flanders voyage are about to depart. Feel sure they will be well treated by reason of the King's great wish, notified to Sir Gregory Casal by the three ambassadors sent lately

* According to the memoir of the Duke of Richmond, by Mr. J. G. Nichols (Camden Miscellany, vol. iii. p. lix.), he was only eleven years of age in 1530.

1530. to the Pope by his Majesty,* that the Signory should despatch said galleys on their voyage. But in the waters of the Levant there are two great barks and two French galleons, well armed at Marseilles, which lately captured a Venetian ship, the "Tiepola," and also a large Marcilian, bound from Alexandria with spices, belonging to the Venetian nobleman Zuan Dolfin. Although certain that this proceeding is contrary to the wish of the most Christian King, from whom they expect redress, yet, for the safety of the Flanders galleys, he (Falier) is to write to that King to charge the captains of said barks and galleons, and all other persons who have fitted out armed vessels, to have due regard for the Signory's galleys bound to Flanders, and for all the other vessels of their subjects.

[*Italian.*]

April 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 83.

572. PROTHONOTARY CASAL.—DIVORCE CASE.

The English ambassador came into the College requesting a reply about the counsel's opinions (*di consiglij*) demanded by his King from the University of Padua, concerning the divorce. They are already written, but the jurists will not deliver them without the Signory's licence.

[*Italian.*]

April 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 87.

573. DIVORCE CASE.

On this day (Easter Tuesday), after the procession of St. Isidore, the College sat for a long while; and, the affair of England not having been yet thoroughly deliberated, it was this day determined to appoint a committee of the Sages of the Council to consult upon it.

[*Italian.*]

April 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 88.

574. PERUSAL of LETTERS in the SENATE.

From England, from Lodovico Falier, very stale letters.

[*Italian.*]

April 25. Commemoriale, v. xxi. p. 114.

575. SAFECONDUCT for the FLANDERS GALLEYS.

Granted by Francis King of France, and addressed to all his Lieutenant-Governors, etc., etc.

Angoulême, 25th April 1530, and of the King's reign the 15th. *Countersigned:* Breton.

[*Italian; probably translated from the French.*]

May 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 142.

576. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

The King inquired if he had received a reply to the letter written by him to the Signory. Answered in the negative.

The meeting of Parliament has been adjourned until the 6th of June, and if during this interval sentence of divorce be not passed at Rome, the King chooses the Parliament to despatch the business.

London, 9th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th May.*

[*Italian.*]

* Namely, Wiltshire, Stokisley, and Lee. (*See* "State Papers," vol. vii.)

1530.
May 12.
Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 152.

577. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

The King has called a Parliament in which he proposes discussing the divorce from his wife, and will execute their resolve.

Cardinal Wolsey was at . . . . . [Peterborough?]

London, 12th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 12.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. Filza 3.

578. DIVORCE CASE.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta, by the councillors (with the exception of Georgio) and chiefs, for a letter to Marco Dandolo, LL.D., and knight, residing at Padua.*

Will remember the request made to the Signory in the name of the King of England concerning the divorce, and also what the Emperor wished in this matter, as demonstrated to the State by his ambassador. As they are again urged by both sides to decide, the Council of Ten and Junta rely on his prudence and address, and that he will accomplish their object and act with the greatest secrecy. Charge him to confer with Dom. Pietro Paulo Parisio, and express their approval of the reply he gave to the agents of the English King, declining to give an opinion on this case† for the reasons prudently alleged by him, considering the personages concerned therein, to whom it was desirable to avoid giving any offence, because in so serious and uncommon a business an opinion given in favour of the one party must of necessity provoke great resentment in the other against the counsellor, who could never rid himself of the indignation and peril which he might subsequently incur from the offended party.

To exhort him to persevere, giving it to be understood that he will not change his mind; and as he values the Signory's favour, he is not to let it appear that this proceeds from him (Dandolo).

He (Dandolo) is to confer with Dom. Francischino Da Corte, and with all the other jurisconsults and theologians who lecture in ordinary at the University of Padua and receive salary from the Republic, whose names will be noted hereunder.‡ Speaking with them apart one from the other, he (Dandolo) is to acquaint them with the greatest secrecy in the name of the Council of Ten and Junta, with the Signory's aforesaid wish that they should not interfere in this matter, whether at the suit of the King or of the Queen; to ascertain whether any of them have given counsel's opinion in this case of the divorce; and, if not, to charge them to decline giving an opinion, on the plea of private interests, and to avoid displeasing

* Marco Dandolo had been Ambassador Extraordinary to Charles V. and Clement VII. at Bologna, in January 1530, but in December of that year, when at Padua, he did not hold any public office, and the Council of Ten and Junta merely applied to him because he was an able statesman and negotiator, and well lettered. In the third vol. of the Venetian Calendar, entry 1258, p. 543, it has been seen that in April 1526 Cardinal Wolsey wished for a rare book which belonged to this Marco Dandolo, who had held many high offices under the Republic, and died 15 May 1535, aged 77 years.

† "Il voler consegliar a detta causa."

‡ There is no list of names on the draft.

1530.
May 12.
Senato Dieste,
v. fol. p. 122.

577. Lodovico Fatius to the Signory.

The King has called a Parliament in which he proposes discussing the divorce from his wife, and will examine their position.

Cardinal Wolsey was at . . . . . [Peterborough ?]

London, 12th May. Received by Venice, 2nd June.

[Italian.]

May 12.
Zani Secreta,
Consiglio X.
Filza 2.

578. Divorce Case.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta by the councillors (with the exception of Giorgio) and clerks, on a letter to Marco Dandolo, LL.D., and knight, residing at Padua.*

Will remember the request made to the Signory in the name of the King of England concerning the divorce and also what the Emperor wished in this matter, as demonstrated to the Duke by his ambassador. As they are again urged by both sides to decide, the Council of Ten and Junta rely on his prudence and ability, and that he will accomplish their object and act with the greatest secrecy. Charge him to confer with Dom. Pietro Paulo Parisio and express their approval of the reply he gave to the agents of the English King, declining to give an opinion on this case for the reasons prudently alleged by him, considering the personages concerned therein, to whom it was desirable to avoid giving any offence, because in so serious and uncommon a business an opinion given in favour of the one party must of necessity provoke great resentment in the other against the counsellor, who could never indemnify of the indignation and peril which he might subsequently incur from the offended party.

To exhort him to persevere, giving it to be understood that he will not change his mind; and as he values the Signory's favour, he is not to let it appear that this proceeds from him (Dandolo).

He (Dandolo) is to confer with Dom. Francesco Da Corte and with all the other Jurisconsults and Theologians who lecture in ordinary at the University of Padua and receive salary from the Republic, whose names will be noted hereunder.* Speaking with them apart one from the other, he (Dandolo) is to negotiate them with the greatest secrecy in the name of the Council of Ten and Junta, with the Signory's authority that they should not interfere in this matter, whether at the suit of the King or of the Queen; to ascertain whether any of them have given counsel's opinion in this case of the divorce; and, if not, to charge them to decline giving an opinion, on the plea of private interests, and to avoid displeasing

* There Dandolo has been Ambassador Extraordinary to Charles V. and Clement VII. at Bologna in January 1530 but in December of that year, when at Padua, he did not hold any public office, yet the Council of Ten and Junta surely applied to him because he was an able statesman and well informed. In the third vol. of the Venetian Calendar, entry 1528, p. 616, he also sees the Queen of April 1530 (Cardinal Wolsey wished for a free look which seemed to this Senate [Dandolo, who has been many times ambassador to England] to be a matter of great importance).

† "Il volse consegliar a questa cosa."

‡ There is no list of names on the draft.

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the parties interested. Should they have already advised on this case, but have not yet pronounced their opinion, to enjoin them to suppress the same, and avail themselves of the above excuse. To warn them to do this as of their own accord, not letting it appear (as they wish for favour with the State) that this injunction proceeds from the Signory. As additional security, to put each of them on oath, not to tell anyone soever that this proceeds from the Signory. The answers received from each of the professors are to be addressed by letter to the Council of Ten; and if for the stronger expression of this their desire he (Dandolo) should think fit to exhibit this missive to them, he may do so.

Put to the ballot, that the Rev. Dom. Francesco Georgio (in the original "Zorzi") do abstain from giving any advice or interfering in this matter, and that the College be authorized to communicate this resolve of the Ten and Junta to the Imperial ambassador, the chiefs of the Ten being present at the announcement.*

Ayes, 19. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Original draft, Italian.*]

May 17.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. Filza 3.

579. DIVORCE CASE.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta by the Councillors Paulo Donato and Lorenzo Bragadino, and by the chiefs, for a letter to Marco Dandolo, LL.D., and knight, residing at Padua.

Satisfied to learn the professors, to please the Signory, conformed to their request, but surprised to hear of the change made by Dom. Mariano da Siena from his original proposal to comply with the Signory's resolve, to that of publishing the opinions and reasons assigned in favour of one side and the other, without however declaring his judgment further, a proceeding of consequence to the Signory, he being a professor at that university and in their pay. The Republic being anxious to maintain friendship and goodwill with all the sovereigns interested in the business, the Council of Ten and Junta desire him (Dandolo) to charge Dom. Mariano not to give counsel's opinion, the Signory's intention and wish being that his name may not appear in this divorce case, either on one side or the other, as in this affair he may adduce many excuses such as his wisdom will suggest to him, and, above all things, imply that he was neither exhorted nor induced to take this step by the Signory. He (Dandolo) will regulate himself in this matter: if Dom. Mariano does as desired it will be a great satisfaction to them; should he act otherwise, he (Dandolo) to exact from Mariano profound silence with regard to this injunction proceeding from the Signory; telling him, besides, that he is not to say a word about this to the other professors, the Signory's intention being that none of them do know of [their colleagues?] having been asked about this, so that the thing may pass with the greatest secrecy, as is their chief wish and intention.

* "Et sii da facultà al Collegio nostro de posser comunicare la presente nostrà deliberatione al magnifico Orator Cesareo, intervenendo li Capi di questo conseglio."

1530.

Of the execution of this order Dandolo is to give notice to the Chiefs of the Ten.

Ayes, 14. Noes, 8. Neutrals, 3.

[*Original draft, Italian.*]

June 3. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. Filza 3.

580. Divorce Case.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta for a letter to Lodovico Falier, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Some days ago his Majesty's reverend ambassador presented to the Signory a letter, purporting that his Majesty requested them to permit that the professors of Padua, and other men celebrated for learning, residing at Venice and other cities and places belonging to the Republic, might give favourable counsel's opinion* in his aforesaid case. To this letter the Signory replied, as by enclosed copy, and spoke more explicitly to the King's ambassador. He (Falier) to present the enclosed letter to the King, and state that they listened to the contents of his missive with respectful attention, and noted its contents; and that, although with regard to his request they are aware of the necessity for great caution, nevertheless, having understood that since the receipt of the King's letter some of the doctors in question gave their opinion (the Signory remaining perfectly content), they are convinced that the King will rest satisfied with this result, and consider the obligations which others press upon the State, should the Signory not have made a greater demonstration in his favour in this matter; and that he will continue to hold them as most obsequious towards his crown. To convince the King of what is aforesaid, and exert his abilities to the utmost, as for an object earnestly desired by them; and to acquaint the Chiefs of the Ten with the result.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Original draft, Italian.*]

June 4. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. Filza 3.

581. Doge Andrea Gritti to Henry VIII. (Letter read to the Council of Ten and Junta.)

The King's letter, delivered lately by his ambassador the Reverend Casal, was favourably read by him (the Doge), and he gave audience to Casal, who eloquently and prudently repeated its contents well nigh literally. Earnestly desires that his Royal Highness will consider it certain that he (the Doge) is, and always will be, most attached and devoted to his (the King's) name.

[*Original draft, Latin.*]

June 9. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta). File no. 12.

582. The Doge and College to Lodovico Falier, Venetian Ambassador in England.

By letters from Rome understand that the Papal and Imperial troops have taken Empoli.

The Duke of Milan is daily recovering his health, and has obtained pacific possession of his whole territory, with the exception of the city of Como and the castle of Milan.

* "Possino et debino favorabilmente consigliar."

1530.

An ambassador presented himself to them lately from the Lord Turk [Sultan Solyman], to announce the circumcision of his four sons. To reciprocate this office they will send him a present, according to the custom of the Porte and of the Republic.

Is to give such account of these facts as circumstances may require.

[*Italian.*]

June 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 165.

583. Divorce Case.

On this day, the Reverend Bishop of London, by name Stokisley,* arrived at Venice, having been preceded by one Richard Croke. They come as ambassadors from the English King, to obtain counsel's opinion (*consulti*) from the doctors of Padua concerning the divorce.

[*Italian.*]

June 28. Sforza Archives, Milan.

584. Augustino Scarpinello to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.

In two former letters I mentioned the impossibility of doing anything in the matter enjoined me by your Excellency's Lord Lieutenant, by reason of the absence from this Court of the Earl of Wiltshire; the King's Almoner [Edward Lee] being of opinion that this business should not be attempted through any other channel than that of the Earl, as I myself inferred, before my interview with the Almoner, perceiving affairs here to proceed more restrictively (*più strette*) than ever they did hitherto, and that the crew (*le brigate*) are determined to make amends for what has been misspent, by extreme parsimony; of which daily proofs are afforded, and most especially within the last four days, when they positively denied the request of the Florentines, as written in my last letters. I will, however, do what is necessary, on the arrival of the aforesaid Earl, which is expected to take place immediately on the release of the French Princes; and as this is supposed to have already taken place, he will depart on his return hither. God grant that my exertions may obtain the result desired by your Excellency; but I certainly should have wished for instructions concerning what we could offer on our part, both as to security, and also with regard to gaining some powerful support (*mezo potente*) whereby to obtain the desired effect.

The only news here are, that his Majesty amuses himself at his places hereabouts, passing from one to the other, and is now at Hampton Court, a most noble palace, which belonged heretofore to the Cardinal of York. The Queen also is with his Majesty, and they pay each other, reciprocally, the greatest possible attention, or compliments, in the Spanish fashion, with the utmost mental tranquillity,† as if there had never been any dispute (*offensione*)

* In "State Papers," vol. vii. p. 241, there is a letter from Stokisley, dated Bologna, 13 June 1530, in which he alludes to his departure on that day for Venice.

† "Et con Sua Maiestate anco la Reginale, con farnose (*sic*) [facendosi?] *ad invicem* la maior cera del mondo *seu catamientos* alla Spagnuola, con la maior tranquillità di animo."

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whatever between them; yet has the affair not slackened in the least, although at this present but little is being done here, as both parties are collecting votes, in France, Italy (*quelle parti*) and several other places, but it is not yet known with what success. At any rate,* this most virtuous Queen (*questa sanctissima Regina*) maintains strenuously,† that all her King and Lord does, is done by him for true and pure conscience' sake, and not from any wanton appetite (*inhonesto zelo*).

Parliament is now holding the midsummer session,‡ which is attended by the usual members, and especially by the Duke of Norfolk and the Chancellor [Sir Thomas More].

Cardinal Wolsey is at his diocese of York; affable to everybody, and gentle as a lamb.

The Princess occupies herself with her very becoming studies § in her usual residence. Were there anything else worthy of your Excellency's knowledge, I would not weary you with similar matters. I also understand that the King of Scotland has imprisoned some fifteen persons of account, and beheaded two of them; some say, for having plotted against his Majesty, as accomplices of the Earl of Angus and other outlaws; || others assert that it is because they encouraged a number of hostile pillagers who have made forays in that kingdom, stimulated in like manner by said Earl and by conspirators resident in certain English places on the borders; ¶ on which account it is said the King of Scotland has raised a considerable amount of troops, to rid his territory of similar casualties.

Should anything else occur, I will not fail to give notice of it to your Excellency, beseeching you in the meanwhile to deign graciously to provide for this my need, which has in truth reached such a pitch of unbearable misery as will be easily intelligible to you knowing when it commenced, and that it has not yet been supplied.

London, 28th June 1530.

Your most Illustrious and most Excellent Lordship's humble servant,

Augustino Scarpinello.

Addressed: To the most Illustrious and most Excellent Lord Duke of Milan, my Lord.

[*Original, Italian.*]

July 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 230.

585. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Congratulated the most Christian King on the release of his sons. His Majesty said he was a greater friend to the Signory than any

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* "*Et tamen utrinque nihil remittitur de negotio* benchè quì hora poco si opera, essendose comisse la diligentia di ciascuno de li dui in Francia, in quelle parti, et diverse altre, *ad colligere vota et opiniones sibi faventes. Quo res sit evasura nescitur; unum est,* che questa sanctissima Regina," etc., etc.

† "Contende summâ contentione."

‡ "Hora quì sono li termini judiciali de San Giovanni."

§ "Honestissimi studj."

|| "Et altri che exulano."

¶ "Altri dicono per haverne fomentato molti latroni che sono insurti in quello Regno pur moti da detto Conte," etc.

1530. other sovereign in the world; that he had received a letter from the Queen [Madame Eleanor of Portugal], apologizing for the delay in the consignment of his children, which had not been caused by the Emperor, her brother, and implying tacitly that it proceeded from the Pope; and that she had given 3,000 ducats to the Spaniards, not to detain her and the French Princes. The King was gone to Roquefort (de Marsan) to meet the Queen, and consummate the marriage there. He did not choose the ambassadors, or others, to go thither, postponing their congratulations until the time of the entertainments at Paris. The King had also received a very submissive letter from his sons, congratulating themselves on their release. The English ambassador, the Earl of Wiltshire, father of the King's favourite, has departed. He is going to urge his King to succour the Florentines in conjunction with his most Christian Majesty.

Bourges, 5th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 296.

586. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

On the 7th the King, whilst at mass, received the news of the restitution of his most Christian Majesty's sons; during the whole of that day, and at night, very great rejoicings were made.

The King's envoys, sent to obtain counsel's opinion (*li consegij*) from the doctors at Paris, have arrived.

Cardinal Wolsey is there [at Stoby?],* leading a life of great humility like a religious prelate.

London, 15th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 217.

587. Divorce Case.

The two ambassadors from England, one of whom is the Bishop of London, the other the Prothonotary Casal, came into the College about the opinions (*consulti*) which they wish to obtain from the doctors of Padua in favour of the dispensation of the marriage from the Queen.

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. Filza 3.

588. Divorce Case.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta, by the councillors and chiefs.

That to the Right Reverend Bishop elect of London, to the Ambassador Casal, and to Dom. Richard Croke, ambassadors from the King of England, we answer:—By letters from your King we have understood what his Majesty of England wishes to have done in the case of his marriage. Before answering, desire to attest our disposition to do what may be agreeable to him in all things, and although of his great prudence and wisdom, the King will foresee and consider the regards which we must necessarily have in his

* *See* Cavendish, p. 168.

1530.

[divorce] case, nevertheless, we felt no small pleasure when we heard that the doctors of our cities had pronounced their judgment in this case, without compromising us with any one, though we feel surprise at it having been said that we forbad said doctors to give counsel's opinion in this case,* which is untrue, as we have not prohibited this thing, nor do we intend to prohibit it; and had we chosen so to do, our prohibition would have been general and not particular, nor should we have allowed any of them to fail in the obedience which they owe us, or to further interfere in this case. We know that many doctors have given opinions, and, assuredly, to our satisfaction; though possibly others, being dependent on spiritual and temporal princes, have, from fear of giving offence to those concerned, feigned what your Lordships tell us, which, as we have already said, is false. And as your Lordships request us to inform said doctors that we are content, and do not forbid them to give their true opinion† in this case, we say as heretofore, that this mode of explaining our intention to said doctors would be tantamount to insinuating tacitly that they should give counsel's opinion in favour of the divorce;‡ and we leave it to your prudence to consider how much caution we must use in this matter, and therefore again pray and request your Lordships to acquaint the King with the whole; giving assurance of our constant goodwill towards him, and that we have not failed to perform such office as we could perform, in his aforesaid case, without openly offending those who are interested in it.

Ayes, 10. Noes, 15. Neutrals, 2.§

[*Italian.*]

July 20.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. Filza 3.

589. Divorce Case.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta, by the councillors and the chiefs, for a letter from Doge Andrea Gritti to Henry VIII.

Three days ago his Majesty's letter, dated 28th June, was delivered by the Rev. Bishop elect of London, the Prothonotary Casal, and Dominus Richard Croke. Although he had by letter and by the ambassador in England explained to the King the motives which prevent open compliance with his Majesty's demands, had believed that the King from his wisdom, and love for the Doge, would easily have been pacified; but understanding that his reply was not entirely approved by the King, now writes this further letter, and prays his Majesty to acknowledge the condition of the Signory's affairs, and of the present times, and consider the position of the State in this matter. Will not expatiate further on the subject, as his Majesty will hear more clearly and fully from the Republic's ambassador in England.

Ayes, 25. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Original draft, Latin.*]

* "Il consegliar ad esse causa."
† "Che consiglino la verità in questa causa."
‡ "Ad consegliar favorabilmente ad essa causa."
§ The ballotation shows that the motion was negatived.

1530.
July 20.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. Filza 3.

590. DIVORCE CASE.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta, by the councillors and chiefs, for a letter to Lodovico Falier, Venetian Ambassador in England.

By a letter from the King, dated the 28th ult., and from the statement made by the Bishop of London, understood his Majesty was angry because the Signory had not ordained that the doctors of Padua, and other Venetian cities, were to give opinion on his Majesty's case.* Were hurt at this, wishing that their proceedings might satisfy the King.† Answer his Majesty's letter as by enclosed copy; also enclose the original, which he is to present to the King, and use his utmost endeavours to convince him of the Signory's goodwill, adding that if they did not proceed further in his case, as they wished, it was because they were unable to do so without sacrificing the friendship of the Princes who are interested in it. To exert himself to impress this upon the King, using the most efficacious form of speech he can; and as the aforesaid ambassadors show that his Majesty complains that the Signory has not assented to what they demanded in his name,—namely, that they should inform the doctors of their cities that they did not forbid them to give opinion in his case,—should he (Falier) perceive that the King resents this, to tell him that to perform the office required by the ambassadors would be tantamount to having originally commanded and ordered said doctors to give opinion in favour of his Majesty, which is incompatable with the obligations incumbent on the Signory.

Ayes, 25. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Original draft, Italian.*]

July 24.
Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 227.

591. DIVORCE CASE.

The English ambassadors, namely, the ambassador resident [Prothonotary Casal], and the Bishop of London, came into the College; all the members having no seat in the Council of Ten withdrew. The ambassadors demand the opinion (*conseio*) of the Paduan doctors concerning the marriage.

[*Italian.*]

July 27.
Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 231.

592. DIVORCE CASE.

The English ambassadors, the Bishop of London and Casal, came into the College about the opinions (*consegij*) required by the King in favour of his divorce from the Queen.

[*Italian.*]

July 30.
Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 233.

593. DIVORCE CASE.

The English ambassadors came into the College, the chiefs of the Ten being present at their audience. The business related to the opinions (*conseglij*) which their King wishes the Paduan doctors to give concerning the divorce.

[*Italian.*]

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* "Consiglino alla causa di Sua Maestà."

† "Desiderando come facemo ogni sedatione et satisfaction del animo di quella de le operation nostre."

1530.
July 30. **594.** DIVORCE CASE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 234.

In the afternoon the Council of Ten and Junta sat, and determined that the affair of England should be referred to the Senate, the decision and reply of the Council being read there.

[*Italian.*]

July 30. **595.** DIVORCE CASE.

Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. Filza 3.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta, by the chiefs, for a letter to Lodovico Falier, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Inform him that having read to the English ambassadors the letter written to his Majesty, and the announcement which they charged their ambassador in England to make to the King, the English ambassadors showed dissatisfaction, and subsequently, having twice had audience of the Signory, requested them with great earnestness to grant their petition, at least with regard to that part of it requiring an intimation to be made to the doctors of the Republic's cities, to the effect that by giving opinion on his Majesty's case,* they will not incur the displeasure of the State. To this the Signory did not assent, for the reasons expressed in the accompanying statement; whereupon the Bishop of London used violent language, reviling the Signory, and adding that he would write the whole to his Majesty, who, he doubted not, would make the Signory know how much he was displeased, and bursting forth into expressions which they are convinced were very remote from the King's good disposition towards them and their affairs. To this language they replied with all modesty, knowing what their observance to the King required, and also that if the form of speech employed by the Bishop of London were spread amongst the Republic's merchants who proposed shipping goods on board the Signory's galleys destined for the English voyage, the said merchants would doubt as to risking their property if they were not sure of a good and friendly greeting in England. So although the Signory has not the least doubt of his Majesty's goodwill towards their subjects and affairs, nevertheless, acquainted as they are with the timidity of said merchants, have determined to add the present letter, charging him (Falier), after having told the King what is aforesaid, to suggest that his Majesty should write a gracious letter to the State, to render their merchants sure of the King's good will and disposition toward the Signory and their affairs.

Ayes, 27. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Original draft, Italian.*]

July 31. **596.** The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.

Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 12.

Send him letters from the Signory addressed to their ambassador in England, which, being of no little importance, he is to forward by the speediest and safest means.

[*Italian.*]

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*"Che consigliando loro alla causa di Sua Maestà." Query, "giving counsel's opinion *in favour* of his Majesty's case."

1530.

Aug. 2. **597.** DIVORCE CASE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 238.

Read in the Senate, with the strictest injunctions to secrecy, certain requests made by the ambassadors of the King of England for opinions from the doctors of Padua, concerning the divorce from the Queen. Also the reply made to them by the Council of Ten and Junta denying their request; and the letter (*lettere*) written by the King purporting that a certain friar, Francesco Zorzi,* a most able (*valentissimo*) theologian, has written a book denying the Pope's power to annul the first marriage, which book has been seized by a bishop and burnt. The King therefore prays (*prega*) the Signory to have the book re-made (*lo fazi refar*), etc. The answer given recently by the Council of Ten and Junta was likewise read, to the effect that we declined interfering in this matter, not choosing to act against our confederates. Other writings were also read, etc.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4. **598.** LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 333.

The King has received a decision (*determination*) from the University of Paris concerning the divorce. Of 105 voters 54 were in favour of the King, authorizing the divorce, which was negatived by 42, so the decision was in his favour. He is sending money to the doctors of Padua to obtain a like opinion (*conseio*), and is also despatching an envoy to the Pope. Both laymen and theologians sit in the University of Paris, and they consulted for a month. A letter was read to them from the King desiring them to do justice. A mass was then celebrated, and the oath was administered to all.

The father of the King's favourite has returned; he was ambassador at Rome and in France.†

London, 4th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 9. **599.** FLANDERS GALLEYS.

Senato Mar, v. xxii. p. 22.

Motion made in the Senate that as on the 30th of last July the Council of Ten and Junta wrote to the Signory's ambassador in England, to request the King that, to tranquillize and encourage the

* Of Friar Francesco Zorzi, or Georgio, there is an excellent biographical notice in the 2nd volume of Agostini's History of Venetian Authors, p. 332, and following, ed. Venice, 1754. In Sanuto's Diaries mention is made of a sermon preached in St. Mark's church on the 12th April 1500, by Francesco Zorzi, who, Sanuto writes, was his first cousin; the friar's mother having been the sister of Sanuto's father. Again, on the 19th April 1527, the diarist alludes to three sermons preached during Lent in St. Mark's by Friar Zorzi, and adds that he was "*a man in great repute.*" It is probable that in these three sermons Zorzi alluded to Lutheranism, as on the following 15th May, the Diaries record the burning at Rialto of many Lutheran books. Agostini writes that, on *the authority of Gilbert Burnet*, he attributes to Francesco Zorzi the work entitled "*Votum pro Henrico VIII.*, etc.," and that Burnet was correct, is now proved by Zorzi's cousin, Marin Sanuto.

Agostini adds (p. 361) that Zorzi's apology for the divorce was confuted by Gasparo Contarini, whose despatches have furnished so many materials for the Venetian Calendar. Francesco Zorzi died at the age of eighty in Asolo on the 1st of April 1540. (See Agostini, vol. 2, p. 348.)

† In "State Papers," vol. 7, p. 248, there is a footnote showing that on the 19th July Lord Wiltshire was, on his way home, at Ortonay.

1530.

merchants, he would be pleased to write the State a letter notifying his approval of the voyage, and that the galleys should be well treated, etc.,—Put to the ballot, that the ambassador's reply be awaited before proceeding to any other resolve.

Ayes, 65. Noes, 10. Neutrals, 14.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 271.

600. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

At the request of the King of England the Pope has granted permission, both for the English theologians and canonists, to give advice * concerning the divorce of the King and Queen.

Rome, 10th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15. Sforza Archives, Milan.

601. AUGUSTINO SCARPINELLO to FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE of MILAN.

The King occupies himself with hunting and other becoming (*onestissime*) amusements, in these neighbouring places some 20 or 30 miles hence. The usual diligence with regard to the divorce is employed. Some days ago there was a great debate in the University of Paris amongst upwards of ninety doctors, the majority of whom voted in favour of this King. It is said that these and other similar certificates from the English universites have been sent to the Pope in Italy by one Gurrone, a Modenese agent, despatched hence on the 6th instant by Sir Gregory Casal.

The persons who have great influence with the King are, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, and Dr. Stephen [Gardiner]; but his Majesty chooses to know and superintend everything himself.

The right rev. Cardinal of York is at his diocese, and is understood to be leading a life of humility and sanctity, and therefore much beloved by his flock.

Here they are hourly expecting the arrival of the Bishop of Bayonne, on a mission from the King of France.

Many persons apprehend that should this marriage [of King Henry to Anne Boleyn?] come to pass, the population here will rebel, declaring that the votes of the English and Parisian universities have been obtained unfairly.†

London, 15th August.

Signed: Your most Illustrious and most Excellent Lordship's humble servant, Augustino Scarpinello.

Addressed: To the most Illustrious and most Excellent Lord Duke of Milan.

[*Original, Italian.*]

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* "Cussì i theologi come canonisti di Anglia possino *conseiar*."

† The original words are, "Molti dubitano che se questo matrimonio segue, *ne fiat tumultus* da questi populi in obtinere li voti di queste universitate et di le di Parise essersi usato poca sincerità."

merchants, he would be pleased to write the State a letter notifying his approval of the voyage, and that the galleys should be well treated, etc.—Ful. To the latter, that the ambassador's reply be awaited before proceeding to any other resolve.

Ayes, 65. Noes, 10. Neutrals, 14.

[Italian.]

Aug. 10. Senato Dispacci, v. fol. p. 271. 6502. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

At the request of the King of England the Pope has granted permission, both for the English cholagiane and convents, to give advice concerning the divorce of the King and Queen.

Rome, 10th August. Registered by Sanuto, 14th August.

[Italian.]

Aug. 15. Sanuto Diarii, vol. of MILAN.

6503. AUGUSTINO SCARPINELLO to FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE of Milan.

The King occupies himself with hunting and other pleasures (onesti esercizi) amusements, in those neighbouring places some 20 or 30 miles hence. The usual diligence with regard to the divorce is employed. Some days ago there was a great debate in the University of Paris amongst upwards of ninety doctors, the majority of whom voted in favour of this King. It is said that these and other similar certificates from the English universities have been sent to the Pope in Italy by one Guerrero, a Biscayner apostolic despatched hence on the 6th instant by Sir Gregory Casal.

The persons who have great influence with the King are, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, and Dr. Stephen [Gardiner]: but his Majesty chooses to know and superintend everything himself.

The right rev. Cardinal of York is at his diocese, and is understood to be leading a life of humility and sanctity, and therefore much beloved by his flock.

Here they are hourly expecting the arrival of the Bishop of Bayonne, on a mission from the King of France.

Many persons apprehend that should this marriage [of King Henry to Anne Boleyn?] come to pass, the population here will rebel, declaring that the vows of the English and Parisian universities have been obtained unduly.[†]

London, 15th August.

Signed: Your most Illustrious and most Excellent Lordship's humble servant, Augustino Scarpinello.

Addressed: To the most Illustrious and most Excellent Lord Duke of Milan.

[Original. Italian.]

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* "Casal [Angelo] come cognato di Anglia persona eloquente."

† The original words are, "Molti dicono che se questo matrimonio segue, se dirà [sarebbe da quelli popoli in odiarne il voto in quanto universale et di li di Parisi] essere stato per simonia."

1530.
Aug. 25. **602.** DIVORCE CASE.
Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 299. The two English ambassadors had audience in the presence of the chiefs of the Ten, concerning the opinions which the King wishes to obtain from the doctors of Padua about the divorce.
[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26. **603.** PRESENT for the BISHOP of LONDON.
Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 315. Motion made in the Senate by the councillors, chiefs of the Forty, and sages, that as the Bishop of London, ambassador from the King of England, is about to quit Venice, such present be made him, to the amount of 130 ducats, as shall seem fit to the College.
Ayes, 153. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 12.
[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26. **604.** VENETIAN EMBASSY in ENGLAND.
Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 315. Motion made in the Senate by the aforesaid, and by the sages for the orders.—Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., when returning from his embassy to England, was presented by the King with sundry pieces of silver, on account of which gift he paid sundry fees and expenses to the amount of 40 ducats. Put to the ballot, that to the aforesaid Marco Antonio Venier there be paid out of the fund for the present need (*de' danari delle presente occorentie*) 40 ducats; and as on this account there remained in deposit one of the said pieces of silver, be that also consigned to the Signory after satisfaction has been given.
Ayes, 142. Noes, 15. Neutrals, 17. (Carried.)
[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26. **605.** PRESENT for JOHN STOKISLEY.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta). File no. 10. As it would be unfitting to omit making a present, on his departure, to the reverend Bishop of London, ambassador from the King of England:
Put to the ballot, that from 130 to 150 ducats be expended on such effects (*robe*) as our College may deem suitable for presentation to the ambassador aforesaid.
Ayes, 153. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 12.
[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26. **606.** AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.
Senato Terra, v. xxvi. p. 47. Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., late ambassador in England, having deposited in the Signory's "*Procuratia*" certain silver pieces given him by the King, on account of which gift he paid sundry fees and costs, the aforesaid ambassador to receive 40 ducats; and one of these pieces of silver to be delivered to the Signory after receipt of the said sum.
[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4. **607.** LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.
Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 340. Has with great difficulty obtained from the most Christian King the safe-conduct [for the Flanders galleys?].
London, 4th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th September.*
[*Italian.*]

1530.

Sept. 4. **608.** The SAME to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 340.

The King complains of the Signory for not having allowed him to receive the counsel's opinions from the doctors of Padua concerning the divorce.

London, 4th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5. **609.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 333.

In reply to letters from Augsburg concerning the two clauses on which the Lutherans are determined, the Pope has written to the Legate Campeggio to do what he can, and to concede them, and to remove certain things from the mass.* At the request of the King of England his Holiness creates the Sienese Ghinucci cardinal; he is English ambassador at the Court of Rome, auditor of the Chamber, and was Papal Nuncio in England.

Rome, 5th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5. **610.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 335.

The Pope sends his nephew the Duke Alexander to the Emperor, that he may not lose his time in idleness at Rome,† and that his Imperial Majesty may give him some position; and also to negotiate about his promised wife, the Emperor's natural daughter, that she may be sent into Italy.‡

With regard to the English divorce case, the Pope says that the King would wish him to authorise the Archbishop of Canterbury to pass sentence, and the Queen's advisers insist on its being decided by the "Rota" at Rome. The Pope would fain procrastinate, as the King will assemble the Parliament. Suspects the King will repudiate the Queen without further dispensation from his Holiness, which result would favour the Lutheran affairs.

Rome, 5th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5. **611.** PROTHONOTARY CASAL.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 328.

The English ambassador came into the College to . . . . .

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 8. **612.** NICOLÒ TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Miscellaneous Correspondence. Library, Venetian Archives.

A scheme has been devised by the most Christian King for the Emperor to give him the Milanese, promising, as recompense, to tender homage and "superiority" for Flanders, and to cede it again; taking as wife for the Dauphin the daughter of the most Christian Queen, Madame Eleanor; arranging the affairs of the marriage of England;§ taking the English King's daughter for his

* "E di levar alcune cose dilla messa."

† Alexander de' Medici, the bastard son of Lorenzo II., was declared Chief of the State of Florence on the 6th July 1531, by a decree from the Emperor Charles V.

‡ The marriage of Margaret of Austria to Alexander de' Medici took place on the 29th February 1536.

§ "*Adattare* le cose del matrimonio de Ingelterra."

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son the Duke of Orleans; adjusting matters between the Vayvod and King Ferdinand, and paying in ready money the sum promised by the Duke of Milan to his [Imperial?] Majesty. For this purpose the Ambassador Robadanges came hither lately, in the name of the most Christian King, to offer congratulations; and for this same cause, moreover, the Bishop of Bayonne was sent to England.

Augsburg, 8th September 1530.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 333.

613. Prothonotary Casal.

The English ambassador came into the College, having been sent for; the Signory complaining that he had taken possession spiritual of the bishopric of Cividal di Belluno, without the order of the State. The Doge told him such things ought not to be done, exhorting him to desist, and to wait until he could get it with the State's consent.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Sforza Archives, Milan.

614. Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, to Henry VIII., addressed "Christianissimo Regi Angliæ ac Franciæ."

After the troubles and calamities which I never expected to outlive, being now established in my paternal dominions, as soon as the nature of the times and my grievous chronic malady rendered it possible to acquit my debt of observance and service for the infinite obligations conferred on me by your Majesty, I have sent the eminent Pietro Francesco Bottigella to kiss your Majesty's hand, acknowledging you for my Lord, and offering you my State and substance. It therefore remains for your Majesty to deign to hear him, together with my resident secretary at your Majesty's Court, Augustino Scarpinello.

[Pavia ?] 16th September 1530.

[*Original draft, Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Sforza Archives, Milan.

615. Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, to Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire.

Most Illustrious Lord, honoured as a brother, we send to his Majesty the eminent Pietro Francesco Bottigella, whom we have charged with our secretary, Augustino Scarpinello, to apply to your lordship, and hold you for their director and protector in all our affairs, and above all concerning our need, about which our lieutenant spoke to you at Milan, when you gave us fair hopes. It now therefore remains for your lordship to give credence to our agents, and do by us in accordance with what we hope of you.

Pavia, 16th September 1530.

Addressed: To the most illustrious Lord, the Earl of Wiltshire, Royal Councillor, honoured as our brother.

[*Original draft, Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Sforza Archives, Milan.

616. The Same to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

We send Pietro Francesco Bottigella to perform with the King the office which we have often desired to perform in person.

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He will also present himself to your Excellency, together with our secretary, resident at the English Court, and they will make the communication enjoined them. Pray give them credence as to ourselves, and not only assist and maintain us in his Majesty's good favour, but believe us inclined and willing to do you any positive service.

Pavia, 16th September 1530.

[*Original draft, Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Sforza Archives, Milan.

617. INSTRUCTIONS from FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE of MILAN, to PIETRO FRANCESCO BOTTIGELLA, his Envoy to England.

Appoints Bottigella to go to England, and to the Duke's secretary and ambassador with his Majesty, Augustino Scarpinello. To obtain audience of the King, accompanied by Scarpinello, and state the object of the visit is to offer the Duke's service, his State, and all his resources to the King, as throughout the last wars his Majesty constantly protected him, and ever exerted himself to obtain his restoration.

To confirm in his post the Milanese secretary resident, Scarpinello.

To confer in the Duke's name with the Duke of Suffolk, K.G. and privy councillor, and with the Earl of Wiltshire, who was lately ambassador at Bologna from the King to the Pope and the Emperor. To address them in substance in the same terms as used with his Majesty respecting the service offered to their King and master, and to request them in the Duke's name to consider him their good friend.

When the Earl of Wiltshire passed through Milan, the Duke caused his lieutenant to request him to obtain from the King a loan of 50,000 ducats, to recover the Castle of Milan and the city of Como, which are still held as security for money due to the Emperor, the Duke having as yet with great difficulty been able to acquit but one half of the debt; and the Earl well nigh assured the lieutenant of the grant of this demand. To discuss the matter with him, and request his assistance and advice, and (according to Lord Wiltshire's advice) to act in concert with Scarpinello. If necessary, to address the King and other personages on the subject in the Duke's name. By these arguments hopes that the King will be induced to accommodate him, as thereon depends the establishment of his rule (*Stato*).

As security for repayment of the sum required, to offer hostages selected from the chief nobility of the Milanese, as many as his Majesty pleases, and amongst them the illustrious lord, the Duke's brother,* as proposed at the time to the Earl of Wiltshire, according

* According to "L'Art de Vérifier les Dates," Maximilian Sforza died at Paris in June 1530; so the proposed hostage must have been the *bastard* brother of Francesco, whose father, Ludovic the Moor, had an illegitimate son, by name Giovanni Paolo, concerning whom see Andrea Morosini, vol. i. p. 267, and Guicciardini, vol. iv. p. 314. In Litta's Genealogies it is seen that Lucrezia Crivelli was the mother of Giovanni Paolo Sforza, and that he married Violante Bentivoglio.

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to whose advice he is to regulate his proceedings with Scarpinello and according to his counsel. After opening this business, to leave its completion to Scarpinello, and to return to the Duke.

To see Messer Giovanni Dominico Panizone, a native of the Duke's city of Alexandria, and gentleman in waiting on the King. To salute him in the Duke's name, acquaint him with the aforesaid matters, ask suitable assistance, and offer him whatever he may require in the Milanese.

[Pavia ?] 16th September 1530.

[*Original draft, Italian.*]

Sept. 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 44.

618. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

The King has used strong language to the most Christian King's ambassador, about having the money due to him from the King, amounting to a million and a half of gold. He has therefore requested the King of France to send to England the Duke of Orleans, to remain there for his marriage to the Princess Mary, but in fact to detain him as hostage until he receives his money.

London, 17th September *Registered by Sanuto, 13th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 340.

619. Prothonotary Casal.

The English ambassador came into the College, and presented a letter from his King, giving safeconduct to the Flanders galleys to go and trade in his kingdom, and depart at their good pleasure, with other words *ut in ea.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Parti Comuni del Consiglio X., v. vi. (53) p. 70.

620. Ambassador in England.

Motion made by the Council of Ten and Junta.

That from the fund assigned for the ambassadors, the cashier of this Council do give to the agents of the nobleman Lorenzo (*sic*) (Ludovico ?) Falier, ambassador in England, 37 ducats, one livre and one soldo, as appears by his account, which was balloted in the College on the 24th (*sic*) (14th ?) instant.

Ayes, 22. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

Expulsis expellendis.—Factum mandatum.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 20. Sforza Archives, Milan.

621. Augustino Scarpinello to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.

Wrote on the 25th ultimo that the Earl of Wiltshire said his occupations had prevented him, until then, from acquainting the King with the business entrusted to him by the Duke's lieutenant, Signor Alessandro; but promised that when the King came to London, he would do his utmost in this matter.

The arrival of the French ambassador, the Bishop of Bayonne, took place some days ago. He was accompanied by the resident ambassador, Giovanni Gioachino [Passano], and went to the King at a distance of forty miles from London, negotiating with him during ten or twelve days; and on the 6th instant, the Bishop returned to his own King. The only thing known about his

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negotiations is, that he told some of his friends he was sent by his most Christian Majesty to thank the King of England for the trouble taken by him in the release of the French Princes, and for his sincere joy at its accomplishment. Other persons, rather more inquisitive, believe this not to be the sole cause, their arguments being based on the length of the Bishop's stay, and on his protracted conferences; as likewise that, four days before his departure, the ports were closed, so that no one dared cross the sea, and after he had passed, they were reopened.

On the 9th of this month the Pope's Nuncio, the Baron de Burge,* a Sicilian, arrived in London, a well mannered person and learned. Has visited him several times, and purposed going to meet him outside the city, had he announced the hour of his entry. Offered him most obsequious service in the Duke's name. He remained three days in London to arrange his establishment; and was then conducted by the Reverend Peter. Vannes, the King's secretary and the Pope's collector in England, to Gualtā (*query* Waltham Abbey), a forest sixteen (*sic*) miles from London, where his Majesty is now residing. He was received there very honourably; held long and constant conferences, and went out hunting some five or six days.

Subsequently Messer Guglielmo Pannizane arrived, to whom the Lord Lieutenant had referred him concerning Wiltshire's affair. Pannizane said he had been merely charged, in case the King conceded this favour, to promise hostages as security without other obligation; so as the Duke has given no further orders, infers that he holds this matter of small moment, but will do his utmost to facilitate it, and transmit account of his proceedings as he best may, being always doubtful of the delivery of his letters, as they never obtain any reply, which is a hardship, and no less grievous than the misery he endures from inability to provide for himself, having exhausted every remedy, and so wearied and harassed all friends that they neither can nor will any longer succour him; wherefore prays the Duke to make such provision as becoming.

It being understood that the negotiation of the Bishop of Bayonne related to a dispute between the two parties, persons conjectured that the English King, being the creditor of his most Christian Majesty for a considerable sum, without other security than mere paper, is seeking in one way or another to guarantee himself; and as the French, during the negotiations for peace in Spain, promised, on the release of the Princes, to send the Duke of Orleans hither, it is supposed that the English King, under pretence of the promised marriage of the Princess Mary, made a demand for this Duke, rather as security for his credit than from any wish for the marriage. The Frenchman, being perhaps aware of this, declares that his son is not of an age to consummate; so possibly from this dispute the statement made by many to the effect that this side insists on the dissolution of the marriage contract may have arisen; and the King of England also wishes it to be made manifest, that he on his part has performed all the promises to which he was bound hitherto by the articles of the confederation; this being done by him, in order

* *Query* Burgia, a small city in Sicily, 10 leagues to the N.W. of Girgenti.

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not to give any cause to the most Christian King for evasion with regard to payment of his debt. Such are the conjectures, based on certain murmurs made by the parties. If able to obtain more authentic intelligence, will communicate it.

Since his return, the Earl of Wiltshire has been in disgrace, because he did not go to the Emperor at Mantua, according to the order received by him at Modena.

These parties (*questi*) are still very obstinate about the divorce, and think to effect it in a civil manner (*di trovarli garbo bono*), without the consent of the Pope, of whom they complain greatly; and thus far, he is certainly in the wrong.

It is said that they are in hourly expectation here of an ambassador from the Vayvod [of Transylvania], *alias* King John [Zapolski, titular King of Hungary], who left the French Court several days ago. If able to ascertain the object of his negotiations, will endeavour to acquaint the Duke with it.

Has been subsequently informed, he himself not understanding the language, that a few days ago, a proclamation or edict in the English tongue appeared, to the effect that no one is to hold a plurality of benefices; and should anybody attempt to obtain from the Pope a contrary award, he is to be imprisoned and fined (*perde corpo et beni*).

Also that any person soever, for whatever cause, claiming property or damages from the Right Reverend Cardinal of York, is to state his case to the judges appointed for this purpose; and it is also said that the Cardinal is to appear before Parliament at the next session.

London, 20th September 1530.

[*Original, Italian.*]

Sept. 28. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta). File no. 12.

622. Ducal Missive from Doge Andrea Gritti to Henry VIII.

Lately received two of his Majesty's letters on one sheet (*uno exemplo*), dated 1st September, presented by the Reverend Casal, his ambassador, whereby, as also by the ambassador's words, his Majesty promises that the merchants making their passage on board the Flanders galleys to England shall be received and treated with the utmost kindness and friendship. Returns thanks to the King. Prays the King to continue to protect the Doge and his Republic.

[*Original draft, Latin.*]

Sept. 28. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 12.

623. The Doge and College to Lodovico Falier, Venetian Ambassador in England.

After the surrender of the city of Florence, the Pope having done his utmost to raise money for the payment of the army which had besieged it, the troops, having obtained a good part of their arrears, at length retired from that vicinity. The Italians have disbanded, and the Spaniards and part of the Germans are marching towards the kingdom of Naples. Two thousand German infantry remain within the city of Florence, under the command of the Count of Lodrone, but it is said they will soon depart on their way back to Germany.

1530.

By letters of the 26th ultimo from Constantinople, heard the Grand Signor is gone to Brussa, to remain during two months for his usual hunting diversions. It was reported at Constantinople that they were to arm twenty light galleys, owing to news in circulation there, that Andrea Doria had come with his squadron into the Gulf, which being false, the Signory expects them to change their mind. To acquaint the King and Royal Council with what is aforesaid, should he think it prudent so to do.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta). File no 12.

624. The DOGE and COLLEGE to LODONICO FALIER, Venetian in England.

On the 19th instant, his letters of the 1st, addressed to the Chiefs of the Ten, were received; announcing what he had done for obtaining letters from the King as an additional encouragement to induce the Venetian merchants to go to England on board the Flanders galleys to do more business. Commend his mode of proceeding with the King and Council.

Received duplicates of the King's letters from his ambassador at Venice, and answered as by enclosed copy. When presenting the original, to address the King in conformity with its contents, endeavouring to impress him favourably towards the Venetian merchants trading in England. Understand that the Venetian consul in England is in the habit of obtaining, every four years, certain royal patents, in virtue of which the merchants of Venice have so much the more confidence in trading there. To send for the consul, and inquire if the renewal of these patents is necessary, in which case to urge him to demand the same, but as of the consul's own accord, to avoid showing distrust of the letters lately received. If the term for the renewal of the said patents should not yet have expired, it would be well for the consul to anticipate this demand, and do his utmost to obtain these letters for another four years in advance; so that on hearing this, the Signory's merchants trading with England may more readily send thither additional funds, and do greater business.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 94.

625. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

A conference (*un parlamento*) has been ordered for the . . . It will be attended by all the ecclesiastics of the kingdom, including Cardinal Wolsey. With regard to the Lutheran affairs (*le cose christiane*) . . . .

London, 1st October. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 97.

626. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The English ambassador [Sir Francis Bryan?] is urging his most Christian Majesty to give him the money due to his King from France.

Amboise, 5th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st October.*

[*Italian.*]

1550.

By letters of the 28th ultimo from Constantinople, heard the Grand Signor is gone to Bursea, to remain during two months for his usual hunting diversions. It was reported at Constantinople that they were to arm twenty light galleys, owing to news in circulation there, that Andrea Doria had come with his squadron into the Gulf, which being false, the Signory expects them to change their mind. To acquaint the King and Royal Council with what is aforesaid, should be think it prudent so to do.

[Italian.]

Sept. 23. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), Vol. xx, f. 12. 624. The Doge and College to Lodovico Falier, Venetian in England.

On the 19th instant, his letters of the 1st, addressed to the Doge of the 7th, were received; announcing what he had done for obtaining letters from the King as an additional encouragement to induce the Venetian merchants to go to England on board the Flanders galleys to do more business. Commend his mode of proceeding with the King and Council.

Received duplicates of the King's letters from his ambassador at Venice, and answered as by enclosed copy. When presenting the original, to address the King in conformity with its contents, endeavouring to impress him favourably towards the Venetian merchants trading in England. Understand that the Venetian consul in England is in the habit of obtaining, every four years, certain royal patents, in virtue of which the merchants of Venice have so much the more confidence in trading there. To send for the consul, and inquire if the renewal of these patents is necessary, in which case to urge him to demand the same, but as of the consul's own accord, to avoid showing distrust of the letters lately received. If the term for the renewal of the said patents should not yet have expired, it would be well for the consul to anticipate this demand, and do his utmost to obtain these letters for another four years in advance; so that on hearing this, the Signory's merchants trading with England may more readily send further additional funds, and do greater business.

[Italian.]

Oct. 1. Senato Diarii, v. liv, p. 94. 625. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

A conference (or parliament) has been ordered for the . . . . It will be attended by all the ecclesiastics of the Kingdom, including Cardinal Wolsey. With regard to the Lutheran affairs the case chrisphimus).

London, 1st October. Registered by Senate, 30th October.

[Italian.]

Oct. 5. Senato Diarii, v. liv, p. 97. 626. Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory.

The English ambassador [Sir Francis Bryan ?] is urging his most Christian Majesty to give him the money due to his King from France.

Ambleis, 5th October. Registered by Senate, 31st October.

[Italian.]

1530.
Oct. 12.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 12.

627. The Doge and College to Lodovico Falier, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Their ambassador with the Duke of Milan having informed them that his Excellency had determined to go to the Shrine of our Lady of Loretto in fulfilment of a vow, and that he would also come and visit them at Venice; they now notify to him (Falier), that the Duke having got as far as Ferrara, on his way to Loretto, such heavy rains fell, as to render the journey very difficult for him, especially as he had not quite recovered from his indisposition. Being dissuaded from proceeding, he came on hither by way of Chioggia, and arrived yesterday. By reason of his grade, as it would have been unbecoming not to make some distinctive demonstration of the Signory's affection towards him, they sent a certain number of their noblemen to bring him from Chioggia, and others with our barges went to Malamocco. The Doge himself with the Bucintor, accompanied by a good number of the Republic's principal senators and noblemen, went as far as S. Clemente. On arriving at that island* the Duke received good greeting, and the Doge and senators returned to the city, and accompanied him to the lodging assigned him in the houses of the Procurators of St. Mark. The foreign ambassadors accredited to the Republic did not attend the ceremony, because the Signory, having understood that the Imperial ambassador did not intend to allow the Duke to take precedence of him, determined to ascertain his intention in this matter, and to acquaint him with their custom, which is, to give precedence on such occasions to the personages in whose honour similar ceremonies are performed, as occurs frequently, this method being always observed; and the ambassador, persisting in his intention, informed them that he would not do otherwise than he had said. So although the Signory regretted not having the ambassadors in their company, yet, nevertheless, after consideration, and the ceremony of the day being dedicated to the Duke's honour, they deemed it best not to invite the Imperial ambassador, and therefore did the like by the others; so that they performed this office accompanied solely by the Republic's senators and nobility.

Have given him notice of this that he may let the King know what took place, and why the ambassadors were not invited; and he is to give them notice of what he hears on this subject.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. vi. (53) p. 90.

628. Ambassadors' Salaries.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

The Signory's ambassadors residing with the Pope, the Emperor, France, and England are creditors for a considerable sum of money, payable from the chest of this Council:

Put to the ballot, that by authority of this Council there be borrowed from the chest "*de i lidi*" 700 ducats, of which 300 to be given to the ambassador Surian, 200 to the ambassador Tiepolo,

* At this present, on the Island of St. Clemente may be seen the grandest and most admirably situated female lunatic asylum in the world. It was commenced by the Austrian Government in the year 1857, and since 1866, as the works have been continued, it is hoped that the building will soon be in a state to receive patients.

1530.

100 to the ambassador Giustinian, and 100 to the ambassador Falier, on account of their aforesaid credits.

Ayes, 20. Noes, 5. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 146.

629. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

Could not write sooner, because the King would not allow any letter to cross the Channel on account of certain disputes he has with France and with the ambassador here, but another (envoy?) came and settled matters, and the King is sending a fresh ambassador to France by name . . . .

By the King's consent Cardinal Wolsey has convoked the English bishops and prelates about holding a convocation* (*Parlamento*), concerning . . . . The King has also caused the arrest of three bishops, whose names are given in the letter,† accusing them of having bestowed benefices contrary to the orders, and a process is being formed; but these bishops were of the Queen's faction, so the King chooses to be revenged on them. They are as follows, the Bishop . . . .

London, 29th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 7. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. vi. (53) p. 96.

630. AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

Put to the ballot, that by authority of this Council there be paid to the agents of Lodovico Falier, ambassador in England, from the fund set apart for this purpose, 182 ducats and 21 soldi for the cost of couriers from the 12th of March until the 3rd September last. Also 75 crowns of the Sun, which make 81 ducats and 16 soldi, disbursed by said ambassador's brothers at Venice, for the despatch of letters, forming a total of 264 ducats and 14 soldi, as balloted in the College on the 23rd ultimo.

Ayes, 21. No, 1. Neutrals, 0. Factum mandatum.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 204.

631. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

Cardinal Wolsey and his physician . . . . Augustini, a Venetian, have been arrested.

London, 15th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17. Sforza Archives, Milan.

632. AUGUSTINO SCARPINELLO to FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE of MILAN.

On the 20th ultimo, I announced in detail, by duplicate letters, that the promise made by the Earl of Wiltshire had been negatived on account of the present unfitting state of his Majesty's affairs, and by reason of other business and expenditure; and I also wrote

* *See* Lingard, vol. 4, p. 266, footnote.

† For the names of these bishops see entry No. 634, Sanuto Diaries, vol. 54, p. 169, November 22, 1530.

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that I had adapted myself to the reply in such wise as to prevent them from supposing that it had in any way estranged the Duke from the King.

After Cardinal Wolsey's departure, by the King's order, to visit his church of York, which he had not done previously by reason of his public occupations connected with the government of this realm and other arduous affairs, he made his entry into that city* with upwards of 800 horse, and other usual ceremonies; but by the doom to which fortune had destined him,† a few days later he was made prisoner by the King, at the hands of the Earl of Northumberland, the chief baron of the north, and then taken and given in custody to Lord Talbot, Lord Steward, Earl of Shrewsbury,‡ by whom he will be brought to the Tower or Castle of this city today or tomorrow.

Of the result of this arrest and of its causes I have been unable to hear any authentic account; on obtaining certain intelligence I will not fail to transmit it. In the meanwhile, however, I will not omit to notify the opinions and reports of the vulgar. Some say that the Cardinal purposed making his escape; some that he wished and advised the Pope to make some necessary provision in his own favour, and in that of all the English clergy, contrary to the statutes of the realm, and to the will of the King. Others, more friendly (*ut puto*) to his right reverend lordship, attribute everything to the envy and fear of his rivals, who had now repented of having made him fall on a feather-bed, from which being afraid he might look back and rise again (*ne respiceret et resurgeret*), they determined to make an end of him. These, however, as aforesaid, are the trivial opinions of the vulgar (*opinioni di vulgo et in aere*). Since my above-mentioned letters, no other novelty has occurred. Down to this time the Cardinal's physician, a Venetian, by name Messer Augustino, and a chaplain, have been arrested. The latter was already on his way to cross the Channel with certain letters, which are understood not to have been of much importance. As yet no harshness has been used in the examination and interrogation of the two individuals aforesaid.

And I recommend myself as humbly as I can to your Excellency, and beseech you to deign at length have mercy on my plight and provide for it.

London, 17th November 1530.

Signed: Augustino Scarpinello.

Addressed: To the Lord Duke of Milan.

[*Original, Italian.*]

Nov. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 188.

633. Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory.

The Emperor insists on the Council, so his most Christian Majesty has written to the Pope exhorting him to summon it.

* This assertion is contradicted by Cavendish.

† "Ma supra eam fortunam in qua jussus erat includi."

‡ *See* Cavendish, p. 184, concerning Wolsey's stay at Sheffield Park, the seat of Lord Shrewsbury.

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It is heard from England that the King has put Cardinal Wolsey in the Tower (*in una torre*), owing to the discovery of certain letters, whereby it seems that he received a pension from the most Christian King, which matter the French ambassadors in England vindicated; and, secondly, because the English King wishing to hold a certain conference (*parlamento*) of prelates about the divorce, Wolsey prevented the assembly; so it is supposed the King will have him put to death.

Blois, 18th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 169.

634. SIGISMONDO DELLA TORRE, Mantuan Ambassador, to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

The day before yesterday the Emperor closed the Diet. The summary of the business transacted during its session is, that the heretics having been admonished and requested to live according to the universal rite, until the celebration of the Council; but, persisting in their obstinacy, his Majesty has inflicted penalties on them, should they not observe the forms of the Church. It is thought that many will transgress and but few be punished; yet will the opportunity be awaited.

Has seen a letter from England stating a prohibition in that kingdom for any one to hold more than one church benefice (*beneficio curato*). Three bishops, namely, Rochester [John Fisher], Bath [John Clerk], and Ely [Nicholas West], disputed this order, and appealed to the Apostolic See. The King, enraged at this, issued an edict imposing heavy penalties on such as henceforth appeal to Rome on this account; and as authors and chief cause of this disobedience, he had the three bishops arrested. In like manner, he has imprisoned certain native noblemen and learned men (*dotti*), in whose possession works of the Lutheran sect were found.

Augsburg, 22nd November. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 24. Mantuan Archives.

635. HENRY VIII. to the COLLEGE OF CARDINALS.

Believes it superfluous to remind them in detail how earnestly—from the beginning of his reign until the present time—he has always sought to render service to the Apostolic See; having likewise always had at heart the dignity and conservation of their Senate; and, on the other hand, confesses candidly, that he has often remarked on the part of their right reverend lordships a singular anxiety to do him pleasure. From those manifest indications of mutual goodwill, the King readily conjectures that their grace, favour and suffrages with the Pope will not fail him, especially in a question which doubtless concerns the decorum of their College, and also his own honour; the Pope having often assured his Majesty's ambassadors that he would comply with his demands. By frequent letters the King has repeatedly treated with the Pope, and now strenuously requests him as an extreme favour to nominate as cardinals his two ambassadors, who on many accounts are dear to

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him, namely, the Bishop of Winchester [Stephen Gardiner] and the Prothonotary Casal; and by reason of the Pope's graciousness and promise, the King firmly hopes his desire will be gratified, and trusts to obtain it the more easily, if this cause is validly urged and advocated with his Holiness by the suffrages of their right reverend lordships. For although he recommends two personages adorned with many virtues and well deserving of the Apostolic See, yet does the question concern the King's honour, as the Pope has frequently named many cardinals out of regard for other princes, whereas he, the King, whose faith and love are not inferior to those of any one (and the Cardinals can estimate the services rendered by him), has never hitherto asked the Pope for any such nomination. If, contrary to his expectation, his Holiness should give him a refusal, or any longer delay the grant of his just desire, he shall take it very much amiss, and consider his honour deeply offended, having written about the matter so frequently and with such warmth. Should the prayers and intercession of the Cardinals fail to induce his Holiness to concede the King more than one cardinal (although in many letters he has clearly expressed himself on this point), in that case the King demands the public election—out of regard for him—of a cardinal, and that the Pope remit freely to his arbitrament and will the nomination and proclamation of the individual thus elected.

In this manner the College of Cardinals will do a thing so agreeable to the King, that the recollection of the service rendered him will remain always impressed on his mind.

From Hampton Court, 24th November 1530.

Your Good Friend. [*No signature.*]

[*Latin, contemporary copy.*]

Dec. 1. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. Filza 3.

636. DIVORCE CASE.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta for a letter to the Bailiff (*Podestà*) of Padua, Giovanni Vitturi.

The Imperial ambassador with the Signory * having several times requested them to allow Doctor Pietro Paulo Parisio, principal professor of civil law in the University of Padua, to give counsel's opinion in the English divorce case, they assent. Vitturi is to send for the aforesaid Dom. Pietro Paulo, and tell him that they permit him to give opinion in the case, enjoining him, however, to keep the most profound silence as to this their permission, save to the Imperial ambassador; and for the Signory's greater security, to swear Parisio upon oath, to observe the aforesaid injunction.

Vitturi to confer in the same secret manner with Dom. Marco da Mantoa,† who lectures on canon law in the University of Padua, and to tell him, in the Signory's name, to have a complete copy made for them of the opinion given by him ‡ in said divorce

* Rodrigo Niño. (*See* Andrea Morosini, vol. i. p. 366.)

† Marco Mantova, *alias* Benavidio, a Paduan, born in the year 1489, and who died at the age of ninety-three. He was one of the most celebrated jurisconsults of his period, and there is a very fine bronze bust of him in the museum attached to St. Mark's Library.

‡ "De quanto l'ha conseglià."

Dec. 1.
Pari Secreto.
Consiglio Z.
Fitta 8.

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case, with the name of the doctors who signed it; Vitturi to send the same enclosed in his letters addressed to the Chiefs of the Ten; said Dom. Marco being in like manner enjoined to keep silence, and not to tell any one soever, either of his having been asked for said copy, or of its having been delivered; and to this also Vitturi is to make him take oath; giving notice to the Chiefs of the execution of this order.*

Ayes, 20. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 3.

[*Original draft, Italian.*]

Dec. 2. Sforza Archives, Milan.

637. AUGUSTINO SCARPINELLO to FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE of MILAN.

On the 17th ultimo, I wrote account of current events here, and most especially of the recent arrest of Cardinal Wolsey. Subsequently the King, having determined on his removal to this castle of London, sent Captain Kingston with his guard to effect it. On arriving at a place† sixty miles hence (*sic*), he found the Cardinal very ill, and in bed, so that the day before he had confessed and communicated; and although the captain exhorted him to hope for the best from his King's clemency, declaring that he was to convey him at his entire convenience, and that he might remain where he was so long as he pleased, yet at the end of two days he departed this life, at the close of which he drew a deep and loud sigh; and some six hours afterwards there was put into the earth that personage who had prepared for his remains a more costly *mausoleum* than any royal or papal monument in the world, so that the King intends it to serve for himself, *post multos et felices annos*, having caused the Cardinal's arms to be erased from it.

It is said that his right reverend lordship's indisposition was preceded by two very bad symptoms. When first arrested, owing to mental depression, he would take no food, *nisi coactus*, and then came flux, and he could not retain anything in his stomach. According to report, his mind never wandered at the last, and on seeing Captain Kingston, he made his attendants raise him in his bed, where he knelt; and whenever he heard the King's name mentioned he bowed his head, putting his face downwards. He then asked Captain Kingston where his guards were, and being answered that lodging was provided for them in several chambers on the ground floor of the palace (*palaccio*), he requested they might all be sent for into his presence. So as many having entered as the place would hold, he raised himself as much as he could, saying that on the day before he had taken the sacrament, and expected soon to find himself before the supreme judgment seat, so that at such an extremity, he ought not to fail speaking the truth, or leave any other opinion of him than such as was veracious; adding, "I pray God that sacrament may be to the damnation of my soul, if ever I thought to do disservice to my King."

* The draft is headed by an order for the "*Bailiff*" to read the letter *alone*, implying that he was not even to communicate its contents to his colleague, the "*Captain*" of Padua.

† Qy. Sheffield Park. (*See* Cavendish, p. 186.)

Jan. 2. 1827. AUGUSTUS SOMERSET to FRANCESCO SPINOLA, Doge
Simon Archives, of GENOA.
Milan.

On the 17th ultimo, I wrote account of current events here, and most especially of the recent arrest of Cardinal Wolsey. Subsequently the King, having determined on his removal to this capital of London, sent Captain Kingston with his guard to effect it. On arriving at a place† sixty miles hence (viz), he found the Cardinal very ill, and in bed, so that the day before he had received and communicated; and although the captain exhorted him to hope for the best from his King's clemency, declaring that he was to convey him at his entire convenience, and that he might remain where he was so long as he pleased, yet at the end of two days he departed this life, at the close of which he drew a deep and loud sigh; and some six hours afterwards there was put into the earth that personage who had prepared for his remains a more costly monument than any royal or papal monument in the world, so that the King intends it to serve for himself, post mortem. Believe me, having caused the Cardinal's arms to be erased from it.

It is said that his right reverend lordship's indisposition was preceded by two very bad eruptions. When first arrested, owing to mental depression, he would take no food, and neither, and then came fluxes, and he could not retain anything in his stomach. According to report, his mind never wandered at the last, and on reaching Kingston, he made his attendants raise him in the bed, where he knelt; and whenever he heard the King's name repeated he bowed his head, putting his face downwards. He then asked Captain Kingston where his guards were, and being answered that lodging was provided for them in several chambers on the ground floor of the palace (poiconti), he requested they might all be sent for into his presence. So as many having entered as the place would hold, he raised himself as much as he could, saying that on the day before he had taken the sacrament, and expected soon to find himself before the supreme judgment seat, so that at such an extremity, he ought not to fail speaking the truth, or leave any other opinion of him than such as was veritable; adding, "I pray God that sacrament may be to the damnation of my soul, if ever I thought to do disservice to my King."

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* The draft is headed by an order for the "Duke" to sent the letter above, implying that he was not even to communicate its contents to his colleague, the "Queen" of Padua.

† Qy. Richmond Park. (See Cavendish, p. 180.)

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The noblemen, however, who are at the head of the government say (without entering into any detail) that great (*grande*) were the causes which induced his Majesty to order the arrest of the Cardinal, together with whom they seized a physician in his service, a Venetian, by name Messer Augustino,* and immediately at the commencement, having brought him to London to the house of the Duke of Norfolk and examined him without any violence, he found great favour (which he still enjoys) with said Duke, who gives him a good character; so it is supposed that his deposition justified the capture of the Cardinal, and it certainly may be supposed that his Majesty would not have acted thus without strong causes. It is undeniable that a few days before the arrest, certain letters from the aforesaid physician, Maestro Augustino, which contained a few lines in cipher, were intercepted. According to the report of some people, they were addressed to the French ambassador [Passano ?], who was at Dover building a hermitage on a rock in the sea.† It is also said that the letters were addressed to the ambassador, for delivery by him to other persons; and that the cipher merely contained a request for some favour and intercession on the part of his most Christian Majesty with King Henry.

Moreover, in order not to omit acquainting your Excellency also with the common reports concerning this matter, I have to add that amongst the vulgar, some say that the Cardinal meditated escape to Scotland, others to France, both which opinions I consider frivolous, as the Cardinal could not suppose that for his sake the most Christian King would renounce so valuable a friendship as that of the King of England, the same consideration being applicable to the King of Scotland. Others declare that he had treated about going to Rome, and gave the Pope advice about the mode he should adopt to thwart the proceedings of the English Government against him (the Cardinal), and for the diminution of the ecclesiastical authority in England; so that all, in ignorance of the truth, go guessing what he might have machinated.‡

Such at length was the end of the man who boasted that he ruled the whole world.

It is said that the King somewhat regrets this catastrophe, most especially as a few days before he ordered this arrest, when discussing and debating certain important affairs with his Privy Council, he exclaimed, "Daily do I miss the Cardinal of York" (*omne giorno mi manca il Cardinale Eboracense*).

Concerning other affairs in England, there is nothing new. His Majesty is staying at Hampton Court, where he resides willingly. For the present, nothing is done or heard in London about the divorce, all the proceedings and acts taking place in Italy. A few days ago the King proclaimed to all the magnates (*magnati*) and magistrates (*sindici*) of the kingdom, the opinions and sentences of

* Concerning the betrayal of Wolsey by Agostini, *alias* Dr. Austin, see Cavendish, pp. 175, 179, 181, and 182.

† "Il quale era in Dobla, ad fabricare uno certo hermitagio in uno scoglio di mare."

‡ "Di modo che ciaschun non sapendone la verità, va ariolando quello ha possuto machinare."

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the doctors and universities in favour of his suit, so that this intelligence might circulate amongst the vulgar and the populace.

Some while ago, his Majesty requested the Pope to create two of his servants cardinals, naming the reverend Auditor [Ghinucci, "auditor di Camera" of Pope Julius II.], and the Prothonotary Casal, now ambassador at Venice. His Holiness having hitherto delayed doing so, and as Christmas is approaching, the King has now urged his request through two couriers, so that should the Pope be of opinion that he cannot gratify him with regard to the more important affair, he may not fail to oblige him by promoting the aforesaid individuals, or at least one of them, namely the Auditor, his Majesty making a declaration to that effect in his petition.

I have nothing else to mention in this letter, save to continue my petitions to your Excellency for some benign and merciful recollection of my plight, which assuredly deserves the commiseration of my Lord, to whom I pray God to grant long and good health, and to second all his wishes.

London, 2nd December 1530.

Signed: Your most Illustrious and most Excellent Lordship's humble servant, Augustino Scarpinello.

[*Original, Italian.*]

Dec. 6.
Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 180.

638. Antonio Surian, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Signory.

The Pope is determined to accept the Council, and will go to Bologna in Lent. The most Christian King exhorts him to consent to the Council, but wishes it to be held at Turin. The Pope told him (Surian), that the King of France purposes coming to take the Milanese, by the advice of his mother, who says he has many children and must obtain territory for them; and the Pope has sent word to the Duke of Milan to marry speedily, even should he have to take a peasant wench (*una vilana*), because, having children, he will rid many persons of their designs upon his duchy.

News from England that the King has sent Cardinal Wolsey to the Tower (*in fondi di torre*), some say on account of having found letters written by him to the Pope to be re-appointed legate in England; some in order yet more to facilitate (*favorir*) the divorce from the Queen [by intimidation?].

Rome, 6th December. *Registered by Sanuto, 10th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. [8?].
Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 251.

639. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

Cardinal Wolsey died on the 1st (*sic*) at —— 25 miles (*sic*) from London*; he became dropsical, and flux supervened, so that he died in — days. His obsequies were performed very unostentatiously,† and the King has had all his effects conveyed to his (the King's palace.

* Cardinal Wolsey died at Leicester abbey, ninety-eight miles from London, on the 29th November 1530. (*See* Cavendish, and Ellis's Letters, vol. ii., p. 19.)

† "*Molto ferialmente.*" Cavendish writes (p. 202), "and about three of the clock, he was buried of the abbot *with great solemnity.*"

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With regard to the divorce, some placards in English have been posted over London ; encloses one of them, which Sanuto will perhaps transcribe, if able to obtain it. The King therein narrates his reasons for choosing to be divorced from the Queen, the Emperor's sister.

The King has written to the Pope to make two cardinals at his request, viz., the Bishop of London [Stokisley], who was at Venice for his Majesty, and the resident ambassador, Prothonotary Casal.

London, (8?) December. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th January,* 1531.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 10.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. Filza 3.

640. Divorce Case.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta by the chiefs, for a letter to the Captain of Padua.

The Council having heard what took place concerning counsel's opinion in the case of the English divorce, and as it is fitting to comply with the request of the Imperial ambassador :

Put to the ballot, that a letter be written to the Signory's Captain of Padua, desiring him to summon Dom. Pietro Paulo Parisio, and desire him to attend the Doge and the chiefs of this Council, who will acquaint him that, notwithstanding the prohibition which he received some months ago, the Signory permits him to give opinion in the English divorce case according to the dictates of his conscience ; the Captain to enjoin profound silence to said Dom. Pietro Paulo, administering to him an oath to that effect.

Ayes, 24. Noes, 4. Neutral, 1.

A letter was composed in execution of the foregoing decree.

[*Original draft, Italian.*]

Dec. 14.
Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 225.

641. Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory.

On the . . . December the Archduchess Margaret died in 24 hours at . . . . . (blank in manuscript), on the . . December. She had a cutaneous sore* on her leg, and chose to have it cauterized, and she expired. She leaves as heir the Emperor, who, including silver vessels and jewels, will have . . . . . thousand ducats, and an annual revenue of 60,000 ducats, namely 30,000 derived from her paternal property, and 30,000 received by her from the Emperor for the government of Flanders. The French regret this death extremely, because they thought the archduchess would have been a good mediatrix to remodel the articles stipulated about the affairs of Burgundy, and the Emperor declares he shall insist on their punctual observance.

Negotiations are on foot for the marriage of the Princess of England to the Dauphin, and of the daughter of the Queen widow of Portugal to the Duke of Orleans. Owing to this death of the Archduchess Margaret, it is supposed that the interview between the Kings will not take place.

* "Una lova" (Lupus ?).

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The English ambassador [Sir Francis Bryan]* has announced the death of Cardinal Wolsey; he meditated escape to Scotland, when the King desired his chamberlain† to arrest him, so he went with 1,500 horse, the Cardinal having 300. When they met the chamberlain desired him to dismiss his retinue, as he was the King's prisoner. The Cardinal requested a delay of two days, and taking from his pouch a phial containing a certain electuary (*un certo electuario*), he swallowed it, and died.

Melun, 14th December 1530. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th January* 1531.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 16. Sorza Archives, Milan.

642. AUGUSTINO SCARPINELLO to FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE of MILAN.

By my last of the 17th ultimo and 2nd instant, I announced first the arrest, and then the death of the late Cardinal of York, nor did I omit the various opinions concerning the causes of his capture and and infirmity, and the mode of his demise.

It has since been ascertained by his writings and letters, and also by the deposition of Messer Augustino, his physician, that in the state to which he was reduced he could not refrain from labouring to recover that which he enjoyed formerly. To effect this he attempted to induce the most Christian King, and the Pope likewise, to assist and favour him, for which purpose he gave them sundry hints and suggestions, with regard to certain ways and means but slightly advantageous or satisfactory to his own sovereign. Some say that he proposed a plan to the most Christian King, or rather promised him, that on his (Wolsey's) return to his former post, he would cancel the debt due from France to England; whilst to his Holiness he demonstrated how he ought and might retain *summum jus* in ecclesiastical matters in England. But the serpent being dead, his poison also died; he has at length disappeared, nor is there any longer remembrance of him.‡

Subsequently, on the 10th instant, I received your Excellency's letters of the 29th October, writen from Venice,§ which comforted me uncommonly, as they are of rare occurrence; and most especially as they also announced your great satisfaction at the loving and honourable demonstrations of good will made by the most Illustrious Signory towards you. I pray God that they may produce the earnestly desired effect, and firm and perpetual friendship.

Concerning the loan through the Earl of Wiltshire, your Excellency will have heard the reply in the negative. Your instructions had prescribed recourse to Wiltshire alone, whose assistance was

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* *See* "State Papers," vol. vii., part v., p. 271.

† Not the Chamberlain but the Constable of the Tower, Sir William Kingston; or Mr. Walter Welch, or the Earl of Northumberland. (*See* Cavendish).

‡ "Et verum morto il serpe morto anco suo veneno; tandem evanuit et non est amplius de eo memoria."

§ In Sanuto's Diaries (vol. liv.) there is an account of the Duke of Milan at Venice, in October 1530, and amongst the regulations concerning his reception is an edict from the Council of Ten, forbidding poor noblemen to ask alms of him.

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feeble, but no better result could have been obtained had any other course been pursued.

Little is being done here about the divorce, as of late they have been endeavouring to obtain favourable votes and opinions from many universities, and other learned private individuals, partly in France, and partly in Italy and other countries; and after collecting them in great number they exhibited them to the Pope, and at length a work was compiled by the convocation of Primates (*per convocatione di primati*), so that these votes and opinions might be generally known by the English people. To confute this work 3,000 copies have been distributed of a pamphlet (*operecta*) in the English tongue, entitled "The Practyse of Prelates" (*la Pratica di Prelati*), in which the aforesaid votes and opinions were attacked. This was answered by a public edict, printed and posted in all the most conspicuous places, in such tenor as by the enclosed Italian translation—for the purpose of answering the aforesaid "Practyse," etc., and circulating these votes and opinions, for the comprehension of all men. It may be inferred that the King's Government are firmly resolved to accomplish what they have hitherto attempted. At the next meeting of Parliament, which is to take place at Candlemas, the result of the matter may possibly be known.

The author of the aforesaid work, entitled "Practyse of Prelates," (*Pratica di Prelati*), by name Tindaro *seu* Tindal, is an Englishman, and for some while (*et he parechj giorni*) has lived, and is at present living, in Germany, and is said to be a man *magnæ doctrinæ*. His brother, together with certain other persons, who went about circulating this work *in vulgus*, were lately paraded through London, along the public thoroughfares (*per plateas publicas*), with pasteboard mitres on their heads, bearing an inscription, thus, *Peccasse contra mandata Regis*, and the book suspended from their necks; and having completed the circuit of the thoroughfares, they were ordered to cast the pamphlet into the fire prepared for that purpose.

Two days ago a king-at-arms, called Guienne, arrived here from his most Christian Majesty, to announce the tournament and joust which is to be held at Paris in honour of the French Queen's coronation, and to invite all the knights-jousters. It is supposed that the English King will not fail to send personages thither in his name, and to encourage other knights to attend the ceremony

His Majesty is still at Hampton Court, enjoying his usual sports (*sportj*) and royal exercises, and the Queen remains constantly with him, nor does she at all omit to follow her lord and husband, so much reciprocal courtesy (*mansuetudine*) being displayed in public that anyone acquainted with the controversy cannot but consider their conduct more than human.

The Lady Princess [Mary] is always apart, at a distance of 10 or 15 miles, with a suitable establishment, and is heard to be already advanced in wisdom and stature (*grande et di corpo et di spiritu*).

It merely remains for me humbly to recommend myself to your Excellency's good favour, and pray you to provide for me, as

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London, 16th December 1530.

Signed: Augustino Scarpinello.

Addressed: To the most Illustrious and most Excellent Lord Duke of Milan.

[*Original, Italian.*]

Dec. 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 229.

643. ——— to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

The Emperor arrived this evening an hour before sunset. It is supposed that by the death of Madame Margaret he will inherit an annual rental exceeding one hundred thousand crowns, besides ready money, jewels, and costly furniture to a great amount. They will now occupy themselves with the election of the King of the Romans,* and take the Flanders journey sooner than was expected, as it is argued that the Emperor's presence at the King's coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle is unnecessary and unbecoming.

Cardinal Wolsey and his physician, by name Messer Agostino degli Agostini, a Venetian, have been arrested in England, and they are expected to fare badly.

Cologne, 17th December. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th Jan.* 1531.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 17. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., Filza 3.

644. DIVORCE CASE.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta by the chiefs.

The Imperial ambassador resident here having requested the Signory to be allowed to have a copy made of the counsel's opinion given by Dom. Marco da Mantoa, concerning the English divorce case, which opinion by order of this Council was sent hither by the Signory's governors of Padua, said ambassador not being content with the mere recital of said opinion, which the Signory offered to have read him one and more times:

Put to the ballot, that according to the request of said magnifico the Imperial ambassador, he be allowed to have a copy made of the counsel's opinion given by said Dom. Marco in the matter aforesaid.

Ayes, 19. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 3.

[*Original draft, Italian.*]

Dec. 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 204.

645. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

With regard to the Council, the Pope has prorogued it from the 1st of September to the 1st of November, to be held in Italy in the place mentioned, and he sends the Prothonotary Gambara to the Emperor. The Pope has received letters from Flanders, announcing the death of Madame Margaret, and Sir Gregory Casal writes to him from Bologna that Cardinal Wolsey is dead. The affair of the divorce continues, and it is expected that sentence will be passed

* Ferdinand I., brother of Charles V. was elected King of the Romans on the 5th January 1531.

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in favour of the Queen. The King having persuaded the Pope at his request to confer the grade of Cardinal on Ghinucci, auditor of the chamber, who favoured this divorce, the Imperial cardinals opposed the nomination, so that nothing was done.

The Pope said to him (Surian) that should the French come into Italy to take the Milanese, the Signory must assist the Duke. Replied that the Signory will observe the articles, which pleased the Pope. His Holiness has written to the King of England, to nominate some other Englishman, whom the Pope will create Cardinal. The Queen is now called "Mistress Katharine."

Rome, 22nd December. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 322.

646. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

The Pope has written a brief concerning the divorce, authorizing the appointment of judges, but neither the King nor Queen are agreed about the choice of them.

London, 28th December 1530. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th February* 1531.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta. File no. 10.

647. THE DOGE and SENATE to the GOVERNORS OF PADUA.

In reply to their inquiries about the mode to be observed by them on the entry into that city of Cardinal Pisani*, should the ambassadors of the King of England and the Duke of Milan be present, the Bailiff (*Podestà*) is to accompany the English ambassador, taking precedence of him,† and explaining with all modesty; and the Captain is to do the like by the Milanese ambassador, they, the governors, preceding, as they personally represent the Signory.

Ayes, 157. Noes, 49. Neutrals, 10.

[*Italian.*]

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1531. Jan. 5. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. liv. p. 53, tergo.

648. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Senate.

Lodovico Falier having been ambassador to the King of England during the last 28 months, it being fitting, in conformity with his request, to elect his successor:

Put to the ballot,—To elect an ambassador to the aforesaid King; to receive for his expenses 140 golden ducats per month; to keep 11 horses, and as many servants, including the secretary's horse and

* Cardinal Francesco Pisani was elected Bishop of Padua in the year 1524.

† That is to say, placing the ambassador on his left hand.

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two running footmen; and with all such regulations and conditions as those with which said Ser Lodovico was elected.

Ayes, 165. Noes, 11. Neutrals, 3.

Electus fuit orator Ser Carolus Capellus.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 245.

649. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

The King of France has written to the Cardinals to delay the Council until after a conference between his Holiness, the Emperor, and himself. He also requests them to persuade the Pope to divorce the English King.

Rome, 5th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th January.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 309.

650. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The Queens are expected for her Majesty's coronation; the King is gone to St. Germain. The Emperor is coming to Flanders, where he will remain, and not go to Spain, as he desires to see the result of the Council about to be held. He has written to his ambassador here, to render every assistance to the ambassador of the Duke of Milan with regard to what he requires from the most Christian King.

The Pope has written a brief to the English King, telling his Majesty to elect a judge, the Queen doing the like, that they may decide about the divorce; the Rota, subsequently, to hear the appeals. Touching the money due to him from the most Christian King on account of the Emperor, it seems the . . . . . and would wish him to make war on the Emperor. The Pope is also urging the marriage of his niece, the young Duchess of the Medici family (*la Duchessina di caxa di Medici*), to the Duke of Orleans, and would wish her to have the duchy of Milan.

Paris, 7th January 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 247.

651. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Ballot in the Senate for an ambassador to England, to receive 140 golden ducats monthly, according to the motion made:

Gasparo Bembo, LL.D., son of Ser Alvise	92	122
Marin Giustinian, late sage for the mainland, son of Ser Sebastian	132	79
Carlo Capello, late ambassador at Florence, son of Ser Francesco [elected]	147	58
Jacomo da Canal, late sage for the mainland, son of the late Ser Bernardo	107	107
Marco Antonio Contarini, late Lord Lieutenant in the Friuli, son of the late Ser Carlo	128	82

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 336.

652. LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

Departure of an ambassador from the King for France. The two Crowns are in close negotiation. The King of England is sending some of his agents to Bologna to obtain opinion from the

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university there about the divorce. The reason why Cardinal Wolsey became hateful to the King was, that he wrote to the Pope praying his Holiness to assist him, and to excommunicate the King if necessary.

London, 19th January 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st Feb.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 21. Miscellaneous Letters, Library Venetian Archives.

653. GREGORIO PIZZAMANO, Proveditor in the Friuli, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Dom. Zuan de Manzano, LL.D., a gentleman of this town, has informed me that an opinion given by a doctor in canon law, and canon of Capodistria, in favour of the dissolution of the marriage of the most serene King of England, was sent to him; and the bearer of this opinion requested Manzano likewise to sign and approve it, promising to remunerate him handsomely; the writing having been also signed by Dom. Zuan da Latisana, Doctor at Udine. Manzano would not consent, telling Pizzamano that he knew it was contrary to the will of the Signory; because a year ago, when he was "Vicar" of the Bailiff of Padua, the Signory did not choose any of the doctors there to give similar opinions, charging the governors by very strong letters not to allow it.

From Cividal de Friuli, 21st January 1531.

Signed: Gregorio Pizzamano, Proveditor.

[*Original. Italian.*]

Feb. 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. pp. 331, 332.

654. The MANTUAN AMBASSADOR at ROME to the DUKE OF MANTUA.

A person appeared here lately from England, showing that he came in the name of the kingdom.* He demands that the matrimonial suit of the King should be sent back for judgment in that realm, as the parties could not appear by proxy, and that the country would not permit the King to depart thence. He sought earnestly to obtain this concession, alleging the many inconveniences which might arise were it denied. This proposal was debated in Consistory; but, according to report, no resolution was formed, and they will proceed as they commenced, although the King has never consented to this sentence (*giuditio*).

Rome, 11th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 322.

655. PROTHONOTARY CASAL.

The ambassador from the King of England came into the College about Church benefices and the bishopric of Cividal di Belluno.

[*Italian.*]

* "Quia questi giorni è comparso persona da Ingalterra mostrando de venir a nome "del regno."

This alludes to Dr. Edward Carne. (*See* "State Papers," vol. vii. pp. 269, 270, 283, where it is stated that he was to appear "yn hys owne name alonly, *tanquam excusator et unus de regno Anglie.*")

1531. Feb. 19. Sforza Archives, Milan.

656. AUGUSTINO SCARPINELLO to FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE of MILAN.

Wrote on the 11th ult., giving a full account of events here. Subsequently, according to general report, the Parliament first of all imposed a tax of 100,000*l.* sterling,* equal to 500,000 crowns, payable in five years, many persons being of opinion that the term will be reduced to a briefer period; and this sum is disbursed by the clergy for the remission of the crime of *præmunire* (*per abolitione del crimine premincro*), hitherto incurred by them; and although they entreated that the remission might be valid for the future, or that the crime might be clearly defined, as it is understood by no one, or but by few, his Majesty would in no respect grant their request.

The aforesaid matters being settled, this same clergy, *de consilii sententiâ et communi consensu*, submitted themselves entirely to the King, as proclaimed in the following words of this declaration, videlicet:—"*Agnoscimus et confitemur Maiestatem Regiam totius Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ protectorem summum et caput supremum, quatenus per legem Christi liceat;*" and the clergy, having urged the addition of a clause, thus—"*et quatenus per leges canonicas liceat,*" —it was denied them.†

Many persons—and the Court of Rome in a high degree—will be able to estimate the importance of this enactment (*constitutione*), and although it has been rumoured for several months, a milder result was hoped for. Heaven grant that it be propitious.

As yet, not a word has been said in this session of Parliament about the divorce, though some persons assert that the matter is transacted covertly (*rem agi per cuniculos*). It is supposed that the Parliament will not end with this session, but be again prorogued; and many are of opinion it will not end without discussing this repudiation.

After having heard what is aforesaid on good authority, delayed writing immediately, as he expected the printers to issue a certain manifesto (*certo exemplare*); but as it has been hitherto postponed, transmits accounts received from others until he can authenticate them further by public writings.

The King accepts the Council, both for the extirpation of heresies and of abuses of Ecclesiastics; and desires the place of meeting to be convenient, free, and secure for all men.

The King, sometime ago, sent to his most Christian Majesty Messer Joan Joachino [di Passano, Lord of Vaux], Mons. de la Guiche remaining here. Joachino's return is expected daily. Since his arrival in France he has written several times, so the King has been able to receive a decision and reply to the matter negotiated by him.

London, 19th February 1531.

Signed: Augustino Scarpinello.

* *Query* £118,840. (*See* Hollingshed in Hume, vol. iii. p. 170.)

† Compare with Hume, vol. iii., p. 170, and Froude, vol. i. p. 282, neither of whom make any allusion to the rejected clause.

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Addressed externally:—To the most Illustrious and most Excellent Lord Duke of Milan, my Lord.

[*Original. Italian.*]

March 3. **657.** The MANTUAN AMBASSADOR to the DUKE OF MANTUA.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 474.

The Emperor quitted Brussels on the 14th (February ?), remained two days at Louvain, and two at Mechlin, and then came hither to Antwerp, departing this day at noon for Ghent. As usual with him when travelling, nothing has been negotiated, and at Mechlin, where an opportunity was expected, the man of business (*l'homo di negotio*) was unable to speak to him because he was constantly occupied about certain municipal affairs of that city, and with the inspection of the effects left by the Lady Margaret, which are many and of great value.

Neither would his Majesty transact any business here at Antwerp, where ambassadors have arrived from the Count Palatine and the Archbishop of Mentz, to request the Emperor not to issue (*fulminare*) the Imperial ban against the Lutheran Princes, as they might yet recant (*recognoscere*); and in the meanwhile the mediators will not fail to persuade them.

The King of England has published a pragmatical decree (*una pragmatica*) throughout his kingdom, prohibiting anybody from holding more than one benefice, the collation of which benefices he chooses to be in the hands of the chapters of the cathedrals, but the chapters are to confer them according to his nomination.

Antwerp, 3rd March 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th May.*

[*Italian.*]

March 4. **658.** LODOVICO FALIER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 465.

The King, on assembling the Parliament, had read to them all the counsel's opinions obtained in Italy and elsewhere, concerning the divorce from the Queen; and all come to the conclusion that it should be granted; and one Marco Rafael, a renegade Jew, well known to the Signory,* and who is now in London, has also given an opinion, and is in very great favour with the King.

London, 4th March 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th May.*

[*Italian.*]

March 6. **659.** EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Senato Mar. v. xxii. p. 49, tergo.

Motion made by the sages of the Council, the sages for the mainland, and the sages for the Orders:

Not to delay the despatch of the nobleman Carlo Capello, appointed ambassador to the King of England.

* In the year 1548, the Venetian secretary, Alvise Borgi, in a paper presented to the Council of Ten, concerning cipher, alludes to a pension granted some years previously by the Signory to Marco Rafael, for having invented a certain sort of invisible ink, the characters traced in it being brought to light by heating the paper on which they were written, or steeping it in water, or rubbing it with burnt paper or gum, or some metallic substance. I do not know whether the name of Marco Rafael appears on the English list of writers in favour of the divorce.

1531.

Put to the ballot,—That to Ser Carlo be given as subsidiary pre-payment of salary for four months—at the rate of 140 golden ducats per month—560 golden ducats.

Also for the beasts of burden, 150 ducats, at the rate of 6 livres and 4 soldi per ducat; for the secretary, 50 ducats as a gift; for coverings and trunks, 30 ducats; and for two couriers, at 20 ducats each, 40 ducats.

The aforesaid ambassador to take with him silver utensils worth 400 ducats, at the risk of the Signory.

Ayes, 92. Noes, 61. Neutrals, 8.

[*Italian.*]

March 20.

660. Embassy to England.

Parti Comuni, Consiglio X. v. vii. (liv.) p. iii. tergo.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta :—

To be given to the nobleman Carlo Capello, ambassador elect to the King of England, salary for four months, at the rate of 140 golden ducats per month, 560 golden ducats; also 150 ducats for the purchase of beasts of burden, at the rate of 6 livres and 4 soldi per ducat; also to the secretary 50 ducats, at the rate of 6 livres and 4 soldi per ducat; and for coverings and trunks 30 ducats, *ut supra;* also for two couriers, 20 ducats each, 40 ducats, *ut supra.*

On the expiration of three months after his departure, the treasurer to give from month to month to the ambassador's agent here, 140 golden ducats for one month's salary in advance, so that the Signory may incur no loss from the exchange on this account. Also to defray the cost of couriers, boats, escorts, and guides, he is to receive 200 golden ducats. Should he have occasion to spend more than the said 200 ducats, to send his account, to be paid by the cashier of the Council.

Ayes, 28. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 28.

661. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 404.

Letters from England, notifying the King's command that nothing be ever again referred to Rome;* and he has indeed caused a certain Archbishop of . . . . . to be, as it were, Pope, and to issue bulls.

Rome, 28th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 1st May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 1.

662. Lutheran League (Note by Sanuto).

Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 405.

The King of England, the King of Denmark, the Duke of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburg, and many other free towns—all Lutherans—have leagued together against the Pope.

[*Italian.*]

April 15.

663. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 478.

A friar, whilst preaching a panegyric of the Virgin in a certain church, some Frenchmen . . . . . .

London, 15th April 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th May.*

[*Italian.*]

* "Che niuna cosa andasse più a Roma."

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April 20.
Sforza Archives, Milan.

664. AUGUSTINO SCARPINELLO to FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE of MILAN.

Congratulates the Duke on the restoration of the Castle of Milan and the city of Como. Desires to be provided for, as his means and expedients are exhausted. Wishes to be recalled if of no use. If he be of use, the Duke should maintain more friendly and constant communication with the King and certain persons who have influence with him. A mere occasional letter is considered as an affront rather than a compliment.

Parliament was prorogued, many days ago,* until the month of October. The acts which it passed have been in part publicly printed, in part not, though even these last are known to many . . . . . [*illegible*] . . . . . this most serene King are more content to be able to avail themselves of the enactment than with its publication, especially with regard to ecclesiastical matters.

On the prorogation of Parliament it is understood that mention was made of the divorce, when the Bishops of London and Lincoln confuted malignant opinions, which insinuated that the King sought this divorce from a false and libidinous motive; demonstrating that his Majesty acted from an upright, just, legitimate, and holy cause, approved by the greater part of the men who in the Christian world are learned in canon and civil law. To this, two other Bishops, St. Asaph and Bath, replied intrepidly, saying what they thought about the truth, and notifying it in writing and by word of mouth to the King. [They also said] that, if faculty were given to discuss this matter, they would not fail to speak the same; and thereupon silence was enjoined to all parties, though every opportunity is readily seized to expedite the business.

Messer Joan Joachino, having returned from his most Christian Majesty, Mons. de la Guiche, who had remained here in the meanwhile, departed on the 17th instant. Before his departure he held many and long conferences with his Majesty, though not of much importance, being merely about private affairs. Since his return from France, Joachino seems less elate than before.

His Majesty is now staying at Greenwich, and comes often to Westminster, having designed (*designato*) new lodgings there, and a park adjoining York House, which belonged to the late Cardinal Wolsey. The plan (*designo*) is on so large a scale that many hundreds of houses will be levelled, well nigh all of which belong to great personages.

The Queen still follows the King; the Princess is at Richmond, and was lately very ill from what the physicians call hysteria (*è stata molto male de matre secundo medici dicono*).

London, 19th April 1531.

Signed: Augustino Scarpinello.

Addressed externally: Illmo et Excmo Dño Dño Duci Mediolani.

[*Italian. Original.*]

* *Query*, on the 20th of March.

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April 21. Senato Terra, v. xxvi. p. 125.

665. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

The scarcity of money in the Exchequer of the Council of Ten preventing the payments to Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., ambassador elect to Rome, and Carlo Capello, ambassador elect to the King of England:

Put to the ballot,—That a loan of 2,105 ducats, from the moneys of the "*mezza tansa persa*," be granted to the Council of Ten.

Ayes, 155. Noes, 20. Neutrals, 7.

[*Italian.*]

April 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. pp. 475, 476.

666. The MANTUAN AMBASSADOR at the IMPERIAL COURT to the DUKE OF MANTUA.

The Papal Nuncio departed for Italy on the 15th of April, although by a commission, received two days previously from Rome, he was to go to England; but being seriously indisposed he would not accept the undertaking. Has been told that on the road at Brussels he received a fresh repetition of the order, which made him hesitate greatly, and well nigh compelled him to go thither; but the intelligence was not received from a source sufficiently authentic to allow him (the Mantuan ambassador) to affirm it. On his departure he received a present of 1,500 golden ducats from the Emperor.

Nothing at all is being said about the Council, to arrange which Gambara came to the Imperial Court. The replies from France are not positive. Gambara is not supposed to take back any firm determination.

Ghent, 23rd April. *Registered by Sanuto, 10th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 26. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., v. vii. (liv.), p. 18.

667. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

Put to the ballot,—That the Proveditor for the Mint pay to the ambassadors Venier and Capello the residue of the sum decreed them.

Ayes, 24. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 482.

668. ENGLISH INTELLIGENCE received at the Imperial Court.

Anonymous letter from Ghent addressed to ———.

The Emperor's departure from this place will not take place so soon as reported, because the inhabitants of Bruges have informed him they are so impoverished by the inundations as not to have the means of supplying even what is required for the horses; so his Majesty is still in doubt what he shall do, and here nothing is thought of but the discussion of remedies whereby to dyke the waters, as unless provision be made the same need will occur annually.

It is heard from England that the King purposes publishing a multitude of counsel's opinions, obtained by him in favour of his divorce.

Some of the servants of the Bishop of Rochester died lately, he being considered in that kingdom a very religious and worthy man;

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and although he had always publicly advocated the Queen's cause, the King nevertheless invariably showed him great respect; and there being a suspicion of poison, and that it had been destined for the Bishop himself, he made a strong complaint about this to the King, who ordered the arrest of a cook who was suspected of the crime, he being in the Bishop's service; and after racking him severely he was put to a cruel death, though it is said that he made no confession, save that as a jest he put some purgative powder in certain viands.

Ghent, 29th April 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 471.

669. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

The Prothonotary Gambara having quitted the Imperial Court for Rome, the Pope wrote charging him to go to England.

Rome, 4th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 19. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. vii. (liv.), p. 32.

670. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

Put to the ballot,—That the cashier of this Council pay from the moneys of the ambassadors, to the agent of the nobleman Capello, 107 ducats and 7 grossi per month, so that in four months he may receive payment of 425 ducats and 4 soldi, due to him on account of his embassy to Florence.

Ayes, 24. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

Order made out.

[*Italian.*]

May 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. pp. 544, 545.

671. The MANTUAN AMBASSADOR at ROME to the DUKE OF MANTUA.

The Cardinal d'Aigremont and the Duke of Albany had a long conference with the Pope. The Pope says the Emperor and the King of France are on excellent terms, and will have an interview; that there is no thought in France of making war, or of creating disturbance in Italy. The Council is to be held at Turin.

For the quiet of Christendom and the maintenance of friendship with the King of England, who has always been obedient to the Apostolic See, his most Christian Majesty is desirous that the divorce case should be tried in a place where it could be treated more to the King's satisfaction than at Rome; and he proposes Cambrai as a town which is subject neither to Spain nor to France; and his Holiness might send his commissioners to hear the parties concerning these matters.

The Cardinal dilated on these topics, and also on the marriage of the Pope's niece to the second son of the most Christian King, who seems very well inclined towards it.

Rome, 20th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th June.*

[*Italian.*]

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June 12. **672.** EMBASSY TO ENGLAND.

Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), vol. liv. p. 79.

Motion made in the Senate by the sages of the Council, and the sages for the mainland and for the orders, for the commission to be given to Carlo Capello, ambassador to the King of England.

To visit the most Christian King, and assure him of their goodwill and observance; to do the like by the Queen, the King's mother, and the other chief personages.

To proceed to England, and after presenting the credentials to the King, to tell his Majesty that, persevering in their affection and respect, they have appointed him ambassador resident there, in the room of Lodovico Falier. To congratulate the King, etc., and to recommend the Venetian merchants and their affairs to him.

To visit all the chief personages who have most authority with the King, according to the information received from his predecessor, and render them favourable to the Signory. To give constant and frequent advices.

Ayes, 191. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

[July ?] **673.** AMBASSADOR to ENGLAND.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 617.

Carlo Capello, ambassador on his way to England, had been unable to obtain audience of the King [of France?] as he was going to hunt.

— July. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 15. **674.** KATHARINE, QUEEN of ENGLAND and FRANCE and LADY of IRELAND, to the most Illustrious and Excellent PRINCE, the LORD FRANCESCO MARIA [SFORZA], DUKE of MILAN.

Sforza Archives, Milan.

Her familiar and surgeon, Balthasar Guercius, native of Bosco, in the Duke's dominions, is now going into Italy with her permission, on his private business. He has served her many years faithfully. He is lawful heir to certain lands, estates, and possessions, and having been long absent, hopes through the Queen's intercession, and through the Duke, to obtain his due, and return the more quickly to her. Prays the Duke, out of regard for the Queen herself, to assist her aforesaid familiar.

From our Palace of Windsor, 15th July 1531.*

Signed: Catherina (*manu propriâ*).

Addressed externally: To the most Illustrious and most Excellent Prince, the Lord Francis, Duke of Milan, our very dear cousin.

[*Latin. Original.*]

July 17. **675.** NICOLÒ TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Miscellaneous Correspondence Library, Venetian Archives.

With regard to the Council, the Emperor answered the Legate that he regrets such great delay, and entreats his Holiness to remove impediments, in order that so good a result may be obtained.

* This was probably the last letter written from Windsor by Katharine of Aragon. The King "sent imperious orders to her to depart from thence shortly after the 14th of June 1531." (*See* "Strickland's Queen's of England," vol. ii. p. 538.)

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The Emperor added he was going to the Diet in Germany, and will endeavour to find some satisfactory remedy, and acquaint his Holiness therewith.

The King of England having constantly made great suit to the Pope to remove the trial of his [divorce] case to England, his Holiness, being apprehensive lest the King may perhaps do his own pleasure by his own act, as he threatens, and separate himself and his whole realm from the Apostolic See, had thought of removing the trial of the case to Cambrai, or some other place of the sort, and had announced this opinion to the Emperor, who, after much consideration, answered in his own name and that of Queen Katharine, that he does not permit this to be done, but that the case should be decided in Rome alone, and in the presence of his Holiness, for the dignity of the Apostolic See, to which solely the absolute power in all similar cases appertains, and also for the greater validity (*autorità*) of the sentence; nor is there, in fact, any fear of the King's doing what he threatens.*

Brussels, 17th July 1531.

[*Italian.*]

July 19. Sforza Archives, Milan.

676. HENRY VIII. to the DUKE OF MILAN.

Balthasar Guercius of Bosco, surgeon, a native of the Duke's territories, has served the King's consort, holding an honourable position in England and in the Court. The King is desirous to assist him. He is going to the Duke to arrange certain private business of his own. Prays the Duke, should Guercius require his patronage and favour to make good his claim to certain hereditary estates, that the Duke will, for the King's sake, favour Guercius.

From our Palace at Guildford, 19th July 1531.

Signed: Your good friend (*manu propriâ*), Henricus.

Countersigned: Petrus Vannes.

Addressed externally: To the most Excellent and Illustrious Prince, the Lord Francesco, Duke of Milan, our very dear cousin and friend.

[*Latin. Original.*]

July 31. St. Mark's Library. Class VII., Cod. MDCCCCXXXV.

677. EDWARD WOTTON to REGINALD POLE.

John Walker has put into the bank for Pole 84*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* Will remit 400 crowns, paying for every crown 4*s.* 9*d.*

Has sent all that he has received and somewhat more, "savyng that he hath leyd out." Some of Pole's receivers or farmers are not very good payers. Neither he, Wotton, nor John Walker can know for certain what payments to expect from any of his benefices, nor when they will be made. Can rely solely on John Fitzhopkins, Master Coffyn, and Thomas Coole. Thinks, therefore, that Pole would do well to send him a list of what is due at stated times from each of his farmers, so that if slack they might be called on.

For the next five years Pole will have to pay the King annually about 30*l.*, so he should now begin to play the good husband and not be negligent, but let John Walker know how everything should

* "Nè punto si teme che el Re habbia a far cosa alcuna *de facto* come minaccia."

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be received, and he may rest assured that it shall be collected and sent to him. Walker has done the best he can, but knows not how to collect 100*l.* for this half year. Wotton suspects that Pole "wold scant be content" to be subpœnaed.

There is no news in London. The common saying is, that there will be war with the Scots.

"Abell (as they say) hath put forth a booke yn English* yn the whyche he answeryth yn every point to the booke† that is put forth concernying the maryage. I wold get or send yt you that you myght see some newys, but yt is not commonly a brode, nor I dare not be so curyouse abowt gettyng off yt be cawse yt ys prynted owt off England."

About a month ago a priest was drawn from Newgate to Tower Hill and there hanged, but not degraded, for "clypping of monye."

Mr. Hansard is dead, and was buried at Bishopsgate on Saturday last.

The King had intended going on his progress to Nottingham, but it is now said he will go no farther than Grafton, and return by Woodstock to Windsor.

London, 31st July.

Signed: Ed. Wotton.

Addressed externally: D. Renardo Polo, Anglo, Avinion.

[*Original, holograph. English.*]

Aug. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 651.

678. Lodovico Falier to the Signory.

In England likewise the comet is visible.

London, 5th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 611.

679. Prothonotary Casal.

In the morning the ambassador of the King of England came into the College to obtain possession of the bishopric of Cividal, as the Pope chooses to give the abbacy of the Holy Trinity to some other person.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 14.

680. Letters from England.

The King has conferred the archbishopric of York on his Almoner, Dr. Lee, and the bishopric of Winchester on Dr. Stephen [Gardyner], which sees are worth 40,000 crowns. He has appointed Dr. Fox his Almoner.

London, 17th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th October.*

[*Italian.*]

* According to Hall (p. 784), Thomas Abell's book appeared in 1531, so this supplies the date of the year, which is not affixed to the letter. The book was entitled "Tractatus de non dissolvendo Henrici et Catherinæ matrimonio. Invicta veritas."

The English edition is quoted thus—

"An answer that by no manner of means it may be lawful for the King to be divorced from the Queen's Grace, his lawful wife." (*See* Watt, Robert, Bibliotheca Britannica, vol. i. p. 4.) Watt does not give any date, either of year or place. Abell was executed at Smithfield in 1540.

† Cranmer had written a book upon the divorce in 1529. (*See* Froude, vol. i. p. 262.)

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Aug. 19.
Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 666.

681. CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England, to ——.

Arrived there on the 11th. The King is abroad, taking his pleasure in various parts of the island.

London, 19th August 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th Sept.*

Note by Sanuto, that the letter was not from Capello himself, but a private one from one of his household; who writes that the master is in such grief from having heard of the death of his wife, that he is unable to write. On the 20th he was to go and see the King; the ambassador, Falier, being with his Majesty.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 25.
Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 668, and following.

682. A TOUR in ENGLAND.—MARIO SAVORGNANO to ——.

I quitted the Imperial Court, which was here at Brussels, on the 27th July, and mounting a little carriage (*caretta*) as usual in all these places (and which is a very great convenience), arrived at Ghent, a distance of 25 Italian miles, on that same day. On the 28th, I took another carriage, there being very great plenty of these vehicles in every town in Flanders, and went a distance of 20 miles to Bruges, which is considered the handsomest and most magnificent city of any in all these countries. It contains an infinite number of large palaces, inhabited by men of divers nations, in which they carry on their mercantile traffic. Then there are houses without end, belonging to private gentlemen, part of which are by the water's side, with very handsome quays in front, with seats all made alike; and looking on the canals, I fancied myself at Venice; and barges with merchandise are constantly passing to and fro. There are also very large and most beautiful churches, and it is well peopled.

On the third day we went to another town of Flanders, not very remarkable, of the same description as Gemona,* called Nieuport, 20 miles from Bruges. On the fourth day, passing through two other small towns by the side of certain rivers which form divers harbours, having the sea near at hand, we arrived at Calais, a distance of 30 miles. It is a very strong place, as I will tell on my return, and is very closely guarded by the most serene King of England, who has no other fortress than this one, and another near it. It is on the sea, and is the port of passage to the island. On that same night, two hours before daybreak, we embarked on board a middling-sized vessel, and with a pleasant south-west wind, and a calm sea, crossed from Calais to England in six hours, without trouble or inconvenience of any sort. The distance is 40 Italian miles. The island has the appearance of a fortress, the sea having advanced and given form to the cliff, producing a fine effect. It is difficult to land elsewhere than in the harbours. Having got into port we found a little town called Dover, and I inspected a certain very ancient castle—erected for the custody of the harbour—in which were some suits of armour and spears, and several sorts of weapons, in use 800 and 1,000 years ago—a very ridiculous thing. We were here supplied with horses of marvellous speed, riding post as it were, according to the custom of travellers, so that on the fifth day after my departure

* Gemona in the Friuli, in which province the Savorgnano family held large estates.

1531. from the Imperial Court at Brussels, I reached Canterbury, distant 12 miles from Dover. The place is very famous by reason of the veneration for the glorious Saint Thomas, and there is a superb and magnificent shrine containing his tomb, ornamented with precious stones and sundry jewels, with so much gold that its value is inestimable; this is a singular thing, nor do I expect to see anything handsomer or more costly. From Canterbury we passed to a small town called Gravesend, traversing a most beautiful country, with many hills and very pleasant, seeing many small streams, and the great river Thames which disembogues in the sea; and on the sixth day, which was the 1st of August, having ridden 20 miles, we embarked in a small boat, and came up this large river a distance exceeding 25 Italian miles, to London.

London is the capital of the kingdom and the residence of the ambassadors and merchants; it is a very notable city situated on the Thames, a magnificent river, navigable for vessels of any burden, 60 miles from the sea, and with a very strong tide. This river is convenient for trade, embellishing the city, and rendering it cheerful, and over it is a very large stone bridge.

London contains many houses on either side of the river, and two large churches of extreme beauty, in one of which the present King's father is buried. In various parts of the city there are many palaces of divers citizens and merchants, but the larger ones and the most superb are on the river, the owners being the chief personages of the kingdom. Besides the two belonging to the King and one to the Queen, the three dukes,* the two marquises,† and several bishops have mansions there, each of them worth 12,000 crowns, with very delightful gardens.

The population of London is immense, and comprises many artificers. The houses are in very great number, but ugly, and half the materials of wood, nor are the streets wide. In short, I am of opinion, all things considered, that it is a very rich, populous, and mercantile city, but not beautiful.

Having arrived thus on the 2nd [August], and being well received by the most noble the Venetian ambassador [Lodovico Falier], who chose me to lodge with him, I met Messer Marco Rafael, who was of yore my preceptor for the Hebrew tongue, and is now in very great favour with this most serene King; and he sent for two of the royal councillors to show me his Majesty's palaces and rarities.

Besides our Venetian ambassador, there are ambassadors from the Pope, the Emperor, the most Christian King, and Milan, resident in London, where I passed five days, seeing the churches, and the King's palaces, and the whole city; remarking, also, the manners and customs of the nation. I saw a palace, built by the late Cardinal, which now belongs to the King, together with other property of that prelate. The building is now being enlarged; and I saw three so-called "galleries," which are long porticos and halls, without chambers, with windows on each side, looking on gardens and rivers (*fiumi*), the ceiling being marvellously wrought in stone

* Howard, Duke of Norfolk; Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond.
† Grey, Marquis of Dorset; Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter.

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with gold, and the wainscot of carved wood representing a thousand beautiful figures; and round about there are chambers, and very large halls, all hung with tapestries. The King and Queen, and their daughter, were out of London. I next saw a palace called Hampton Court, which, with its furniture, is supposed to have cost the Cardinal, who built it, 200,000 crowns. Here there is space for the King to inhabit the centre-floor, the Queen the one above, and the Princess the ground floor; in addition to which there are dwellings for the rest of the Court. On the day after, I went to another palace of the King's, built by his ancestors, in which I only saw a very beautiful chapel. On the third day, I went to a park some 30 miles from London where the King was, taking his pleasure in a small hunting-lodge, built solely for the chase, in the midst of the forest. I saw the King twice, and kissed his hand; he is glad to see foreigners, and especially Italians; he embraced me joyously, and then went out to hunt with from 40 to 50 horsemen. He is tall of stature, very well formed, and of very handsome presence, beyond measure affable, and I never saw a prince better disposed than this one. He is also learned and accomplished, and most generous and kind, and were it not that he now seeks to repudiate his wife, after having lived with her for 22 years, he would be no less perfectly good, and equally prudent. But this thing detracts greatly from his merits, as there is now living with him a young woman of noble birth, though many say of bad character, whose will is law to him, and he is expected to marry her, should the divorce take place, which it is supposed will not be effected, as the peers of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, and the people are opposed to it; nor during the present Queen's life will they have any other Queen in the kingdom. Her Majesty is prudent and good; and during these differences with the King she has evinced constancy and resolution, never being disheartened or depressed. I returned to Windsor Castle,* and from thence, on the fourth day of my departure from London, arrived at a palace called the More, where the Queen resides. In the morning we saw her Majesty dine: she had some 30 maids of honour (*donzelle*) standing round the table, and about 50 who performed its service. Her Court consists of about 200 persons, but she is not so much visited as heretofore, on account of the King. Her Majesty is not of tall stature, rather small. If not handsome she is not ugly; she is somewhat stout (*piuttosto grassa*), and has always a smile on her countenance.

We next went to another palace, called Richmond, where the Princess, her daughter, resides; and having asked the maggiordomo for permission to see her, he spoke to the chamberlain, and then to the governess,† and they made us wait. Then after seeing the palace we returned into a hall, and having entered a spacious chamber where there were some venerable old men with whom we discoursed, the Princess came forth accompanied by a noble lady

* From this it may be inferred that the chapel alluded to above was St. George's at Windsor.

† The Countess of Salisbury. (*See* Strickland.)

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advanced in years, who is her governess, and by six maids of honour (*donzelle*). We kissed her hand, and she asked us how long we had been in England, and if we had seen their Majesties, her father and mother, and what we thought of the country; she then turned to her attendants, desiring them to treat us well, and withdrew into her chamber. This Princess is not very tall, has a pretty face, and is well proportioned (*disposta*), with a very beautiful complexion, and is 15 years old. She speaks Spanish, French, and Latin, besides her own mother-English tongue, is well grounded in Greek, and understands Italian, but does not venture to speak it. She sings excellently, and plays on several instruments, so that she combines every accomplishment.* We were then taken to a sumptuous repast, after which we returned to our lodging, whither, according to the fashion of the country, the Princess sent us a present of wine and ale (which last is another beverage of theirs), and white bread. On the next day, which was the 6th, we returned to London to the house of our ambassador, where we remained two days, and then by boat went down the Thames, which is very broad, and covered with swans, and thus we got to Dover the passage port.

The King is of opinion that the Pope [Julius II.] was not authorized to grant the dispensation for his marriage to the present Queen, she being his brother's widow.

The Princess is much beloved by her father, who does not make any demonstration against the Queen — always treats her with respect, and occasionally dines with her.

This country is very beautiful, and most fertile of everything except wine, though there is great plenty of malmsies. The greater part of the island is not much peopled, but laid out in parks, from which the King and the nobility and gentry derive great pleasure. It is customary after speaking once or twice to any lady (*donna*), on meeting her in the street, to take her to a tavern (where all persons go without any reserve), or some other place, the husband not taking it amiss, but remaining obliged to you, and always thanking you, and if he sees you with her he departs; and if a gentleman gives a lady any present of flowers, she must continue to wear them for three months, when they are exchanged for others; and should the man find her without them, he may exact what fine he pleases, so that you constantly see women with flowers of every sort.

The women are all extremely handsome, nor did I ever see the like, save at Augsburg, and their head-gear is graceful. They wear a sort of coif of white linen, from under which a few tresses are visible over the forehead, but the coif fits close behind, so that towards the ears everything is covered, the coif concealing their hair; and on the top of the coif they wear large four-cornered caps of white cloth, this being the head-dress of such as are not of high birth, these last wearing a velvet top-knot instead of the cap, which gives them a very elegant appearance.

* "Sicchè tutte le virtù è raccolte in Lei."

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The men are more discreet in drinking than the Germans, but more idle.* They use certain bucklers—a ridiculous device—and swords made differently to ours; and they always have their bows at hand, with which they shoot marvellously, for they do nothing else. They are tall handsome men, and dress well. As the country is more to the northward, I expected to find the climate cold, and more windy, and worse than in France, but it was the contrary. There is an island, further off, where the men live to a great age, and when tired of life, they destroy themselves, or throw themselves into the sea from some rock, or migrate to other countries.

On reaching Dover, I was requested to cross on the morrow, as I did, and we went off to the ship in boats, the wind being so high, and the surf off the beach so heavy, that they tossed the little boat here and there, as if it had been a box. Having reached the ship, and got on board with difficulty from the constant motion, we found a tremendous sea; and having set sail, all hands were greatly alarmed. The waves were like mountains, and looked as if they would sink us, so the vessel being an insecure one, we remained the whole time in suspense; but by the grace of God and of the glorious Saint Rocco, on whose festival we found ourselves at sea, we reached Calais in less than four hours, having ran very great danger. On landing we were searched at a certain office; to ascertain the amount of money brought by us, only 10 ducats being allowed for each person, and the surplus was seized. I remained at the inn, the sea having prostrated me; my companions inspecting the town, near the walls, when they were immediately arrested as spies, and then sent to prison, from which they were released when their quality was known. The town is neither handsome in itself nor large, but it is surrounded by a very fine wall, with bastions and platforms. I consider it very strong, and it is under very close custody. Having departed thence, I returned in four days—by the same road as the one by which I came—to the Court [at Brussels], where the most noble ambassador † was anxiously expecting me.‡

Brussels, 25th August 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th Sept.* [*Italian.*]

Sept. 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 9.

683. CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

The Flanders galleys have arrived, and can neither load nor purchase wools, save at the time mentioned in the letters. They

* "Ma più poltroni."

† *Query*, Nicolò Tiepolo, whose report of his embassy to Charles V. was made to the Venetian Senate in the year 1532, and is printed in Alberi's Collection, Series I., vol. i., pp. 31–144.

‡ The writer of the foregoing letter, "a Venetian, a scholar, and soldier," was the son of the Venetian commander, Girolamo Savorgnano; the family having vast possessions in the Friuli, but being also domiciled at Venice, and inscribed on the Golden Book.

Mario Savorgnano, Count of Belgrade, held high military command under the Republic like his father, but the duties of his profession did not check his literary tastes. Mario Savorgnano translated from the Greek into Italian many of the works of Polybius, and also wrote a treatise (of which there are two editions, Venice, 1599 and 1614), entitled "*L'arte militare, terrestre e marittima, secondo la ragione de' più valorosi capitani antichi e moderni. Libri IV.*"

The Count of Belgrade died in the year 1574, but there is no record of him amongst the Savorgnano tombs in the Friuli.

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arrived at Hampton on the 12th. The Ambassador Falier has quitted England, and he (Capello) is going to see the King, who is abroad.

London, 13th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 709.

684. Flanders Galleys.

By letters of the 20th from Antwerp it was heard that the galleys had crossed over to England.

Antwerp, 20th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 1.

685. Lodovico Falier, Knight, late Ambassador in England, to the Signory.

Has arrived at Antwerp on his way home. The Signory's Flanders galleys, together with the ship, have crossed, and were in harbour in the Isle of Wight, near Hampton.

Antwerp, 20th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 1st October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 71.

686. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

Has been three times to the King to ask permission to load and purchase wools a year before the period assigned for their sale to aliens. At length obtained a reply that they would give the wools, but must know the quantity; so he wrote to the merchants of the galleys at Hampton to specify the number of sacks. They replied that they could not tell, but that his Majesty should give a licence to purchase the quantity required by them.

Concerning the divorce, the King has had recourse to King Ferdinand to appease the Emperor; and it is said they are negotiating a marriage between this King [of England] and the Archduchess Maria, widow of the King of Hungary and sister to the Emperor.

London, 13th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 101.

687. The Same to the Same.

Having made a request to the King, his Majesty gave permission to the Venetian merchants to purchase 1,600 sacks of wool, before the departure of the galleys, which will thus have their cargo notwithstanding any edict to the contrary.

London, 17th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 10th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27? Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 124.

688. The Same to the Same.

They are making preparation for the obsequies of the Mother of the most Christian King, in honourable form. The meeting of Parliament has been postponed. Has spoken with the King, who

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wishes the Signory to send him advices of Italy and Constantinople, as his Majesty believes those of the Signory, but not such as come from other parts.

London, 27th? October. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 2. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 64.

689. RETURN of the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR from ENGLAND.

On this day Lodovico Falier, knight, late ambassador in England, arrived at Venice. Including his journey out and home, and his residence there, he has been absent thirty-seven months and a half. He returned by way of Germany.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 67.

690. REPORT of ENGLAND.

Lodovico Falier, knight, came into the College, having been ambassador in England. He was clad in black velvet for the death of his brother Hironimo. He said little, referring himself to the Senate. The King gave him a chain, worth 1,200 ducats, and to his secretary, Hironimo Moriani, a dish of the value of 300 ducats.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 111.

691. LETTER addressed to the DUKE OF MANTUA.

Nothing good from Germany. The Cardinal of Mentz begins to swerve from the good path, imitating the Bishop of Cologne, who seeks to render himself a temporal instead of a spiritual prince.

The fleet from Portugal and Spain has arrived, in number already seventy-four sail, all loaded with good spices, sugars, wines, and fruits, and the arrivals continue. It is stated as a miracle that four ships have come from Madeira to a port here in Holland in nine days (the distance being 30,000 leagues), so high was the wind. Other vessels have also had very quick passages, but these four are alone talked of as a miraculous thing.

Nothing more is said about the interview between these two Majesties [the Emperor and Francis I.], though some persons maintain that the Emperor is going to Tournai for this purpose; but the general opinion is that these persons are mistaken.

Last evening John Thomas Fugger arrived to pay the Italian troops (*di quelle gente dillà*), who, it is said, have not received a farthing since upwards of two months.

Last night the Abbate May died. It is said he had himself anointed for the French disease, and could not bear the violence of the ointments.

The King of England has received a declaration from Paris, that he is not bound to appear either personally or by attorney at Rome in virtue of the summons received concerning the divorce; which declaration he has accepted and pronounced it valid.

Brussels, 6th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th November.*

[*Italian.*]

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Nov. 9. **692.** MISSIVE to the SIGNORY from HENRY VIII.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 78.

Letters read from the King of England to the Signory, mentioning the arrival of the ambassador Carlo Capello. He commends Lodovico Falier to the Signory. A very beautiful Latin letter.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 10. **693.** REPORT of LODOVICO FALIER.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 83.

Report of Lodovico Falier, knight, late ambassador in England. He mounted the platform, and remained three hours, speaking in a low tone, and with a bad pronunciation; but he said some effective things about England and Flanders, the Courts of the Emperor and of the King of the Romans, about Ulm, and other Lutheran cities. He had been abroad 37½ months, and on his departure the King of England sent him a present of a gold chain, handsomely wrought, of the intrinsic value of 600 ducats. He praised his secretary, Hironimo Moriani.

When he came down from the platform the Doge commended him and said, "We will make a motion, that for your exertions the chain be given you." Ser Lodovico then declined the motion. He did well, for it would not have been carried; a similar motion in favour of Ser Sebastian Giustinian, knight, late ambassador in France, having been lost.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 10.* **694.** REPORT of ENGLAND, made to the SENATE by LODOVICO FALIER.

Report of England. Venetian Archives.

Will divide his narrative into two parts: the one relating to his journey, the other to the great eminence (*altezza*) of Henry VIII., the mode of living in his kingdom, and its government, as he found it from 1528 to 1531.

Left Venice in the middle of September 1528, and by way of Savoy and Lyons proceeded to Paris, where King Francis told him that unless the Emperor condescended to fair terms of peace, he would wage war most briskly against him, and that he had already engaged many Swiss commanders.

Quitted Paris for England on the 10th of December. Was met at St. George's, five miles from London, by his predecessor, Venier, and many persons in the name of the King and Cardinal Wolsey, whose hand he kissed first (as always customary, such being his great authority), and immediately afterwards paid his respects to the King, addressing him in such form as written to the Senate.

The Queen is of low stature, rather stout (*grassetta*), with a modest countenance (*di faccia onesta*); she is virtuous, just, replete with goodness and religion; she speaks Spanish, Flemish, French, and English; she is beloved by the islanders more than any Queen that ever reigned; she is about forty-five years old, having lived thirty years in England, from the time of her first marriage. By the present Henry, she had two sons and one daughter. The eldest

* The date of the delivery of this report is derived from Sanuto's Diaries.

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son died at the age of six months, the younger immediately after his christening; her daughter alone survives. She is sixteen years old; a handsome, amiable (*graziosa*), and very accomplished Princess, in no respect inferior to her mother.

The King has also a natural son,* born to him of the widow of one of his Peers; a youth of great promise, so much does he resemble his father.

In this eighth Henry, God combined such corporal and mental beauty, as not merely to surprise but to astound all men. Who could fail to be struck with admiration on perceiving the lofty position of so glorious a Prince to be in such accordance with his stature, giving manifest proof of that intrinsic mental superiority which is inherent to him? His face is angelic rather than handsome; his head imperial (*Cesarina*) and bald, and he wears a beard, contrary to English custom. Who would not be amazed when contemplating such singular corporal beauty, coupled with such bold address, adapting itself with the greatest ease to every manly exercise. He sits his horse well, and manages him yet better; he jousts and wields his spear, throws the quoit, and draws the bow, admirably; plays at tennis most dexterously; and nature having endowed him in youth with such gifts, he was not slow to enhance, preserve, and augment them with all industry and labour. It seeming to him monstrous for a Prince not to cultivate moral and intellectual excellence, so from childhood he applied himself to grammatical studies, and then to philosophy and holy writ, thus obtaining the reputation of a lettered and excellent Prince. Besides the Latin and his native tongue, he learned Spanish, French, and Italian. He is kind and affable, full of graciousness and courtesy, and liberal; particularly so to men of science (*virtuosi*), whom he is never weary of obliging.

Although always intelligent and judicious, he nevertheless allowed himself to be so allured by his pleasures, that, accustomed to ease, he for many years left the administration of the government to his ministers, well nigh until the persecution of Cardinal Wolsey; but from that time forth he took such delight in his own rule, that from liberal he became avaricious, and whereas heretofore no one departed from his Majesty without being well rewarded, so now all quit his presence dissatisfied. He appears to be religious; he usually hears two low masses [daily?], and on holy days high mass likewise. He gives many alms, relieving paupers, orphans,† widows, and cripples; his almoner disbursing annually ten thousand golden ducats for this purpose.

[Then follows an account of the geographical position of England, Scotland, and Ireland.]

The climate is neither warm nor cold, but very damp. In the northern parts [of England] the longest day is of nineteen hours, and of sixteen and a half to the southward.

* Henry Fitzroy, natural son of Henry VIII. by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blount, knight, and widow of Gilbert, Lord Talboys. (*See* "Burke's Extinct Peerages," p. 207.)

† "*Pupilli*;" literally, wards or minors.

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The language of the English, Welch, and Cornishmen is so different that they do not understand each other. The Welchman is sturdy, poor, adapted to war, and sociable (*conversevole*); the Cornishman is poor, rough, and boorish (*selvatico*); and the Englishman mercantile, rich, affable, and generous (*nobile*). The men are for the most part tall of stature and robust, and far above all, the Welch.

The island is not mountainous but level, and merely girt by many hills, which yield no fruit, but a quantity of lead, tin, silver, gold, and other metals; and were they to smelt the minerals more carefully the product would be greater.

The soil is reddish, and sufficiently cultivated for their maintenance, with wheat, barley, and spelt (*spelta*) [rye?], the rest is laid out in very beautiful (*bellissime*) meadows and most profitable pasturages for cattle and innumerable flocks of sheep, which remain the whole year in the open air; so that the English are extremely well supplied with the best wool, which they convert into every sort of superfine cloth; and their amount of hides is incredible.

The olive and the vine have, however, been denied them, instead of which they use malt liquor, made with crab-apples and hops, and other ingredients, from which, by boiling them, they obtain a drink as intoxicating as the strongest wine.

The island is ennobled by 22 cathedral cities; 50 towns, some walled and some open; and 1300 (*sic*) villages, the whole being divided into 35 counties.

Four times a year, the King sends into each of the counties three judges in ordinary, for civil and criminal causes, with appeal to his Majesty's Council.

The first and most honourable office in the kingdom is that of Lord High Constable, which on account of its pre-eminence has not been conferred on any one [since the execution of the last High Constable, the Duke of Buckingham, in 1521], and remains in the gift of the King.

There were formerly twelve Dukes, but in consequence of disobedience and rebellion, nine of the duchies have been annexed to the Crown, and three remain—that of Richmond, conferred on his Majesty's natural son, who is Lord High Admiral, with a revenue of 10,000 ducats; that of Norfolk, who is Lord High Treasurer and his Majesty's chief vassal, with a revenue of 20,000 ducats; and the third duchy, that of Suffolk, in the person of the Lord Marshal [Charles Brandon], with a revenue of 30,000 ducats. He is 61 years of age, very robust, and although not of very noble lineage, yet as he has for wife his Majesty's sister, widow of King Lewis of France, much honour and respect are paid him; and he has the second seat in his Majesty's Privy Council, which he rarely enters, save for the discussion of matters of a certain importance, passing his time more pleasantly in other amusements.

His Excellency the Duke of Norfolk [Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk] is of very noble English descent. His Majesty makes use of him in all negotiations more than any other person. Since the death of Cardinal Wolsey, his authority and supremacy have increased, and every employment (*tutti gli ufficij*) devolves to

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him. He is prudent, liberal, affable (*piacevole*), and astute; associates with everybody, has very great experience in political government (*è pratichissimo dell' amministrazioni regali*), discusses the affairs of the world admirably, aspires to greater elevation, and bears ill-will to foreigners, especially to our Venetian nation. He is 58 years old; small and spare in person, and his hair black. He has two sons.

The Lord Great Chamberlain, Captain of the Island (*Capitano dell' Isola*), the Earl of Oxford [John de Vere, 15th Earl of Oxford], is a man of valour and authority, with a revenue of 25,000 ducats, and it is his custom always to cavalcade with 200 horse.

There are also two marquises. One of Exeter [Edward Courtenay] with an annual revenue of 20,000 ducats; thirty years old, the King's cousin-german, being descended from the sister of his Majesty's mother, and next in succession to the Crown.

The other is the Marquis of Dorset, a youth eighteen years of age, with a revenue of 15,000 ducats. He is under charge of the Court of Wards, which requires feudatories to remain dependent on his Majesty, if orphans, until their twentieth year, after which age no one can prosecute them (*nessuno può dimandar li in giudizio*).

The counties and baronies yield 214,000 ducats; and as the King disposes of all the above-named dignities at pleasure, they render his Majesty very powerful.

To proceed now to the order of prelates, which has always been wealthy and revered,—there are twenty-two sees in England, comprising the two archbishopries. The Primate, Archbishop of Canterbury, has an income of 25,000 ducats, and it is unlawful for any one to appeal against his decrees to Rome. The other, the Archbishopric of York, held lately by Cardinal Wolsey, yields 18,000 ducats, and according to the statutes is now in possession of the Crown, and will remain thus at least for one year after his death, according to custom.

The other twenty bishoprics yield, one with another, 40,000 ducats (*sic*). There are three priories of St. John's of Jerusalem [Knights of Rhodes], with a revenue of 25,000 ducats.

The religious orders of St. Austin and St. Bernard, including three Carthusian monasteries, have in all an income of 150,000 ducats.

It is also marvellous to see throughout the island 38,000 churches, excellently endowed with an infinite number of priests, the collation of all which offices and benefices appertains to the Crown alone, being reasonably conceded and confirmed by the Pope.

[Then follows an account of the origin of the payment to Rome of Peter's Pence, ending thus:—]

The annual tribute to the Church of Rome is still levied by his Holiness's collector. The English call it "Peter's Pence," and for this reason, as feudatories, they receive investiture from the Roman Pontiffs.

The very fortunate (*felicissimo*) kingdom of England has never lacked good laws; her most enlightened (*virtuosissimi*) sovereigns, for the introduction of scientific literature (*buone lettere*), having

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built two universities, one at Cambridge, and the other at Oxford, where 3,000 students are constantly instructed by most excellent masters, in every literary science, free of all expense, until they take their doctor's degree. These universities have produced many excellent and illustrious men, and hence it comes that many English speak Latin (*latinamente*), and annotate holy writ, on which they are now not a little intent, entertaining opinions totally opposed to the Roman Church; and their number would increase daily, were they not purged with fire and sword—antidotes which the prelates administer frequently.

The city of London has a most noble bridge, on which are lofty edifices, with shops containing goods of all sorts, and in its centre a most beautiful church, to be seen rather than described.

The Tower, although washed by the Thames, and surrounded by walls, is not a strong fortress. The King keeps his artillery and ammunition there; and there he coins his money, which is of much lower standard than it used to be. The Tower is garrisoned by a captain with a few foot soldiers, and their retainers (*è la loro famigliuola*). All criminals of importance are confined there. The English say that the castle was built by Julius Cæsar, and on this they pride themselves.

The whole city is divided into 26 wards, and 86 parishes, with a population of 70,000 souls.

The government of the city of London is exercised by the Lord Mayor, who is elected by 24 aldermen; who, after having served as apprentices, and having by industry and ability become rich and freemen, are made electors, and called aldermen.

Immediately on his election, the mayor goes in great state to the King, who knights him, and he is presented with the Sword of Justice, which he is bound to have carried before him whenever he rides processionally. The dignity is apparent rather than real, and very expensive.

The law courts, five in number, sit in a hall of the King's palace at Westminster, each court making its own awards separately.

At the first, which is called "the King's Bench," the most just and virtuous Chancellor More presides, a most eminent and lettered (*letteratissimo*) doctor of laws, adapted to any intricate (*ruginoso*) negotiation whatever; a man replete with goodness and religion, so that the sentences of the other courts are deservedly judged and ratified aright by his excellency.

At the second [Court of Common Pleas], audience is given by the *coif* doctors, who take the name from the cap worn under their bonnets.

At the third [Court of Exchequer], disputes about customs, duties, and gabels are decided.

The fourth [Court of Chancery] is that of the senior master,* who acts rather for the despatch of litigants than as judge.

All are judges for life (*perpetui*), each receiving a salary of 500 ducats from the royal treasury.

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* "*Degan Consigliero.*" In Venetian "Degan" signifies "*Senior.*"

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In criminal causes, speedy and vigorous justice is done, and of the four law terms (which are held annually), it is certain that not one passes without the condemnation to death of some 25 or 30 men.

The Lord Chief Justice [of the King's Bench], who is charged with the criminal legislation, is bound to proceed thus: after the arrest of the culprits, his excellency goes to the prison, and having them brought before him, appoints 12 jurymen (*giudici*) for their despatch, against whom there is no appeal.

When the King requires pecuniary supply or any other assistance concerning all his subjects, he assembles the general Parliament of the chief personages of the island, in number 400. On their meeting, after celebrating the mass of the Holy Ghost, his Majesty's Privy Council goes to the Upper House and proposes his demand, concerning which any member is at liberty to state his opinion freely, for the general benefit of the realm; and after the debates, each member is bound to give his vote and decide the matter proposed.

In this Parliament many things have been determined on several occasions; and, amongst the rest, eight years ago, under the name of a loan, his Majesty obtained about a million and a half of gold, with which to make war on France. The Parliament also decreed that his Majesty was supreme spiritual judge,* he delegating his authority to the Archbishop of Canterbury [William Warham]. It was, moreover, declared that many prelates had infringed the statute [of *præmunire*], which confiscated all their property to the Crown in case of disobedience, but the delinquents were exempted from the penalties incurred by them, on payment of 500,000 ducats.

In all its acts (*disposizioni*), the Parliament never departs from the will of the King and his Privy Council, which manages everything as he pleases.

The members of the Privy Council are the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earl of Wiltshire (the favourite's father); the magnifico Fitzwilliam, the treasurer of the household;† the Earl of Shrewsbury, lord steward [of the household]; the comptroller general [or Chancellor of the Exchequer?], Lord Darcy [?] K.G., (*il maggior Contarvolo Ary* (*sic*) *cavaliere dell' ordine*); Thomas Cromwell, and Doctor Stephen [Gardiner], his Majesty's secretary.

His Majesty's rule also extends to the island of Ireland, where he possesses the sea coast (*le maritime parti estreme*), and is master there. The island is large and populous, the natives warlike and wild, especially inland, where under the doublet (*corsetto*) they wear a shirt steeped in saffron (*zafferanata*), on account of the lice, and half-hose from the knee downwards. The government used to be in the hands of prelates, so that well nigh the whole island is divided into abbacies and temporal bishoprics, and the Pope even now has his collector there.

* "Protector and only Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England." (*See* Froude, vol. i. p. 279, date February 1531.)

† Sir William Fitzwilliam, K.G., afterwards Earl of Southampton. (*See* "Burke's Extinct Peerages," pp. 212, 213.)

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In Picardy his Majesty possesses Calais and Guisnes, and Gravelines near Flanders.

Such, in short, is the entire kingdom of the English Crown, whose wealth depends on England alone, which abounds in sheep, rabbits (*conigli*), oxen, horses, lead, tin, iron, and gold and silver, as aforesaid.

The exports of the island amount to two millions of gold, and the imports are of the same value.

His Majesty's ordinary revenue is 525,000 ducats, derived from the following sources:—

From the Crown - - - -	Ducats 190,000
From the customs - - - -	„ 150,000
From vacant benefices - - -	„ 40,000
From the seal - - - -	„ 10,000
From rebels [property confiscated?] - -	„ 50,000
From towns on the continent - -	„ 10,000
From fines [?] (*dal maleficio*) - -	„ 25,000
From the Court of Wards - - -	„ 50,000

Although it is difficult to know what ready money the King has, I nevertheless heard from a trustworthy person that the sum amounts to about a million of gold; he having already spent the six millions left him by his father, in the wars against France, Flanders, and Scotland.

From his most Christian Majesty there is due to King Henry 800,000 ducats for arrears on account of the annual pension of 50,000 ducats for Brittany; and 400,000 for money lent.

By means of imposts, and taxes extraordinary, the King can raise two millions of gold whenever he chooses.

His Majesty spends in ordinary 425,000 ducats for his Court, which consists of 500 men; namely, twenty-six gentlemen of the chamber (*camerieri*) one of whom is treasurer of the chamber; the lord steward, the chamberlain, his substitute, who carries a white stick to mark his office; the treasurer of the household (*il tesoriero generale*), who disburses the money; the comptroller general [?] (*il contarvolo*), who distributes it; the cofferers, who spend it; the master of the horse (*gran scudier*), who has charge of the horses, in number 300, including Barbs, Turks, coursers (*corridori*), hackneys, geldings, and chargers; and there are eight chaplains, one of whom is almoner; besides other gentlemen.

His Majesty has also in his pay three hundred halberdiers, ten of whom mount guard every night in the hall adjoining the King's chamber.

The particulars of his Majesty's personal expenditure are as follows:—

For the maintenance of his Court - -	Ducats 100,000
For presents - - - -	„ 120,000
For the cavalry - - - -	„ 20,000
For parks and game preserves - -	„ 50,000
For soldiers in the fortresses and at the passes	„ 30,000

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For his Majesty's chamber - - -	Ducats	30,000
For buildings - - - - -	„	10,000
For alms - - - - - -	„	10,000
For ambassadors and couriers - -	„	40,000
For the expenses of the Queen and Princess -	„	30,000*

The utmost military force which his Majesty could bring into the field would be 4,000 light cavalry and 100 spears. He might muster 60,000 infantry, who, although they fight in the old fashion, with bow, sword, buckler, sallet (*celata*), and a two-pronged iron stake to resist a charge from the enemy's horse, yet are they beginning to use harquebuses and artillery, nor do they fear death. When in the field, they endeavour to give the enemy battle instantly, as they cannot hold out (*non si sanno trattenere*), and when hostilities are protracted, they surrender. By so much the less as they fear the French, by so much the more they fear the Scots. They are always bound to serve without pay forty days, and then receive 3½ crowns (*scudi*) on the expiration of each month's service [?] (*a paghe servite*).†

By sea, his Majesty could arm 150 sail. He has six large ships in the island, a galleon, and two galleys, which were built during the war with France.

It merely remains for me to discuss the friendly relations between foreign powers and his Majesty, to state my opinion concerning the probable result of the divorce, and to say a few words about Cardinal Wolsey, with which this my report will conclude.

To commence with the Pope, the King holds his Holiness in small account, because he has not chosen to grant him the divorce; and God grant that the consequence may not prove profitable to the English Crown, and injurious to the Roman Church, from which his Majesty seems evidently bent on detaching himself and annexing the [ecclesiastical?] revenues to the Crown, which would enrich him to the amount of six millions of ducats annually.

The Emperor has cause not only to hate the King of England, but to be his perpetual enemy, on account of the Queen, his aunt.

This same reason has obtained for the King of England the enmity of Ferdinand, and of the King of Portugal; the one the brother, the other the brother-in-law of the Emperor.

Between Poland and England there is no understanding whatever.

With Denmark, although the kingdom belongs to King Christian, the Emperor's brother-in-law, the two countries are nevertheless joined together by neighbourhood and fear, and, in my opinion, they will always remain so by reason of existing circumstances.

With your Serenity the King seems to remain on friendly terms, from which he might easily swerve, because you did not assent to his request about the divorce, as amply stated to the Signory by the English ambassadors.

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* The total of this sum, 440,000 ducats, exceeds by 15,000 ducats the amount of 425,000, mentioned above.

† I believe that in this sense "paghe" signifies the period of service. In the year 1507 the pay of a German foot soldier was four Rhenish guilders per month. (*See* Report of Vincenzo Quirini.) I do not know the value of the "*scudo*," quoted by Falier, but I suppose it may be rated at four shillings. (*See* Ruding, vol. ii. p. 417.)

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With the Dukes of Milan and Ferrara and the Florentine Signory and other Italian Powers there are no relations; nor have they the means of benefiting each other mutually.

With France, King Henry has formed a close friendship; enmity on account of his imprisonment, ancient rivalry, and former injuries, taking much more effect upon King Francis than his recent marriage to the Emperor's sister. The English sovereign is compelled to make this alliance on account of the divorce, which he is determined to effect, wishing beyond measure for a legitimate male heir; and having lost the hope that one should be born to him by Madame Katharine, so the marriage with his favourite, the daughter of the Earl of Wiltshire, will doubtless take place, and speedily.

This event might easily prove a source of trouble to the King, should the Queen's faction rebel; her Majesty being so loved and respected, that the people already commence murmuring; and were the faction to produce a leader, it is certain that the English nation, so naturally prone to innovation and change, would take up arms for the Queen, and by so much the more, were it arranged for the leader to marry the Princess [Mary], although by English law females are excluded from the throne.

The close of this my report will consist of a brief biography of Cardinal Wolsey, who, born in an insignificant place (*in loco basso*) and of mean parentage, applied himself to classical studies, in which being fully instructed he on various occasions took service as pedagogue in the families of great personages,* through whose means he obtained a priest's benefice,† and frequented the Court, where, having renounced schooling, he convinced himself that he should at length succeed, following it actively,‡ and managing so well (*et tanto seppe fare*) that through his ready wit he became chaplain and almoner to Henry VII. of blessed memory, and had such success with Henry VIII. that he was made Bishop and Cardinal, with papal power. Having achieved so high a position, the King and kingdom were in his sole hands, and he disposed of everything in his own fashion as King and Pope. Very great respect was therefore shown him by all the Powers, whose affairs were always negotiated with his right reverend lordship.

His ordinary revenue amounted to 150,000 ducats, besides the many presents received both from the native English and from foreign sovereigns, especially from France, with whom he maintained a very close friendship. His court was far more magnificent than that of the King; he spent his whole income; was supremely proud (*superbissimo*), and chose to be adored as God, not [merely] honoured and revered as a Prince [of the Church].

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* "Si mise alla pedanteria in servizio dei primi Signori in diversi tempi." The literal translation would be "took to pedantry." Cavendish merely mentions his having been tutor to the sons of the Marquis of Dorset; nor until now did I know that Wolsey had been pedagogue in other families, but perhaps the fact was notorious in 1531.

† "Acquistò la pretaria." (*See also* Cavendish, p. 2.)

‡ "Nella quale si persuase al fine di riuscire dove lasciata la pedanteria seguìla gagliardamente."

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At the peace recently made with France, the French ambassadors, by his advice, whispered to the King that by cohabiting with his brother's widow, he was living in mortal sin and contrary to the Christian religion. The King giving ear to this, bethought him of many things, which he communicated to the Cardinal, who, having treated to give him the most Christian King's sister, now married to the King of Navarre, greatly commended his opinions and confirmed him in them, promising to prevail upon the Pope to annul the marriage; and having written to Rome accordingly, his Holiness, by reason of the discord between the Emperor and the Church, sent Cardinal Campeggio to England with full papal authority, so that either conjointly with Cardinal Wolsey, or alone (*et soli*), he might pass sentence definitely.

The Cardinals having given several audiences in public to the advocates of the King and Queen, in the presence of their Majesties, who attended the debate, deferred the sentence so long that peace was made between the Emperor and the Pope; whereupon his Holiness, having cooled, recalled Cardinal Campeggio, and Wolsey perceiving that were judgment given in favour of the King, his Majesty would marry his favourite Madame Anne, niece of the Duke of Norfolk, who together with the Earl, her father, would oust him from the government, he in like manner changed his original purpose, feeding the King with words, until the arrival from Rome of the letters of suspension (*le lettere della suspensione*), so that everything remained incomplete; and his Majesty being thus duped, commenced most wrathfully persecuting Wolsey, whom he deprived of the prime ministry, and confined him to his diocese of York.

The Cardinal having had such a fall, and being brought so low, commenced plotting with the Pope against the Crown, and was therefore condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the Tower. On his way to that place he died in misery, of a broken heart, abandoned by all men.

Nov. 11.
Senato Mar, v. xxii. p. 79.

695. FLANDERS GALLEYS.

Motion made by the Chiefs of the Forty, sages of the Council and of the mainland, and sages for the Orders.

The captain of the Flanders galleys demands prolongation of their stay (*muda*) in England, because the King has forbidden the merchants to purchase wools, and the repair of the galleys will require time. The Signory's ambassador hopes to obtain the wools in time.

Put to the ballot,—That in case the ambassador obtain the export permit for the wools (*la muda delle lane*), the period of departure be prolonged (*sia prolongata la muda a quelle*)* to the end of January next; or should the ambassador not obtain said export permit for the wools (*essa muda di lane*), that the period of departure be prolonged (*sia prolongata la muda*) until the 16th of March next.

* In this document the word "*muda*" has various significations. Ducange and Boerio suppose it to mean *duty*, but in the present instance that word would not be intelligible.

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As by the auction contract it is stipulated that their masters are to receive full freight for all English wools brought to Venice by sea or land, until their return and for one year afterwards,* *minus* the period of the departure from this city of the next galleys † bound on this voyage, the prolongation of the departure of the galleys now in England, whether to the end of January or to the 15th of March, to be included in the account of the year, commencing with their arrival at Venice; with this in addition, that should another fleet of galleys (*un' altra muda di galie*) be put up for the Flanders voyage, the benefit derived from the freights of English wools, brought to Venice by land or sea, be placed to their account, commencing with the day of their departure.

The captain of the Flanders galleys, in case the masters should not have funds to provide for their paying the crews two rates of pay, according to their auction contract, to pledge the galleys as security.

Ayes, 143. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 2.

Letters made out to the captain of the Flanders galleys, 12th November 1531.

The kinsmen of the masters, their securities and partners made to withdraw (*expulsi*).

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 151.

696. ZUAN ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The King has not yet departed to accompany the Queen to Notre Dame de Lyens (*sic*) [de Liége ?] between Picardy and Flanders. Another messenger has come from the Warder of Mus to ask assistance from the King, who will dismiss him as he did the other.

The King of England is urging his Majesty to make war on the Emperor, the Duke of Saxony doing the like; and the King of England promises his most Christian Majesty troops and money, etc.

Compiegne, 14th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th Dec.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 193.

697. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday Dom. Giovanni Lachau (Gioam Lasiao), the Emperor's secretary, arrived here, and remains. The Earl of Angus has also arrived; he has been expelled by his wife the Queen of Scotland, sister of the King of England. The King has received him kindly, has made him presents, and he resides with his Majesty.

London, 16th November 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st Dec.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. pp. 116, 117.

698. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER, LL.D., to the SIGNORY.

News received by the Pope in a letter from Cardinal Campeggio, dated Brussels the 6th instant, that the Duke of Saxony has recanted

* Namely, the Flanders galleys, destined for departure from Venice in the year 1532.

† "Et un' anno da poi, et tanto manco quanto le altre galie di questo viagio si partisseno di questa terra."

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and become a good Christian.* This greatly pleased his Holiness, who remarked that it was a good beginning for the Christian religion, and said, "The Emperor purposes assisting the five Swiss cantons and will give them 10,000 ducats, having written to the kingdom of Naples ordering the sale of estates in order to raise a considerable sum of money, which is to be sent thence to the cantons." The Pope then added, "The Signory is sage, prudent, and religious, and ought not to fail acting in like manner, and might do so secretly in our name; the King of the Romans is very ready to aid them, as I am assured by his ambassador, Dom. Andrea del Borgo."

The King of England has urged the members of the "Rota" not to receive the agent who presented himself as one on behalf of the kingdom (*tamquam unus e regno*), as he is an unqualified (*inhabile*) person, and opposed by the English ambassadors, whereas he hoped to obtain repute.†

Rome, 20th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd November.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 12.

699. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Ambassador in England.

There is an ambassador at Constantinople from King John,‡ who has come to let Sultan Solyman know that the Lutheran Princes of Germany, at the Diet of Spires, wish King John to attend it, and he requests permission to send his ambassadors thither.

By enclosed copy of letter from the Venetian consul at Alexandria Capello will learn particulars about the Indian fleet, and how intent the Bashaw of Cairo is on fitting it out. To communicate these advices to the King.

Concerning the armies of the Switzers, since the first battle, in which the Catholics were victorious—the two camps remaining near each other—the Catholics on the 23rd ultimo made a second attack, suddenly and by night; and the Lutherans were so terrified that they were routed without much difficulty, losing many more men than on the former occasion; and the Catholics captured eleven pieces of artillery, and twenty-four flags of the chief leaders, so that the negotiation for an adjustment, which had been commenced, will apparently not proceed further.

The King of the Romans is holding a Diet of his own subjects at Inspruck.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 170.

700. ZUAN ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The King is to depart tomorrow, leaving the Court here, whilst he goes to Notre Dame de Liege, and thereabouts, for his diversions;

* "Il Duca di Saxonia esser tornato bon Christian." John the Constant, who presented the evangelical confession to Charles V., at Augsburg in 1530, died 16 August 1532.

† As seen by a paragraph in "State Papers," vol. vii. pp. 281, 283, it was arranged by Benet, the Bishop of Worcester, Sir Gregory Casal, and Dr. Carne, that this last was to pretend to act solely on his own account, his colleagues ignoring him, a feint which the Venetian ambassador did not comprehend. The words in the original are, "*Che quel commesso venuto tanquam unus e regno.*"

‡ Zapolski, Vaivod of Transylvania and titular King of Hungary.

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he will return hither in a few days. Nothing is said about the interview, of which the English ambassadors here evince fear.

La Fère, 22nd November 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th Dec.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 168.

701. ADVICES from FRANCE, received by the FRENCH AMBASSADOR in VENICE.

On the day of All Saints the King gave most gracious greeting at Compiegne to the Vice-Chancellor (*Vice gran Canzelier*) of England, who was accompanied by Sir Francis Bryan. On the morrow of All Souls the King went out of mourning for his mother, as did the princes, lords, and gentlemen. The Queen and the King's children did not put themselves into mourning. The Queen of Navarre and the children of the King [of Navarre] wore it from beginning to end, spontaneously. The King chose to have an exact list of all the lords, gentlemen, officials, and servants of his mother, and has provided for all of them, from the highest to the lowest, giving them the same amount of salary as they received from the deceased; placing some in his own household, others with the Dauphin and his brothers, the rest in the household of the Princesses, his daughters. The ladies of his mother's household are placed in that of the Queen, and the maids of honour with his daughters. The act was that of a magnanimous prince, such as he is.

On the 5th instant the Bishop of Bayonne returned to the Court from England, and says that the King, on hearing of the death of the late most illustrious "Madame," made all the English princes and great lords go into mourning; and when the Bishop told this to the Legate, there was present the Emperor's ambassador, who declared that his master had done the like, which is a demonstration of great friendship.

It is said that more than seven weeks ago a mob of from seven to eight thousand women of London went out of the town to seize Boleyn's daughter, the sweetheart of the King of England, who was supping at a villa (*in una casa di piacere*) on a river, the King not being with her; and having received notice of this, she escaped by crossing the river in a boat. The women had intended to kill her; and amongst the mob were many men, disguised as women; nor has any great demonstration been made about this, because it was a thing done by women.

To prevent the exportation of grain from France a proclamation has been issued forbidding all millers, bakers, and usurious wheat merchants, any longer to raise the price of corn. No corn may be sold save at market, and no baker, miller, or corn merchant can purchase it two hours after the close of the market, so that the people may be enabled to buy their supply; and the granaries of Paris are to be inspected by competent and worthy men, who are to acquaint themselves with the number of persons forming the household of each proprietor, whether noblemen, councillors, citizens, or merchants, and the annual amount of grain required for their consumption; which being set apart, they will be bound to take all the

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rest to market and sell it to the people, by reason of the King's just fear lest the people of Paris lack the means of subsistence.

La Fère, 24th November 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th Dec.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 193.

702. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

The [Imperial] Secretary came to arrange the entire dispute about immunities, which the King of England endeavoured to amplify, in Flanders; and on hearing his reasons, his Majesty was pacified.*

The King, having remained a fortnight at Greenwich, went yesterday to Hampton Court an account of the plague, which has now abated; but some days ago the deaths in London averaged weekly from 300 to 400.

Tomorrow here in London an English Benedictine friar is to be burnt alive as a heretic, because, after having been several times admonished according to the orders, he lately took a wife, and committed many other improprieties (*inconvenienti*).

London, 24th November, 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st Dec.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 121.

703. FLANDERS GALLEYS.

Motion made in the Senate, for a letter to Carlo Capello, ambassador in England, in reply to his of 20th October, concerning the complaint made to him by the King's councillors, that the galleys no longer bring spices, but glass and other things of no value (*veri et altri imbrati*); wherefore the Signory was not to send any more galleys to that island.

To be answered, that this is not the fault of the Signory, but of the change in the times; that the spices which used to come to Venice now go to Portugal; and that the galleys export wines, and load in return wools, tin, and cloths, to the profit of his Majesty; that the galleys incur great risk.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. liv. p. 96.

704. The DOGE and SIGNORY to CARLO CAPELLO, Ambassador in England.

Have heard by his letters of the 17th and 24th ult. of his exertions to obtain—as he has obtained, to his praise—permission from the King to purchase wools for the galleys as usual. To return thanks for this fresh and recent proof of his Majesty's goodwill. As the Duke of Norfolk has stated in the King's name that he no longer chooses them to send galleys unless a previous convention be made concerning their cargo, and the quality of the goods, and the amount of ready money to be brought—complaining that the present galleys have brought nothing but merchandise of small value to England,

* Concerning a toll demanded at this period in Flanders. (*See* Hall.)

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whereas heretofore they brought both silks and spices, camlets,* and much ready money—to tell the King, cautiously, that they could not know beforehand who would charter the galleys; and, indeed, to enable their noblemen to assume this charge they give considerable subsidies for each galley, nor can these masters know either the quality or quantity of the goods they may have to take, as the merchants, being guided by various motives, do not choose their affairs and business to be known, or make their investments until acquainted with the period of the galleys' departure from Venice. Many merchants, moreover, send cash to Sicily and other places where the galleys touch, for the purchase of divers wares at their option. To tell the King that should he persist in this order, it will prohibit the Signory's galleys from making this voyage, which they can scarcely believe to be the will of his Majesty, as the trade is mutually beneficial to the two countries. With regard to the galleys being now less richly laden than heretofore, to assure his Majesty, that including what is brought by the galleys, and sent in bales through Flanders and by couriers, and remitted by bills of exchange, the ready money amounts to a very considerable sum; which the King will the more readily believe when he hears that the wools, tin, and cloths can only be obtained from England for cash, of the amount of which the King cannot now have such precise account as heretofore, because the Venetian merchants no longer send to England gold florins, which were exchanged at his mint for nobles,† but crowns, which are current in the island, as his Majesty knows; and, therefore, the vast sum of gold which is in reality sent does not become manifest.

If the galleys do not bring spices to England, it is because the great plenty received there from Portugal keeps them at a lower price than that which they cost at Venice, from whence their importation into England could but cause loss. It cannot be denied that the galleys bring to England a great number of pieces of camlets (*zambelotti*), the greater part being sent by Flemish and English merchants who trade in Venice; and as they pay a much lower import duty than the Republic's merchants, they take well nigh all the camlets, and are content with gaining the amount of extra duty to which the camlets are liable when imported by Venetian subjects. The King must also be aware of the great quantity of wines exported to England from the Republic's territories, to his Majesty's benefit and to the convenience of the whole island. He ought not to wonder at the small quantity of silk brought by the

* "*Zambelloti*," which I translate by camlets; camlet being described by Johnson thus:—"A kind of stuff originally made by a mixture of silk and camel's hair; it is now made with wool and silk." In the years 1289 and 1290 the material was called "Cendallum, sandali, a fine silk stuff." (See a roll of the household expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, during part of the years 1289 and 1290. Printed for the Camden Society, 1854.)

In Venice these silks were used for wimples, which bore the name of "*Zendali*."

† The Senate infers that when the florins were exchanged, the mint master's registers showed from whom they were received, and the King thus learned the amount of gold florins brought to England by the merchants of Venice.

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galleys, because as the nature of the times caused the Flanders voyage to be suspended for several years, the silks brought by the galleys from Sicily found other markets, but they will now resume their former course when the navigation is confirmed and established, as they trust will be the case. If the Venetian merchants be favoured and welcomed by his Majesty, the voyage will again be taken, and bring as much costly merchandise as heretofore, to the mutual profit of England and Venice.

To request the King's permission for the Signory freely to send their galleys; and that he will not withdraw his protection from the Venetian merchants.

To do his utmost to obtain from the King a patent, authorizing Venetian subjects to purchase wools as usual during the coming year.

Ayes, 164. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 139.

705. LETTER addressed to the DUKE OF MANTUA.

Today in Consistory there was much debate about the divorce case of the King of England, who together with the most Christian King complain, lament, and protest, vapouring and threatening, saying that the Pope, at the request of the Imperialists, denies justice; instead of being listened to, they are maltreated, contrary to all right, a thing which ought not to be done; and on no account will the complainants allow one single "Auditor de Rota," namely Messer Paulo Capisucchi, to hear the case, but insist that the ancient and usual forms be maintained as customary in great and important suits, such as this one; and that each of the parties, at one and the same time, be represented in the "Rota" by their advocates (*advocati*) and attorneys (*procuratori*); the case being debated in detail and point by point, as becoming the nature and quality of those sent; whereupon the auditors being well acquainted with it, to refer the matter to the Consistory, stating to that entire body what they consider is required by justice, without regard for anything else; and then the Pope and the Cardinals to pass sentence in favour of the party whose cause is just. The Imperalists wish judgment to be given abroad (*che fora si sententiasse*): the English wish it to be delayed, and insist on the forms above mentioned, as otherwise their King will clamour to the skies (*cridarà al cielo*), and will renounce obedience to the Church. They also protest that justice has been denied him, and appeal to the next Council; nor may the Apostolic See expect ever again to have England subject to her, nor friendly or obedient; and, indeed, they hint at becoming Lutherans, and worse than heretics. After much alteration and debate the affair remained suspended: it is as intricate a matter as possible (*ragnosa al possibile*), and food of very difficult digestion.

Rome, 29th November 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th Dec.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 151.

706. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER, LL.D., to the SIGNORY.

The five Catholic cantons of Switzerland have informed the Pope that they are quite disposed to persist, by fair or foul means, in

1531. reducing the eight other Lutheran cantons to the Christian faith; and although in their agreement with Zurich some clauses were admitted unbecoming the faith, this was done to gain the canton of Zurich, which is greater and more powerful than all the others; but for the rest, the five cantons will in no respect consent to anything contrary to the faith, and are perfectly ready, as they have done hitherto, to defend it at the peril of their lives and property, but would fain be succoured and assisted by the Christian Powers, praying the Pope to give them aid.

The letters were read in Consistory, and the Pope said he would do his utmost for the Catholic cantons, but could only devise means by the imposition of some tax, and proposed exacting two-tenths from the clergy throughout Italy, saying that during the last three years they had paid no tenths. As mention was made of the Signory, went to the Pope and said that if it was intended to tax the Venetian clergy, it should be done with the knowledge and consent of the State. His Holiness said he (Venier) did well to come to him, and that he had intended desiring him to write to the Signory to consent, saying that the Emperor and the King of France have not failed to contribute, his most Christian Majesty having sent the Bishop of Avranches to the [Catholic] cantons with money, and that the Signory, like the others, ought to do the same for the faith. He said the clergy had not suffered; and, on the contrary, owing to the high price of food, they sold their produce well. Asked the Pope why he had sent the Abate Negro to France. His Holiness replied that it was to demonstrate the goodwill between him and the King, from whom he had received a long letter, dated the 16th November, in favour of the divorce case of the King of England, which he has much at heart. So the Abate will justify the Pope's proceedings, and show that the case must be treated so as to benefit the Christian religion.

The Imperialists have received letters of the 14th [November] from Flanders, and they confirmed what had been told him (Venier) by the Pope about the mission to France of the Abate Negro.

Concerning the divorce case of England, yesterday in Consistory the Imperial and English advocates debated the point whether this *excusator* who came hither many months ago* as one on behalf of the Kingdom (*tamquam unus e regno*), without a mandate, should be heard; and as the matter is one of great importance, the Pope and Cardinals came to no determination whatever, deferring their judgment until another Consistory.

Rome, 5th December. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 8. **707.** ——— to the DUKE of MANTUA.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 169.

It has not been decided in Consistory to whom they are to intrust the English divorce case, which both parties are pressing incessantly, not without great uproar and many complaints, protests, and threats, most especially on the part of England. One side seeks

* See before, date 11 February 1531.

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delay, for the reason already written, the other requires sentence to be passed, and procrastination is in fact more for our advantage, the case being of great importance, and very hard to digest. Three consistories have already been held for its discussion, and the ambassadors continue giving the Cardinals information on the subject.

Four days ago, the Abate Negro departed, riding post to France, sent by the Pope with briefs to the most Christian King and Queen. Does not know the cause of this mission.

The presents sent by the Bishop of Cordova to the Pope have arrived. His Holiness received four very beautiful jennets, four she-mules, four very costly beds with their furniture, gilt leather painted, in sufficient quantity to furnish nine or ten chambers, other sumach and morocco leather wrought in great quantity, cloths of gold, muslin, and of silk, and pearls and jewels as beautiful as possible. The Pope has accepted the four horses, but not the she-mules, which are very handsome, though he will perhaps determine to take the white she-mule. These things are estimated at from 15 to 16 thousand ducats, although at first they were valued at 30,000. The cause of the present is that the Bishop being very rich, old, and of great lineage, that is to say, brother of the Duke of Alva, would fain find favour with the Pope, and obtain permission from him to bequeath a large portion of his property, which grant he will obtain.

Some persons are of opinion that the interview between the Emperor and the most Christian King will take place, and most especially as they are within 50 leagues of each other; though some maintain that as the King of France declares himself so openly in favour of England in the divorce case, espousing it with much greater warmth perhaps than he ought, and as England acts solely on this account, the ill-will between the two Crowns must continue.

The son of the Count di Luna, son-in-law of Jacomo Salviati, who, as written to me, was lately captured by the Moors on his voyage from Piombino to Sicily, has been ransomed (he and his two servants) by the Lord of Piombino for 1,500 ducats, who thus made a very good bargain, as the Moors knew who their prisoner was. Today he told me the reason, which was this, that had they taken him to Tunis, the King there would have chosen to purchase him for a certain price, at which the corsairs are bound to sell, and above all when their prisoners are of importance and worth high ransom, and the King would have required 10,000 crowns.

Rome, 8th December 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 9. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 12.

708. The Doge and College to Carlo Capello, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Send him a summary of letters received from their vice-bailiff at Constantinople, dated 31st October. Is to show it in secret to the King, requesting him not to mention the Signory as his authority, as his Majesty of his wisdom is well aware how much caution is needed by them in this matter; nor on any account is Capello to give copy of these summaries should they be demanded of him.

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 11. **709.** CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 192.

Has received the Signory's letters, and on the 20th November announced the permit obtained by him for the purchase of wools.

Yesterday his Majesty received advices from Germany and France, purporting that the Duke of Saxony has made an agreement with the Emperor and returned to the Catholic faith,* and that the most Christian King has united together (*accordati insieme*) all the Swiss cantons, binding himself to pay them annually 150,000 crowns, besides the 50,000 crowns spent by him on this agreement.

London, 11th December 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st Dec.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 12. **710.** MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.
Sanuto Diaries, v. li. p. 167.

The divorce case of the English King has been treated in Consistory. The Cardinal Montibus replied . . . . .

Rome, 12th December. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. **711.** ZUAN ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 223.

His most Christian Majesty is sending Mons. de Pomeraye as ambassador to England, recalling Dom. Giovanni Gioachino. It is said that this determination was formed after the return of the Bishop of Bayonne from the King of England.

His Majesty will move tomorrow from Amiens towards Abbeville, there to pass the Christmas holidays.

Amiens, 14th December 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th January* 1532.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 22. **712.** CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 286.

Encloses letters from the captain of the Flanders galleys.

The day before yesterday here in London they burnt a man alive, a mercer, for being a Lutheran,† and in two days it is said they will burn two others, husband and wife.

It is publicly reported here, though the fact has not been communicated to me by any person of authority, that the King of Scotland is preparing for war against England, and has sent engineers and experienced persons into Guales (*sic*) [Galloway?] on the Scottish borders to fortify those places.

Last evening a courier arrived here in haste from Rome about the divorce case.

London, 22nd December 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th February* 1532.

[*Italian.*]

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* "Come il Duca di Saxonia era accordato con Cesare et ritornato alla fede Cattolica."

† *Query*, John Tewksbury. (*See* Burnet.)

1531. Dec. 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 231.

713. ZUAN ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The Abate Negro arrived at the French Court from Rome on the 20th, and departed on his way back yesterday. It is said that he came about a *placet* for benefices in France, yielding an annual rental of 10,000 ducats, for Cardinal Medici; also to pacify the King about certain clauses inserted in the concession, authorising him to confer benefices here in France, and to adjust matters with the King of England and restrain him, as it seems that at Rome he is pressing for the divorce. His most Christian Majesty suspects that sentence will be given against him.

At Paris, in the Castle of the Louvre, the King has ordered the construction of a most secure chamber, in which to keep all the money required by him from time to time, under three keys consigned to three separate deputies, with two comptrollers, who will register the payments in conformity; this being done in order to have the money ready, and that it may be levied and deposited there, as he chooses all creditors to be paid. This he did to remedy infinite abuses (*treze*) practised by the treasurers-general and receivers, and to avoid the risks attendant on treasurers who do not pay the creditors, but rob them; and then on receiving their mandates, they fail, as did the treasurer Chiapin, who absconded with some 150,000 francs; but it is said his Majesty will have the means of paying himself, as Chiapin had both property and debtors.

Bevila (*sic*) [Abbeville?], 28th December 1531. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th January* 1532.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1532.

1532. Jan. 2. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 281.

714. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Received the Signory's letters, about sending fresh galleys on the Flanders voyage, on the 24th December. On St. Stephen's Day, 26th December, spoke to the King on the subject, and was referred to the Privy Council. Was promised an answer in two days, when a Latin translation of the letter was demanded. The only persons at the Court were the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, and the Treasurer, who told his secretary that they would send for him on Saturday or Sunday next, and give an answer.

The King has been very much occupied about the affair of the divorce with the French ambassadors, who, until three days ago, were constantly at the Court. Then, on the 23rd. [December], Sir Francis Bryan and Dr. Fox, the two English ambassadors in France, returned, and on the same day Dr. Benet arrived in haste from Rome.

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Rec. Dataria
v. lv. p. 231.

713. ZDAN AZZOLINO VENTRA to the SIGNORY.

The Abate Segni arrived at the French Court from Rome on the 20th, and departed on his way back yesterday. It is said that he came about a place for Ianelles in France, yielding an annual rental of 10,000 ducats, for Cardinal Medici; also to pacify the King about certain clauses inserted in the concordat, authorising him to confer benefices here in France, and to adjust matters with the King of England and restrain him, as it seems that at Rome he is pressing for the divorce. The most Christian Majesty requests that sentence will be given against him.

At Paris, in the Castle of the Louvre, the King has ordered the construction of a most secure chamber, in which to keep all the money required by him from time to time, under three keys consigned to three separate deputies, with two comptrollers, who will register the payments in continuity; this being done in order to have the money ready, and that it may be levied and deposited there, as he chooses all creditors to be paid. This he did to remedy infinite abuses (true) practised by the treasurer-general and receivers, and to avoid the risks attendant on engaging those who do not pay the creditors, but rob them; and then on receiving their mandates, they fail, as did the treasurer Chiapin, who absconded with some 150,000 francs; but it is said his Majesty will have the means of paying himself, as Chiapin had both property and debtors.

Bevila (sic) [Abbeville], 28th December 1631. Registered by Saranto, 19th January 1632.

[Italian.]

A.D. 1632.

1632.
Jan. 2.
Rec. Dataria
v. lv. p. 231.

714. CARLO CARAFFA to the SIGNORY.

Received the Signory's letters, about sending back galleys on the Flanders voyage, on the 24th December. On the subject, said was referred to the Privy Council. Was promised an answer in two days, when a Latin translation of the letter was demanded. The only persons at the Court were the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, and the Treasurer, who told his secretary that they would send for him on Saturday or Sunday next, and give an answer.

The King has been very much occupied about the affair of the divorce with the French ambassadors, who, until three days ago, were constantly at the Court. Then, on the 22nd [December], Sir Francis Bryan and Dr. Fox, the two English ambassadors in France, returned, and on the same day Dr. Benet arrived in haste from Rome.

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The ambassadors who have been in France bring back the Pope's resolve, that he cannot allow the trial of the marriage (*il juditio dil matrimonio*) to take place in England without diminishing the apostolic authority. The French ambassadors state that the University of Paris has never opposed the authority of the Church of Rome.

After long consultations, his Majesty, on the 29th December, sent Dr. Stephen [Gardiner], Bishop of Winchester, to France, having well nigh determined to settle this matter in the Parliament here, which is summoned for the 16th of this month of January.

London, 2nd January 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 230.

715. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Went to the Court four days ago, with the masters of the galleys. Hironimo da Molin had presented him with a writing, addressed to the Signory in the name of the Duke of Norfolk, by commission from the King, requesting him to recommend to the Signory the affair of the carpets taken in Candia, and disposed of as contraband, which belong to Dom. Richard Leter (*sic*), a privy councillor.

On the 29th December received letters, dated Hampton, from the captain of the Flanders galleys, that the Empress has renewed reprisals against Venetian subjects, concerning which he has written to the ambassador Tiepolo [at Brussels].

The heretic friar was burnt alive; and, three days ago, they sentenced to death Master Ris (*sic*), who had been put in the Tower, as mentioned in his letter of the 3rd October; and this morning, on Tower Hill, he was beheaded in public, and one of his servants was hanged and quartered.

Dom. Marco Raphael, who is in favour with his Majesty here, wishes to be recommended to the Signory, as he has always used his good offices for their affairs.

London, 4th January 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th Jan.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 401.

716. POPE CLEMENT VII. to KING HENRY VIII.

Marco Grimani, patriarch of Aquileia, having returned lately from Jerusalem, has informed us and the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, that when passing through Constantinople he conferred with the son of the Doge of Venice, Luigi Gritti, who assured him that the Turk is preparing a very numerous fleet, and two very large armies, and that next spring he will make an expedition against Christendom.

Sultan Solyman in person is to lead the army, and Ibrahim Pasha the fleet, both destined for the invasion of Italy. Solyman is so linked by a new friendship with the Sophy, King of the Persians, that whilst waging this war he will have nothing to fear.

Some days later, this announcement was followed by several letters from Constantinople to the like effect. These things compel us to fear that one time or another the catastrophe will take place, as to such and so many very powerful threats and

1532. preparations on the part of the enemy we are all callous (*omnes torpemus*), and oppose them solely by slowness and procrastination.

We, therefore, immediately convoked before us and our brothers aforesaid, your ambassadors, and those of the other princes, and exhorted one and all to write to their respective Sovereigns, requesting them to assume some defence for the common safety. We have already wasted two years representing and admonishing in vain. The enemies of Christ are agreed to combat the Faith, and our people cannot agree to defend it; so let us place the neck under the yoke, and accept Mahomet instead of Christ.

We have offered all our treasure, forces, and authority, and will contribute them all for the preservation of the Christian people, nor will we even spare our life, provided something be effected for the Christian commonwealth. In like manner as we have done by the other princes, so do we exhort and beseech you to assume, with all your force, the general defence, and give assistance as speedily as possible. The enemy has expended two whole years in preparing himself; and we, who have been so often roused by him —at Rhodes, at Belgrade, in Hungary, and under Vienna—are still slumbering.

Remember how much your ancestors have done for the Faith of Christ, and that you have not merely succeeded to their glory and piety, but have even surpassed them, as on one occasion, sword in hand (*armis*), you defended the Roman Church against the schismatics, and subsequently the Catholic faith, by writings against the heretics, thus deserving the title—of all human titles the most illustrious—the Defender of the Faith.

The enemy aspires to the dominion of Europe, having united to his empire the Arabs, the Syrians, and the Egyptians. On effecting the occupation of Italy he will, like a great fire, after seizing all those provinces which are nearest, extend his grasp to the territories beyond. His first attack, wherever made, must therefore be opposed.

Though your kingdom is perfectly safe by reason of the large cities it contains, and of the sea which completely surrounds it, you will not refuse assistance to others.

We have spoken much more diffusely with your ambassadors, from whose letters and messages you will more fully understand our opinion.

Rome, 4th January 1532, ninth year of our Pontificate. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th March.*

[*Latin.*] *

Jan. 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 230.

717. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Encloses letters from the captain of the Flanders galleys, who doubts receiving the permit for the wools, and requests permission to delay the departure of the galleys until the end of January or the middle of March (*per tutto zener o per mezo marzo*). Has

* The original is very long-winded and diffuse, and is more than double the length of the above abstract.

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preparations on the part of the enemy we are all calling [illegible] for peace], and oppose them solely by slowness and procrastination.

We, therefore, immediately convoked before us and our brothers aforesaid, your ambassadors, and those of the other princes, and exhorted one and all to write to their respective Governments, requesting them to assume some defence for the common safety. We have already waited two years negociating and admonishing in vain. The enemies of Christ are agreed to combat the Faith, and our people cannot agree to defend it; so let us plan the most easy the yoke, and accept Mahomet instead of Christ.

We have offered all our treasure, force, and authority, and will contribute them all for the preservation of the Christian people, nor will we even spare our life, provided something be effected for the Christian commonwealth. In like manner as we have done by the other princes, so do we exhort and beseech you to assume with all your force the general defence, and give assistance as speedily as possible. The enemy has equipped two whole years in preparing himself; and we, who have been so often cowed by him —at Rhodes, at Belgrade, in Hungary, and under Vienna—are still slumbering.

Remember how much your ancestors have done for the Faith of Christ, and that you have not merely succeeded to their glory and piety, but have even surpassed them, as on one occasion, sword in hand (erwin), you defended the Roman Church against the schismatics, and subsequently the Catholic Faith, by writings against the heretics, thus deserving the title—of all human titles the most illustrious—the Defender of the Faith.

The enemy aspires to the dominion of Europe, having united to his empire the Arabs, the Syrians, and the Egyptians. On effecting the occupation of Italy he will, like a great fire, after seizing all those provinces which are nearest, extend his grasp to the territories beyond. His first attack, wherever made, [illegible] fore be opposed.

Though your kingdom is perfectly safe by reason of the large cities it contains, and of the sea which, completely encircling it, you will not [illegible] resistance to others.

We have spoken much more diffusely with your ambassadors from whose letters and messages you will more fully understand our opinion.

Rome, 4th January 1522, ninth year of our Pontificate. Registered by Sanuto, 19th March.

[Leslie.]*

Jan. 8. 717. Card. Cajetan to the Signory.

Sanuto Diarii, v. ix. p. 230. Enclosing letters from the regents of the Flandres calling upon them to assist the Emperor against the French. Has no doubt receiving the permit for the wools, and requests permission to delay the departure of the galleys until the end of January or the middle of March. (Per fratello zenaro e per mezo mercoy). Has

* The original is very long-winded and diffuse, and is more than double the length of the above abstract.

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answered him that the King has promised positively, and that the departure will take place in the course of January. Since the 17th October, down to the present time, the merchants of Venice have purchased and contracted for wools, and continue doing so from day to day.

London, 8th January 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th Jan.* [*Italian.*]

Jan. 8.* Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 318.

718. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Went to the Court on the 5th, and the Royal Council had been sitting the whole morning, and in the afternoon of the preceding day. The Duke of Norfolk being absent on account of indisposition, the Lord Chancellor said that as the next Flanders galleys will export wool, cloths, and tin, it would be requisite to know what sort of merchandise they will import, and its amount, as also with what money the purchases are to be made; and that the Signory's merchants must export a certain amount of coloured cloths, and of fine and coarse linen.† Replied that the Signory would not believe this, nor detract from the privilege granted them by his Majesty for five years, telling him [Sir Thomas More] that were the galleys not to come, the King's import and export duties would diminish; as by taking the wool from the staplers [at Calais] much less duty would be paid, and the money remain there, no sales being made in London; so that if the galleys do not perform this voyage as usual, the King and the whole island will suffer great loss, as when the galleys come, the value of all merchandise in London augments from 15 to 20 per cent.

The Venetians themselves are those who, together with the staplers, endeavour to have the wools and certain other merchandise purchased at Calais; so he told the Chancellor that these persons must not be credited. The Chancellor replied, that the King chose the wools to be purchased of the staplers, when the supply is such as at present. Having said this, the Chancellor and the Earl of Wiltshire went to the King's apartment, and after remaining some while came forth, saying they had not found him, but would acquaint his Majesty with the whole.

On receiving the Signory's letters of the 19th December, went to the King and communicated the advices from Constantinople, which pleased his Majesty greatly; and he returned thanks, and requested the Signory to continue sending them. When he commenced speaking about the galleys, his Majesty said that on the preceding day he had sat in Council and must do so again, and that on Saturday or Sunday he (Capello) was to go to Westminster, where his Majesty would be (he being then at Greenwich), and would give him an answer.

* In the original diaries, Sanuto has written "*February*," but the contents of Capello's next letter show that it is a mistake for *January*.

† *Di panni coloradi e telarie sottil et grosse.* The Venetians bought white cloths in England and dyed them in Venice. It is said that linen was first manufactured in England by Flemish weavers in 1253. In Paxi's list of merchandise exported by the Venetians from England, there is no mention of linen, and therefore I omitted it in the preface to the first volume of the Venetian Calendar, but "TELARIE" can only be translated by "LINEN."

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On the 3rd, letters arrived in haste from Rome. It seems that the Pope is content that all persons may state their opinion about the divorce, provided they do not bestir themselves for reward. It is supposed that the affair will be settled in the session of Parliament which is to commence in a few days.* The Bishop of Winchester will use his endeavours with the most Christian King, for him to have the like done in Paris, and then they hope to obtain the Pope's approval.

Advice has been received here from Flanders that half the fleet of King Christian of Denmark has been wrecked, he himself having got to a place where nothing but ill can befall him, as the city of Lubeck, together with the reigning King of Denmark [Frederick I.], and other potentates (*signori*), were fitting out a powerful fleet against him.

Sends letters from the captain of the Flanders galleys.

London, 8th January 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th Feb.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 9.
Senato Terra, v. xxvi. p. 232.

719. POWER drawn up at Southampton by ZUAN BATTISTA GRIMANI, Master of one of the Flanders galleys.

Authorises Zuan Morelli, his agent at Venice, to sell his stock in the "8 per Cent. Reduced" Government securities, and to remit the proceeds to him to England.

Document attested by Lodovico Michiel and Allesandro Contarini, because the captain of the Flanders galleys, being Grimani's enemy, would not allow his chaplain [which office on board the galleys combined that of notary public] to legalise it; nor could Grimani employ the Venetian consul at Southampton—a Genonese, by name Nicolin da Conta—as he was absent; whilst he, Grimani, being at Southampton, could not apply to Hironimo Molin, the Venetian consul in London.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 12.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 206.

720. PROTHONOTARY CASAL.

The English ambassador came into the College, requesting the Signory to allow a doctor, now lecturing *in jure* at the University of Padua, to go to Rome, at the cost of his King, about the divorce case, as doctors will also be taken from other universities. He was answered that the Signory must consult and answer him with the Senate.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 15.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 242.

721. LETTER from ROME, addressed to the DUKE of MANTUA.

Last Friday Consistory was held for the divorce case of England, which however (*per altro*) is expected to create some great turmoil, as the English, perceiving that the sentence is going against them, will not await its publication, but protest and withdraw their obedience to the Church—their wish to do so having been long manifest. A personage, called by them the "Excusator," has come here, and they

* Parliament assembled on the 15th January 1532. (*See* Hume, vol. iii. p. 171.)

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say he is sent by the people to excuse the King, should he not appear in person as he had offered to do, because they are the cause, not choosing the King to quit the realm for such purpose; and they would wish to have the case removed to England. Today, likewise, Consistory assembled for this same purpose, and there was much debate. The English say they have licence from the College of Cardinals and the Pope to seek advocates to their satisfaction throughout Italy. The Cardinals deny having given this licence, and have conceded them a prorogation during the whole of the present month, wherein to prove what they wish and can; and including the holidays of the law courts and the festivals, some twenty days will elapse, during which interval the ambassador [Dr. Benet?], who went to England some months ago, may possibly return, and will perhaps announce the King's will, which might be of such a sort as to make matters take a better turn than is believed.

Rome, 15th January 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th Jan.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 319.

722. ZUAM ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The Bishop of Winchester has arrived here from England in the name of the King, about the divorce.

Dieppe, 17th January 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th Feb.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 242.

723. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

The Pope told him, concerning the marriage of the "Duchesina" [Catherine de' Medici] to the Duke of Orleans, that the King would fain have it solemnized, but his Holiness chooses to wait until it can be consummated, as the Duke might subsequently say no; and that the Emperor approves the marriage. The Pope said he had received letters from his most Christian Majesty about the English divorce case in favour of the King, which disturbed his Holiness; who announced in consistory that the English ambassadors wish to delay the term, that there may be time for the arrival at Rome of that Dr. Benet, who was there heretofore. The Pope's secretary, Sanga, says negotiations are on foot for marrying the "Duchesina" [Catherine de' Medici] to the Duke of Milan, or to the son of the Duke of Urbino, for which purpose the ambassador from Urbino is gone to Pesaro to speak about the business. Secretary Sanga has sent him a memorandum, which he encloses, to the effect that as the English wish for a doctor of the University of Padua to come to Rome about the divorce case, the Pope is content that one should be sent.

Rome, 22nd January 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th Jan.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 246.

724. REPORTED MARRIAGE of HENRY VIII. and ANNE BOLEYN.

This morning it was said there were letters from London, dated January, stating that the King had taken to wife (*havea sposà*

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per mojer) his favourite, Madame Anne (*la Signora Ana*), although at Rome the divorce case was not despatched; and that he had caused one of the chief personages in England, by name———, to be beheaded in his palace for having uttered certain words in favour of the Queen. This report was subsequently known to be false.

Registered by Sanuto, 27th January.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 400.

725. FILIPPO BASADONA, Captain of the Flanders Galleys, to CARLO CAPELLO.

The galley oarsmen refused to receive the two rates of pay, according to custom, and as ordered by the Signory's letters. When it was determined to load the galleys, the crews refused to go on board; so the masters complained. Having given the men their bread down to the 27th January, at the request of the masters, I issued a proclamation, desiring them within two days to receive their two rates of pay, with their colours flying as customary, because they were no longer to have bread. Went on that morning to St. Mary's *in Tegusso* (*sic*)* in Our Lady's church; the galley-crews attacked me in great number, under three or four ringleaders, and with great threats accompanied me even to the door of my house, which they would not have allowed me to enter, had not my admiral, sailing-master (*comito*), and their comrades made opposition. The mutineers even took up stones, and with difficulty I saved myself.

My defenders then made a proclamation, desiring the mutineers to depart from the neighbourhood of my dwelling. I know not to whom to have recourse, unless it be the King, that he may order these four or five, whom I will mention, to be put to death, for the honour of the Signory. Understood that they intended to sack the houses of the masters, and threatened the nobility. The mutineers are encouraged by the inhabitants of Hampton, who are their creditors.

Hampton, 29th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 331.

726. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Returned to the Royal Council for reply about the confirmation of the privilege, so that the galleys may come. The Duke of Norfolk read an order, signed by the King, that for the present year, no other galleys are to be sent, as there is no wool; and said the writing would be forwarded for presentation to the Signory by the English ambassador.

On the 26th he went to the King, who said, "It is well to take the wools from the Staplers."

Has heard on good authority that the reason why the galleys are not to be sent is, that by letters from Rome, dated the 5th January, the Pope informed the King that the Signory forbad any doctor to come from the University of Padua to state the King's rights in the divorce case. Details conversations held with the Duke of Norfolk,

* *Query*, North Stoneham Church. (*See* preface to vol. i. Venetian Calendar, p. lxiv.)

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who said the Signory was most ungrateful, and does not know her friends, but may perhaps soon repent; with other words *hinc inde dictis*, as in the letter. Apologized for the Signory, but the King complains greatly of this.

Parliament met on the 16th, and sat again on the 19th, but the King is going to Greenwich, where jousts are being prepared. Nothing further is to be done about the marriage [query, divorce].

The Bishop of Winchester has not yet returned from France. The proposed marriage of the Duke of Orleans, the most Christian King's second son, to the Princess of England, is in negotiation; but King Francis wishes the divorce case to be settled first, lest the world should declare his son had married a bastard.

The Parliament has assembled about a request made by the King for two millions of ducats. Dom. Gioan Gioachino, the French ambassador, has departed for France. Monsieur de Pomeraye will remain as the representative of his most Christian Majesty. A league is negotiating between King John [Zapolski] of Hungary, the King of Poland, the King of Russia, the Grand Master of Prussia, the Duke of Saxony, the Duke of Bavaria, and other Princes of Germany, together with the most Christian King and the King of England, all against the Emperor. They are to give 500,000 ducats to King John not to make terms with the King of the Romans, as they do not choose him to be King of the Romans; and it is certain that the King of France sent 30,000 ducats to King John, who has also received 17,000 from the King of England; and his Majesty is sending Dr. Clement (*sic*) to the Emperor to protest, and they say that he will likewise send an ambassador to the Signory.

The King will recommend to the Signory Marco Raphael, who in these negotiations about the galleys has greatly favoured the interests of the State.

Has heard that the marriage of the Duke of Orleans to the Princess of England is concluded. The King of England gives him as dower (*per dota*) the money due to him [the King] from his most Christian Majesty, and a certain sum besides. The Bishop of Winchester is expected here from France daily. Doctor Clement departed yesterday on his way to the Emperor.

London, 30th January 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd Feb.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. pp. 331,332.

727. Filippo Basadona, Captain of the Flanders Galleys, to the Signory.

Giulio Bragadin, late master of a galley, has absconded, leaving his vessel under no command, and it is suspected that Zuan Battista Grimani will do the like, as these two have money for the despatch of their galleys. For this reason, assembled "the Council of Twelve," in order to send a foot-post to Venice with the intelligence. Grimani refused to be present at the ballotation, saying he had no money for the despatch of the foot-post; and it was agreed for the masters to pay one half and the factors the other.

Does not know how to act. By selling the freights at 50 per cent. loss, the amount would be 2,000 ducats; and 4,090 are required for

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the despatch of each galley. The crews cannot obtain their two rates of pay, as there is no money. The bakers have exacted his personal security for what is due to them from the crews. The wools are ready for shipment, but somewhat damp: the merchants purpose having them dried.

Suspects that the creditors will seize the guns of the galleys.

Hampton, 30th January 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd Feb.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. pp. 331, 332.

728. Hironimo Molin, Venetian Consul in London, to the Signory.

The galleys are in danger of being unable to depart, to the shame of the Venetian nation. The master, Giulio Bragadin, has absconded, and provision must be made.

London, 30th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. pp. 331, 332.

729. Zuan Battista Grimani, Master of a galley, to the Signory.

Complains of the captain [Basadona]; he [Grimani] is poor, and the captain has utterly ruined him; he will not allow the crews to take their pay at the rate of 40 pence per ducat, as has always been done, because he himself would be in the same condition. Grimani will not abscond, but come to Venice with his galley, and has written to his factor, Zuan Morelli, to do everything to send him money. He ruined himself by giving to his crew one-third more of biscuit per month than was given by the other galleys, so that he spent an additional —— ducats. His nobleman, ... Antonio Gritti, also opposed him, saying he would appoint a vice-master in his stead, and with seven others withdrew from his mess. All the others remained.

Hampton, 30th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30. Senato Terra, v. xxvi. p. 232.

730. Zuan Battista Grimani to Zuan Morelli.

As the late Marco Bragadin had not provided funds, Giulio was compelled to go to Venice. Imagine my position if you do not supply me by the courier, sent express to the Signory, who was to perform the journey to and fro in 30 days! If you have not provided to the amount of 5,000 ducats, and are unable to procure it in letters of credit, endeavour to get it on bills, giving such security as is in your power, either by means of credit [due to me?], or Government securities, or on freights to be brought by us; and as said freights are not yet brought or gained, insure the galley, and with the policy of insurance in your hand, you will find bills, which must be sent to England and returned, and be paid at Venice, requiring a period of six months, namely three for conveyance to England, and three for the return, as I have not the means of paying here. Having procured this money on [accommodation?] bills, you must then purchase bills of exchange from "good" men (*persone da cerchio*), and have them

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made payable to me in England at sight. As I have no experience of bill-broking, and you still less, you will consult the magnifico Messer Alexandro Contarini, and should he know nothing about it, take counsel from "good" merchants (*mercadanti da cerchio*).* If unable to raise the money by these means, try and get goods, payable at the longest term possible, and sell them again; but bear well in mind that I do not wish the loss to exceed the profit, for here we have gained 20 per cent., by paying the crews at the exchange of 40 English pence per ducat;† and I would fain make an advantageous bargain. See to giving them every possible security, and remit the whole to me here, as my profit depends upon the amount of the remittances. You will now be able to make amends for omissions, and it depends upon you to give me life or death—each ducat supplied by you will yield me two. On seeing my letter, the Signory will give me some assistance, and most especially my arrears due from the "Chamber;" and if unable to obtain further security from Bembo, cancel those given by him, he doing the like by you.

Hampton, 30th January 1532.

Attestation by Alexandro Contarini and Lodovico Michiel, that the foregoing letter was in the handwriting of Zuan Battista Grimani, master of a Flanders galley.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 257.

731. PROTHONOTARY CASAL.

The English ambassador came into the College, to request that a doctor of Padua might be allowed to go to Rome, to treat the divorce from the Queen. He was told that the matter should be deliberated in the Senate.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 267.

732. PROTHONOTARY CASAL.

The English ambassador came into the College, soliciting permission for a doctor in canon law to go to Rome about the divorce case. The Doge told him the Senate should be consulted.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 3. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 400.

733. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

The marriage of the Princess of England to the Duke of Orleans is delayed, because the Bishop of Winchester has not returned. The meeting of Parliament will also be delayed. The most Christian King having to give his son the Duke of Orleans the investiture of certain territory, apologizes for his inability to do so, save in conjunction with the [French] Parliament, as it is to the detriment of the Dauphin, and to the diminution of the kingdom of France.

* The word "*cerchio*" has several meanings, one of which is the iron hoop of a barrel, so perhaps the phrase signified "sound" or "good," as a well-hooped butt. "Safe as in an iron butt" is a phrase still used at Venice to denote security.

† By the list of exchanges in vol. ii. Venetian Calendar, pp. lxxiii., lxxiv., it is seen that the highest price given in London for Venetian ducats was 52¾*d.*

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On this account the marriage is delayed. The day before yesterday Dom. Andrea Orsini (*sic*) arrived here as envoy from King John [Zapolski], to make peace with King Ferdinand,* and to apologize for his understanding with Sultan Solyman.

This envoy has been to France and to Rome, and would fain make peace for 20 years, or at least a truce for three years, and says his King insists on having the whole of the kingdom of Hungary.

Last evening received letters, enclosed, from the captain of the Flanders galleys at Hampton, requesting him to arrange with the King for the punishment of all the galley oarsmen who thus insulted him. Went to his Majesty, who was with the French ambassador, and who sent him word that if he had no letters from Venice, he was to speak to the Duke of Norfolk. The Duke gave orders for letters to be addressed to the mayor [of Southampton], desiring him to give every assistance to the captain; and that if the force (*le zente*) at Southampton did not suffice, he was to procure assistance from the neighbouring villages.

Advices have been received in London from every quarter, and by way of France, of the preparations making against Italy by Sultan Solyman.

London, 3rd February. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 401.

734. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

The Bishop of Winchester, who is in France, will not return for a long while, as he has sent for his silver (*arzenti*); and the meeting of Parliament will therefore be delayed.

The King has received a brief from the Pope, as enclosed, for assistance to Christendom against the Turk. His Majesty replied that he would not fail to do as his ancestors had done, and more than is done by the other powers, who have more at stake. It also seems that the Pope wrote another brief to the King of France, who answered he would do as his ancestors always had done; and should the Turk come into Italy, he will march against him with 40,000 infantry and 5,000 men-at-arms.

There are 100 corsair ships off the coast of England.

London, 14th February 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 398.

735. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Receipt of a letter from the captain of the Flanders galleys at Hampton, that he narrowly escaped being killed by the crews of the galleys.

London, 20th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th March.*

[*Italian.*]

* Ferdinand of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia in 1527, and elected King of the Romans on the 5th January 1531. (*See* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.)

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Feb. 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 401.

736. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Letters received from the Bishop of Winchester, showing he hopes soon to conclude the marriage of the Princess of England to the Duke of Orleans.

London, 20th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 12.

737. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Received his letters about the wools, and commend his diligence. Transmit summaries of despatches addressed to them from Constantinople, dated 31st December, which he is to communicate to the King.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 349.

738. ——— to the DUKE OF MANTUA.

In the last Consistory, the English divorce case was debated by the advocates on both sides—nothing concluded. They will delay the case as long as they can, although the Imperialists vehemently urge its despatch.

Rome, 22nd February. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 15.

739. FILIPPO BASADONA, Captain of the Flanders Galleys, to CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in London.

The "master" Giulio Bragadin is in London, in the house of the Consul Hironimo Molin; he cannot depart on account of his debts. He would fain resume his post of "master" of the galley, but he (the captain) will not allow this. Domenego di Priuli has been appointed vice-master.

The galleys arrived to take in their cargoes six days ago. Has promised the crews three rates of pay, two of which have been given, including the galley Badoera; but the men of the Grimani cannot be paid, and he will delay for another day. Should said "master" not come from London, he (the captain) will sell the freights.

Wished to punish the men who insulted him. One Domenego, of Venice, a mate (*compagno*) on board the Grimani galley, for having assisted him, was stoned. With the assistance of his admiral and sailing-master (*comito*), got safe into his own house. The inhabitants of Southampton wished the mutineers to be punished merely by strappado, and nothing more. Has written about this to the ambassador in London, and, at any rate, would wish two at least to be put to death, as an example for the others.

Hampton, 22nd February. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th April.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 336.

740. PROTHONOTARY CASAL.

The English ambassador came into the College, and spoke about the wool staplers and the Venetian galleys, and delivered a writing.

[*Italian.*]

1532.
Feb. 23.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 349.

741. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday all the auditors of the Rota and the attorneys (*procuratori*) of this Court entered the Consistory, to debate the English divorce case. There was much dispute between the advocates and attorneys on either side, but nothing was determined; and now the King insists (*brava*) more than ever, as stated by the LL.D., the "Excusator" and others at Rome in his Majesty's name, including the ambassador,* who returned a few days ago.

Rome, 23rd February 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 349.

742. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The English ambassadors † have presented twenty-five conclusions, which he sends in print. Congregation has been held concerning these. The Pope will only allow four of them to be discussed, and the matter will be debated in public at the first Consistory. Today, as the Imperial ambassadors were in Consistory, this could not be done, and the business was referred to the next Consistory.

The Pope told him that the Grand Master of Rhodes is afraid to remain at Malta, and would fain come to Syracuse in Sicily; but as that city is the Viceroy's residence, the Emperor would not consent; and it would be well to bring the Knights to Italy, and give them Gallipoli or Otranto, should the Emperor approve, and, if not, the Pope thinks of giving them Ancona, whither he has sent Antonio di Castello, an experienced military engineer, to see about fortifying it.

Rome, 23rd February 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th Feb.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 349.

743. DIVORCE CASE.

Conclusions of Edward Karne, LL.D., transmitted to the Signory in the letter of Marco Antonio Venier, dated Rome, 23rd February 1532.

The divine assistance being implored for licence and concession from his Holiness, and at the suit of the eminent Excusator of the most illustrious and invincible King of England, we Sigismund Dandolo di Pistorno, a very humble (*minima*) Consistorial advocate, and Michele de' Conradi de Tuderto, doctor of civil and canon law, by order of the most illustrious King and the Excusator, being called before the sacred Pontifical Consistory, under the presidency of the Holy Pontiff and his sacred Senate, will endeavour according to our feeble force, to maintain, severally and particularly, the following conclusions. On the 16th of the present month the first of the underwritten conclusions will be disputed, and the others which are to be debated will be announced successively.

* Dr. Benet. (*See* "State Papers," vol. vii. p. 346.)

† Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester, Sir Gregory Casal, Dr. Benet, and Edward Karne. (*See* "State Papers," vol. vii. part v. continued.)

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The state of the case (*Facti contingentia*) is proposed thus:—

It having reached the ears of the illustrious English LL.D., Sir Edward, that by order of D. Paolo di Capizuchi, Papal auditor, the very worthy (*meritissimi*) auditor in the matrimonial suit between the most illustrious and invincible Henry, King of England, and Katharine, the most illustrious Queen, in quality, as reported, of Apostolic delegate, the aforesaid most illustrious King, at the suit of the above-mentioned most illustrious Queen, was cited by an edict, to appear before him, in person, or by attorney:

Said Sir Edward, as Excusator, presented to the above-mentioned D. Paolo certain apologies (*quasdam materias excusatorias*), exhibiting and producing demands, in order that, if relevant (*ut relevantes*), they may be admitted; saying that he was prepared to prove them collectively (*liganter*). The same purport, amongst other things, that it is moreover notorious that the aforesaid King cannot move to so great a distance from the kingdom without causing inevitable injury and grevious dishonour (*scandolo*) to his realm and subjects, and unavoidable peril to himself personally and to his aforesaid kingdom, by reason of the places (*locorum*) through which on his way to the Court of Rome said King would necessarily be compelled to pass, as stated more diffusely in the writings, with regard to which, before the aforesaid most worthy, grave, and just Auditory, during the discussion, royal letters were delivered to the said Sir Edward, abbot (*sic*), and introduced (*productæ*) in the acts, which among other things contained the following words:—"We assuredly approve of what you are doing;" and in another part of said writings:—"But as you have undertaken this defence not in our name, but in your own, we exhort and pray you that in the mode in which you have commenced, you will at any rate persist and continue, so that thereby it may be more copiously," etc., etc. Whereupon a question having arisen in the aforesaid most renowned Auditory, whether the above-mentioned "Excusator" with his propositions should be admitted, we advocates said and say, in accordance with what is gathered from the juridical conclusions which it is proposed to submit to the Consistory, that the said "Excusator," with the said propositions, ought by law to be admitted.

Conclusion I.—In the case now under discussion according to the tenor of the matters (*materiarum*), the royal dignity does not prevent the objecting to the site on the plea of insecurity.—According to Com. op.

Conclusion II.—The Excusator is admitted without a mandate, to allege a just, unavoidable, temporary (*temporale*) impediment.—According to Com.

Conclusion III.—A person prevented by probable and inevitable impediment is not bound to appoint an attorney.—According to Com.

Conclusion IV.—By the tenor of our matters, the impediment is styled both probable and unavoidable.—According to Com.

Conclusion V.—The Excusator is admitted without a mandate to allege a notorious and just temporary (*temporale*) impediment.

Conclusion VI.—Decis. Bar, et sequitur, in § ad crimen. In one paragraph (*versiculo*) there are some probablo excuses. The accuser

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de publ. judic. considering the matters, this does not prevent the admission of the Royal Excusator.—According to Com.

Conclusion VII.—And the objection being admitted—without detriment to the truth—we assert that the "requisitum Bar" (*sic*) in the said paragraph, in order that the Excusator may be rendered admissible, is gathered, and may be inferred by right, from the King's letters.

Conclusion VIII.—The tenor of the matters (*materiarum*) does not infer such an impediment (without considering the royal dignity); wherefore in this case the King is by right compelled to appoint an attorney.—According to Com.

Conclusion IX.—On the contrary, abiding by the matters aforesaid, and the consideration, the King, in this case, is not bound to appoint an attorney.

Conclusion X.—The most invincible King of England was not cited by the Pope. This likewise being conceded without detriment to the truth.

Conclusion XI.—The citation made by the Pope, in the case under discussion, is not compulsory for any one prevented by a just impediment (as in the present matters) from appointing an attorney.—According to Com.

Conclusion XII.—The aforesaid citation, charging him to appear in person or by attorney, is not compulsory for any one prevented from appointing an attorney.—According to Com.

Conclusion XIII.—Matters standing as they do (*Inn. et seq. ad Cap. cum dilecti: De dolo et contumacia*), it is not applicable juridically to the case under discussion.—According to Com.

Conclusion XIV.—Neither is the general inference, ex dicto intellectu, applicable by right to the case under discussion.—According to Com.

Conclusion XV.—The exception, with regard to safety of place, is valid, not only when the place in which the sentence is treated is insecure, but also when the intermediate places which must necessarily be passed to arrive at the judgment-seat are not secure.—According to Com.

Conclusion XVI.—The case under discussion is an important one.—According to Com.

Conclusion XVII.—In the case under discussion the site ought to be secure not only for the attorney, but also for his superior (*Domino*).

Conclusion XVIII.—The aforesaid matters standing as they do, a suitable place should be provided for the most Illustrious King, although not demanded by him.—According to Com.

Conclusion XIX.—L. prima, Cap. Quando Imperat., inter puppill. et vid., does not juridically prohibit the Royal Excusator from being admitted with the matters aforesaid.

Conclusion XX.—Neither—the things aforesaid standing as they do in the case aforesaid—is the King by his own order (*propter ejus dispositionem*) compelled juridically to appoint an attorney.—According to Com.

Conclusion XXI.—The asserted oath of fear does not by right prevent the apologetic matters from being admitted.—According to Com.

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Conclusion XXII.—The case under discussion is not reserved exclusively for the Apostolic See.—According to Com.

Conclusion XXIII.—The alleged style of the Court of Rome, according to which it is said that a case once referred to that tribunal, should never be intrusted elsewhere, does not imply that, as the matters stand, the Pope is legally prohibited from intrusting the case under discussion to any other tribunal than that of Rome.

Conclusion XXIV.—In the case under discussion, the attorney ought to be admitted to allege and prove the aforesaid matters, nor is the person cited compelled to appoint an attorney with whom the trial may be continued, in virtue of the decision, "de dolo et contum. in antiq. vel D.CC.XXIV.," (*sic*) in such matters as not excepted by right.

Conclusion XXV.—Considering the matters, and the case under discussion, the laws (purporting that the cognizance and decision of the suits of Kings and Princes appertain to the Apostolic See) will not be null, or fail to take due effect.

Enclosed in a letter dated Rome, 23rd February. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th February* 1532.

[*Latin.*]

Feb. 25. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 15.

744. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

Sends a copy of letters from the captain of the Flanders galleys, who demands letters addressed to the governors of Hampton, that they may give assistance for the punishment of the mutineers.

Being unable to have audience of the King, spoke to the Duke of Norfolk. The Duke said the matter was not of such a sort as to subject the mutineers to capital punishment, but only to moderate penalties.

Last evening a courier arrived from Romè; does not know the cause. The Papal Nuncio goes frequently to the Court.

That Andrea Corsim (*sic*), the envoy from King John [Zapolski], has departed after being much noticed by his Majesty, who made him a present.

The Duke of Norfolk complains that the Signory outrages the King without any reason, by not allowing the doctors of Padua to appear for his defence.

London, 25th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th April.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 27. Deliberazioni Senato Terra, v. xxvi. p. 232.

745. Flanders Galleys at Hampton.

Motion to extend the commission and orders given by the nobleman Zuan Battista Grimani, master of one of the Flanders galleys, to Zuan Morello.

Ayes, 147. No, 1. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 373.

746. Marco Antonio Venier to the Signory.

Consistory was held for the affairs of England. The matter was debated, but nothing settled; and it was referred to two Cardinals

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—Cortona [Ancona ?] * and the Pope's Referendary, Monte Aldino; for discussion subsequently with the Cardinals.

Rome, 28th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 2. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lv. p. 1, tergo.

747. The DOGE and SENATE to CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Have received his letter of the 28th January concerning the action of the royal councillors about the wools, and their reply.

Defer answering him until their next despatch; but persuade themselves that by reason of the existing goodwill between his Majesty and the Republic, and for the mutual benefit of the trade, he will not revoke the concession and privileges granted to the Venetian merchants.

Have noted what the Duke of Norfolk said to him, showing resentment and indignation, because it had been written from Rome that the Signory had prohibited any Venetian subject from going to Rome, or daring to give his opinion on the divorce; which allegation being contrary to the truth, caused us no little uneasiness. As we had notified to the reverend English ambassador that his Majesty might avail himself for that purpose of any person soever in our territories, even if resident at Venice, excepting two professors, our stipendiaries, who lecture at the University of Padua, because their removal thence would be both embarrassing and ruinous to it and to the students, we are convinced that his Majesty will therefore not have the least doubt of our obsequiousness.

Ayes, 194. Noes, 4. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 432.

748. ZUAN ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The English ambassador, the Bishop of Winchester, has departed. He, together with the other ambassador resident at this Court [Sir Francis Bryan ?], urged King Francis to declare himself, in case King Henry determine to make war on the Emperor. King Francis and his ministers cajoled them with fair words, as any war France might wage would be detrimental to the kingdom, by reason of the passage of the English, and from the vicinity of the Flemings and Burgundians.

Honfleur, 5th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. pp. 394, 395.

749. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday in public Consistory there was a debate on part of the clauses in the divorce case, and although the Imperial ambassadors made great opposition, permission to speak was given to the English agents, who said that their King not having safe access to Italy, nor to Rome, they therefore demanded that a convenient place

* In the original diaries Sanuto wrote "*Ancona*," and above it "*Cortona*." He was not sure of the name.

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(*loco abile*) be assigned him on the frontiers of his kingdom, whither he would repair, and the processes might be drawn up there, with the understanding that the cause be subsequently referred to Rome for despatch; which arrangement has the approval of the most Christian King, whose ambassador was present, and greatly favoured it. The Imperial ambassadors, on the contrary, said this ought not to be done, and that the whole should be despatched here; and that the English King, having two ambassadors at Rome [William Benet and Gregory Casal ?], who negotiate greater affairs of state, might trust them—either one or more—to treat this matter of the divorce. Nothing was settled, the business being referred to another Consistory.

Was present with the Imperial ambassador, the Magnifico Maij, who told him he had letters from Spain, dated 14th ult., from the Empress, who, together with her children, was in good health, and had been to Tordesillas to see the Emperor's mother, who embraced her, and gave her good greeting. Speaking of the Emperor, the ambassador said, that on coming into Italy he may perhaps stay at Naples, and on his voyage to Spain go to Genoa, where the Pope says he will have a conference with him. The ambassador Borgo has had letters from the King of the Romans, dated the 20th ult., informing him that the Archbishop of Mentz and the Palatine went to bring the chief Lutherans to the Diet, and that they proceeded to the place where the agents of the King of Poland and King John [Zapolski, of Hungary] were to be; and having found no one, they returned.

By advices from France, the most Christian King is fitting out vessels at Marseilles, and his ambassador at Rome said that the King asked the Pope for permission to levy the tenths from the clergy. His Holiness replied that for the benefit of Christendom the other sovereigns ought to do the like, and that he should be disposed to satisfy them. The ambassador Maij has heard from Naples that the Grand Master of Rhodes doubts being able to keep Malta, and has written to the Emperor to give him Syracuse in Sicily, and that the Viceroy might reside at Palermo or Messina.

Rome, 7th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 11.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 11.

750. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Received letters yesterday from their ambassador and vice-bailiff at Constantinople, dated the 30th January. Forward summaries immediately, that he may acquaint the King with them.

[*Italian.*]

March 11.
Deliberizioni Senato Mar,' v. xxii. p. 100.

751. MOTION made in the SENATE, concerning the wool trade with England.

At this time there are but 200 pokes (*poche*) in this city; the cause proceeds from the mischievous and unbecoming conduct of our own citizens, who have endeavoured to make an arrangement

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with the staplers, and to take the wools from Calais, giving them a certain quantity and sort of merchandise.

Put to the ballot,—That liberty be given to subjects of the State, and aliens, to import Frankish wools (*lane Francesche*), until the close of next December, by land or sea, in any vessel, native, foreign, or Ragusan, any act to the contrary notwithstanding; they being bound to pay one half of the freight to those entitled thereto by law; and to be exempted during that period from payment of the tenths, or of the two per cent. imposed in lieu thereof.

Ayes, 157. Noes, 28. Neutrals, 22.

The kinsfolk of the masters of the Flanders galleys and their partners withdrew.

[*Italian.*]

March 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 15.

752. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

On the 1st instant the Duke of Norfolk went to Dover to meet the Bishop of Winchester, who returned from France with one of the lords of the bedchamber (*secreti camerieri*) of the most Christian King. On the 4th, this lord of the bedchamber had audience of his Majesty, and returned to France.

With regard to the divorce, and the marriage of the Princess, matters do not proceed as wished; and the King complains both of his most Christian Majesty and of the Pope; and the Bishop of Winchester stated in Parliament that the Pope can do nothing farther; so they are indignant with his Holiness, and the King is determined at any rate to see the end of the divorce case. The period expires on Palm-Sunday, and they have resolved to prolong it. The Bishop of Winchester was accompanied by 14 Frenchmen, who had been plundered by certain English vessels, nor have they yet obtained redress.

London, 13th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 15.

753. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Had received the Ducal missives of the 28th February and 2nd March, but not those of the 20th February.

Went to the Court yesterday, to acquit the Signory of the charge concerning the Paduan doctors; and being unable to speak to the King, addressed himself to the Duke of Norfolk, and other members of the Privy Council. On hearing the Signory's apology, they said it was requisite that the lecturers, and not the others, should go to Rome. Replied that it would suffice to receive their opinions; and that were the lecturers to leave, it would be the ruin of the University of Padua. The Earl of Wiltshire seemed convinced, but the Duke of Norfolk said the King did not expect this from our Signory.

Parliament is to meet on the 15th April; and they have determined not to send the Pope any more annats for bishoprics or any other church benefices; but although this resolve proceeds from the King's will, his Majesty has not yet ratified it; and they have written to the Pope. Should this be carried into effect, it will

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double the King's revenue; and by translating a bishop from one see to another, and filling up the vacancy, when one see falls in he will obtain the annats of many. His Majesty would fain also be declared heir to one third of all property held by feudal tenure; the greater part of the island being thus possessed. This resolve is understood to have passed "*la Camera del Conseio secreto dil Re*," but as yet the rest of the Parliament will not admit it.

The captain of the Flanders galleys has written to Calais about certain reprisals, in order to obtain letters from the Emperor to his governors and ministers, and the King wrote a letter of recommendation to that effect. In the meanwhile the captain would wish the Signory to procure through the Emperor a suspension of the reprisals, and as the galleys will not depart until the end of April, there will be time to receive it.

London, 20th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 21.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 30.

754. CARLO CAPELLO to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

By his letters of the 10th February they will have understood what he wrote about a league in course of negotiation between France, the King of England, the Lutherans, and King John [Zapolski], against the Emperor and the King of the Romans. When Andrea Corsim (*sic*), the envoy of King John, came hither, as he announced that the Emperor wished to make a marriage between his sister Maria, the Queen widow of Hungary, and King John, the English Privy Council proposed giving him the Princess of England in order to have him on their side. The Duke of Saxony has sent a great baron to the Turk [Sultan Solyman]. Requests this may be kept secret. Is unable any longer to obtain news from the person who gave him this information, as he will not associate with him by reason of the complaints [against the Signory?]. The English Government (*questi*) will not tolerate the Emperor's supremacy.

On the 15th instant the Parliament met to discuss the affair of the divorce, and the Archbishop of Canterbury spoke against the King much to the indignation of his Majesty, who used foul language to him, saying that were it not for his age, he would make him repent of having said what he did against his Majesty.

London, 21st March. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 26.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. vii. (54). p. 5, tergo,

755. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

The nobleman Giovanni Benetto Lippomano has been appointed to assume tomorrow the post of Proveditor of the London Factory. He being a member of the Criminal Court of the Forty, and having heard the cause of Nicolò Barbaro and balloted upon it, it is fitting that he should continue to do so, and pass his judgment (thereon), as observed in other similar cases.

Put to the ballot,—That by authority of this Council, the aforesaid Giovanni Benetto Lippomano, elected Proveditor for the London

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Factory, do continue to sit in the Court of the Forty, until the despatch of the aforesaid cause of Nicolò Barbaro.

Ayes, 22. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

(Copy sent to the Court of the Forty).

[*Italian.*]

April 3. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. pp. 34, 35.

756. ——— to the DUKE of MANTUA.

At this Court there are now but two matters to write about—the Turkish invasion and the English divorce case. Concerning this last, the Imperialists, on behalf of the Queen, urge its despatch; the English, in the name of the King, dispute the business; and I believe that on this account, Consistory will be held today in the presence of his Holiness, but not indeed that any decision will be formed, as it is an affair of too great moment.

Rome, 3rd April. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th April.*

[*Italian.*]

April 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 34.

757. DIET at RATISBON.

Advices from Ratisbon, received by way of Mantua, announce the departure thence, on the morning of the 4th, of Monsigneur Belansom for France, and of Baron Falconetto for England. It is also said that two others will be sent to Rome and Venice, this being done on account of the Turkish affairs, which have been much talked about within the last two days.

Since yesterday the Emperor has been in very good health.

Ratisbon, 4th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th April.*

[*Italian.*]

April 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 89.

758. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

The King is using all study and diligence to settle the divorce case in Parliament, which has been ordered to meet on the 15th instant, and is drawing up a writing in his defence and justification to be read in Parliament, and of which the copy will also be sent to Rome. The King is expecting information about the Turk from the Signory, although the greater part of the ministers do not attach much importance to it.

Is told by persons who have arrived from Hampton that the galleys will be ready to put to sea in the course of the month.

London, 5th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., Filza 3.

759. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

Put to the ballot,—That the letters from the ambassador in England, and from the ambassadors with the Emperor, be communicated to the Senate, with injunction to secrecy.

Ayes, 20. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

April 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 145.

760. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

On the 10th a courier from Rome arrived in London with letters dated 23rd March, together with a confidant of Sir Gregory Casal's,

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who is the bearer of fair promises made by the Pope, who requests the King not to proceed farther about the divorce as he hopes the affair will be arranged with the consent of the Emperor. The King has determined to reply that they will wait during the whole of May, on the expiration of which period they will indubitably decide the case here; and until then they will prolong the session of Parliament, which meets daily, awaiting the letters from Rome, whither the King has not yet sent his reply to the letters of 23rd March.

On Easter day at Greenwich an Observantine Franciscan friar [Peyto ?],* in the presence of the King, gravely reproved such as repudiate their wives, declaring that by no means could they be saved; and although appearing to speak generally, he threatened the island with excommunication, saying that the ruin of kingdoms always proceeds from the evil councils of flatterers.

On the Sunday of the Apostles—his Majesty being present—a priest [Dr. Corren ?] also preached, vituperating the marriage of the Queen, and, without any reserve, styling it iniquitous and unbearable before God; whereupon the guardian of the Franciscans [Elston ?], the fellow friar of the first preacher, stood up and publicly to his face told the priest that he lied, and that he (the Franciscan) was ready to confute him at the moment by holy writ. So the guardian was put in custody, and today it is said he has been sent to the Tower.

London, 13th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 167.

761. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

Received the Signory's letters of the 8th January and 11th March, with the advices from Constantinople. Went to the Court, and by the King's order conferred with the Duke of Norfolk, to whom communicated the advices, and justified the Signory for having exacted a loan from the clergy, about which the Duke appeared to know nothing, but was not sorry to hear it, because at the last session of Parliament the annats payable at Rome were abolished.

At the moment of his arrival at the Court, one of the chief gentlemen in the service of said Duke of Norfolk, with 20 followers, assaulted and killed in the sanctuary of Westminster Sir (*D'no*) William Peninthum (*sic*), chief gentleman and kinsman of the Duke of Suffolk. In consequence of this, the whole Court was in an uproar, and had the Duke of Suffolk been there, it is supposed that a serious affray would have taken place. On hearing of what had happened, he (Suffolk) was on his way to remove the assailants by force from the sanctuary, when the King sent the Treasurer [Thomas Cromwell] to him, and made him return, and has adjusted the affair; and this turmoil displeased him. It is said to have been caused by a private quarrel, but I am assured it was owing to opprobrious language uttered against Madam Anne by his Majesty's sister, the Duchess of Suffolk, Queen Dowager of France.

The affair of the divorce becomes daily more difficult. The

* See Hume, vol. iii., p. 189.

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Bishops of France and of this island replied lately that they could not assent to it without the Pope's consent, because, when created, they swear not to oppose the Pope's wishes; and the King's desire increases; whilst by letters from Rome it is heard that in all the debates the Queen may be styled King of this island, by reason of the love the people bear her, for her goodness and wisdom.

Yesterday, Monseigneur Falconetto arrived here in 15 days from the Emperor, to demand assistance against the Turk. He went this morning to the Court with another Imperial ambassador resident here.

London, 23rd April. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 26.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 13.

762. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Repeat their approval of all his proceedings.

Transmit summaries of letters from Constantinople, dated 21st and 24th ult., for communication to the King, as usual.

[*Italian.*]

April 28.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 167.

763. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

In order to hear some news, visited Monseigneur Falconetto, who is come about the preparations of the Lord Turk [Sultan Soliman], and spoke to the King, who in reply made great promises of not failing to do the needful, but said that as he was closely linked in friendship with his most Christian Majesty, they must consult together about the amount and nature of the assistance.

It is said the King asked Monseigneur Falconetto whether he had any commission to speak about the Queen. He said No, and that he was merely to return with the answer. His Majesty said it seemed to him very strange, that for a woman the Emperor should oppose him and do him an unkindness. This afternoon went to visit the French ambassador, who told him the like, and that this Falconetto asked for pecuniary assistance; and the Frenchman said that were the most Christian King to stir in this matter, he would march in person, and be captain-general, as his power is such, that after conquering the rest of Christendom, he might vanquish the Turk; but that the Emperor and the King of the Romans have caused these disturbances by not surrendering the kingdom of Hungary to King John [Zapolski].

Has been assured that the most Christian King is preparing secretly to come into Italy with a very great force immediately on any movement by the Turk, and has sent 50,000 crowns to the chiefs of the Switzers, according to an understanding with the King of England and other princes.

London, 28th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 29.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 102.

764. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

It was reported at Rome that the most Christian King urged the Pope to send the young Duchess (*la Duchessina*) [Catherina de'

1532.

Medici] to some Italian city, whither his Majesty would despatch his son, the Duke of Orleans, to consummate the marriage. His Holiness said this was not true, and that he was not more urged than he had been heretofore; and that he was sending the young Duchess to Florence to avoid the summer heat of Rome, she having departed today.

At the last Consistory, it was determined with regard to the English divorce case, that as the auditors of the Rota had been present at the debates, they were to give their opinion, and then at the next Consistory the matter should be determined (*si termenaria*); an intimation being made to the parties that if they wish to say anything more—apart from the conditions—they would be heard.

Rome, 29th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 10th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 167.

765. CARLO CAPELLO, to the SIGNORY.

Monseigneur Falconetto departed today.

Received the Signory's missives of the 8th April, with a patent from the Emperor for the Flanders galleys, which forwarded to Hampton, where it will arrive in good time.

Four days ago in London a proctor,* one Master Bainham,† was burnt alive as a heretic. The greater part of the population was present at his death. He died with the greatest fortitude, not evincing any pain; talking the whole time, and praying God aloud.

The Parliament still continues sitting.

Postscript.—Three hours ago Mons. de Pomeraye, the French ambassador resident here, departed; he will embark at Hampton for Brittany, and is to return in fourteen days, weather permitting. He is supposed to have gone about the divorce.

London, 4th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 153.

766. LETTER written at Ratisbon by ——— to ———.

The Court is constantly expecting to hear of the arrival of Balansom and Monfalconetto (*sic*), who were sent lately by the Emperor, the one to France, the other to England.

In England, during last Lent, many preachers having alluded to the divorce, all giving their opinion in favour of the Queen, the King's partisans urged his Majesty, in order not to leave this impression on the public mind, to have a contrary doctrine preached; so this office having been lately assigned to an individual, the King's confessor, this person, preaching in the presence of his Majesty and the Privy Council, and of the whole Court, took a fair opportunity for confuting the arguments in favour of the Queen; and whilst enforcing his opinions on the bystanders, a Franciscan friar [Elston ?] rose intrepidly and opposed the confessor so courageously, and with such strong reasons, that the whole audience remained astounded

* "Un Procurator di cause."

† *See* Hume, vol. iii. p. 88.

1532. and stupified. At length silence was enjoined both to one and the other, the friar being summoned to appear before the Privy Council. The result is not yet known.

Ratisbon, 11th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 175.

767. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

On the 8th Camillo Orsino Pardo, cousin of the other Camillo in the Signory's service, arrived in London. He is sent by the most Christian King, and crosses to Dantzic, then to Prussia, on his way to enter the service of King John [Zapolski].

Parliament adjourned last Friday, and will meet again in a fortnight. They have decreed, though the act is not yet published, that all the inhabitants of the island, whatsoever their condition, are each to pay the King 15 per cent. on the value of all their real and personal property (*mobeli e stabili*); and henceforth, on the death of any person, one year's revenue of the deceased is to be paid to his Majesty. With this money they propose fortifying the passes, harbours, and places of importance on the island; it being also proposed to lay a tax of 400,000 crowns on the clergy, and to diminish their revenues.

Here new preachers and fresh disputes between them spring up daily, part being in favour of the King, part of the Queen; and three of these last have already been taken into custody.

Encloses letters from the captain of the Flanders galleys, who has received the Emperor's patent. The galleys are all loaded, and merely await fair weather for departure.

London, 13th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 175.

768. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

On the 13th instant in St. Paul's an individual preached in favour of the divorce, and a woman stood up and told him aloud that he lied, and that this example in a king would be the destruction of the laws of matrimony, which is one of the holiest and strongest ties, whereby man is restrained within the limits of civil and Christian existence. This woman was arrested like the other preachers.

On that day the King deprived Sir Thomas More of the office of Lord High Chancellor; it is not known whow ill be appointed in his stead. The cause is said to be his refusal to gratify the King by writing in favour of the divorce, which his Majesty is endeavouring to dispatch with all speed, as according to report Madame Anne is pregnant.

London, 16th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 175.

769. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

The day before yesterday the Chancellor resigned his office (*ussite dil magistrato*), and delivered the great seal to the King. Yesterday his Majesty went to Greenwich, he will go to "Hierca" (*sic*).

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It is not known when Parliament will meet.

The day before yesterday the Flanders galleys were eight miles beyond Hampton.

A French ship of 24 guns arrived here two days ago.

His most Christian Majesty's ambassador who went to Britanny is reported to have been captured by the Scots, who released him immediately.

The Signory's galleys having reached St. Edward's are supposed to have departed.

London, 18th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 18. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 13.

770. The Doge and College to Carlo Capello, Venetian Ambassador in England.

The Magnifico Ibraim was to proceed with the standard [of the Prophet?] on the 18th as "*Begliarbei*" of Greece, returning immediately to Constantinople to accompany Sultan Solyman, who will go to Adrianople for ten days, and then continue the march for his expedition, which he does not specify further. The fleet will put to sea in the middle of the present month; it will consist of 80 light galleys, and 21 bastard galleys, so that when joined by the corsair barks (*le vele delli corsari*) the vessels will be 170 or 180, and it is said that their commander, the captain of Gallipoli, will proceed straight to Modon, and then to the channel of Corfu, from which point they will steer towards the quarter which they may be commissioned to attack.

The ambassador from the Sophy has arrived; they sent him in a galley from Scutari to Constantinople, and accompanied him to his lodging with much honour. This embassy caused great satisfaction at Constantinople.

[*Italian.*]

May 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 257.

771. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

His Majesty has heard from France that they have despatched Dom. Hironimo Lascho, the ambassador of King John [Zapolski], he having remained there 20 days. They confirm the ratification of the marriage of said King John to Madame Isabel, the sister of the King of Navarre. Monsr. de Pomeraye, his most Christian Majesty's ambassador, went to the French Court, on account, it is said, of the divorce, and also because the King of England understood that King Francis purposed marrying his daughter to the King of Scotland.

This marriage King Henry seeks to break off unless the Princess of England be married contemporaneously to the French King's second son. De Pomeraye is expected here hourly.

The King has appointed as Lord Chancellor Master (*sic*) ——— [Audley?], who practised as a barrister in Westminster Hall.

The Signory's galleys were yesterday at the Isle of Wight, awaiting fair weather for departure.

London, 23rd May. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st June.*

[*Italian.*]

1532.
May 24.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta). File no. 13.

772. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

On the 18th the magnifico Ibraim marched from Constantinople with the standard, accompanied by a numerous retinue.

On the 25th Sultan Solyman in like manner will proceed to Adrianople, for ten days, during which period the ambassadors from the King of the Romans were to arrive there, they being already on their way with Cursogli.

Ten galleys have already put to sea, and 50 are at the quay, ready greased.

They are diligently shipping on board the fleet, artillery, ammunition, and biscuit, and each galley will have nine guns at the prow, namely, three very handsome great guns, and falconets; and they will be abundantly furnished with cannon in the other parts of the vessels. In the covered docks there are eight galleys ready for launching, and two galliots are in course of construction. The number of galleys, including the 21 bastard galleys, will amount to 90, to which must be added the corsair vessels, thus forming a total of two hundred sail. The crews are beginning to arrive, and they seem to be hastening the despatch of this fleet, which will go straight to Modon, and then proceed to the channel of Corfu, but nothing certain is yet heard of their future destination. It is said that the Captain of Gallipoli will be the commander-in-chief of this fleet, although, as he has no experience of maritime affairs, it is supposed that some other person will be appointed over him. At the ordnance magazine there are many field-pieces for shipment on board the fleet.

The ambassador from the Sophy had audience of Sultan Solyman on the 20th, and presented the donatives, which were carried by 110 "Capigi." They consisted of gowns of cloth of gold, and many of silk of various colours, of very beautiful [fur] linings, and of horse coverings, and there was a very beautiful jewelled inkstand, and eight books, and similar things, all rich and beautiful. He remained half an hour with the Sultan, and when he came forth the Bashaw seemed elated. Before the Sultan's departure, they will hold another Porte for the despatch of this ambassador.

As this intelligence is very important, to communicate it to the King.

[*Italian.*]

May 31.
Sanuto Diaries, v. l.vi p. 257.

773. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

The most Christian King has given Dom. Hironimo Lascho 10,000 francs, and made him a knight of St. Michael. He is gone to Lubeck to the diet there, to act against the Emperor and his brother, and is to return to France in four days, to escort the bride [Isabel d'Albret?] to King John.

The day before yesterday Camillo Orsino departed for France. He confirmed to me the fact of his going to King John. He purposed going by way of Dantzic and Prussia, and by order of Lascho spoke to certain Germans, who announced his journey to the Imperial ambassador here, and it was arranged to waylay him; so he

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has to return to France and traverse Hungary through the Signory's territory.

His Majesty is attending to the divorce with all diligence, and awaits the reply from Rome, and the return from France of Mons. de Pomeraye.

Yesterday a gentleman in the service of Francesco, Marquis of Saluzzo, arrived from France, and in two days will be followed by the Marquis himself, who is sent by the most Christian King to speak to his Majesty, and will then proceed to take the command of the attack on Genoa.

On the 24th instant the Queen, by the King's order, changed her residence of the More, for a place belonging to the King's confessor, the Bishop of Lincoln, pupil of Cardinal Wolsey, abettor of the divorce.*

On that same day, in the Thames, two fishes were caught, each measuring 30 feet in length, 10 feet high, and 11 feet broad,† the one was a male, the other a female, which was with young, and had two cubs in its belly. The one was taken at Greenwich, the other at the Tower of London. The people here in general consider this a prodigy foreboding future evil, which they likewise anticipate from the fact, that within the last few days 14 individuals, including men and women, have committed suicide by hanging, or drowned themselves in the Thames.

The person appointed High Chancellor [Sir Thomas Audley?] has merely had the great seal in keeping, being vicar as it were. It is supposed that for the present the King will not appoint any other chancellor.

Four days ago the galleys were at the "burnt village" (*alla villa brusata*), 25 miles from Hampton, off a headland on this island called "*La Guelica*," and they were awaiting a fair wind.

London, 31st May. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 196.

774. NICOLÒ TIEPOLO'S REPORT of the EMPEROR CHARLES V., made to the SENATE.

On account of the controversy concerning his aunt's marriage, he is not very friendly with the King of England, and without scruple has always sought to have the case continued and decided at Rome, and not to be removed to England; nor does he believe that the King would ever proceed to extremities against the Queen, and gives it to be understood, that he should have the means of making him repent.

[*Italian.*]

* It has been already seen by the letter of Savorgnano that Queen Katharine was at "*The More*" in August 1531, and Capello now writes, "di ordine regio ha mutato stanza di *mur*," etc.

† "Di altezza X. et larghezza XI." *Query*, measurement of flank and across the back.

1532.
June 4.
Parti Secreta, Consiglio X. Filza 3.

775. Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta by the Chiefs Hironimo Quirini and Alvise Bon.

Put to the ballot,—That the letters of the ambassador in France, dated the 22nd April, with those of the ambassador in England, dated 13th and 18th May, addressed to the Chiefs of this Council be communicated to the Senate with injunction to secrecy, according to the strictest acts of this Council.

Ayes, 5.

Amendment proposed by the Chief of the Ten, Bernardo Marcello—

That the present matter be delayed until the receipt of the next letters from France and England.

Ayes, 19. No, 1. Neutral 1.

[*Italian.*]

June 7.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X. File 3.

776. The Chiefs of the Ten to Carlo Capello, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Praise his conduct. To notify matters of importance in cipher.

Signed: Bernardus Marcellus, C.C.X.
Hieronymus Querinus, C.C.X.
Thomaxus Emo, C.C.X.

[*Italian.*]

June 8.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 13.

777. The Doge and College to Carlo Capello, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Letters from Constantinople dated the 12th ult. The fitting out of the fleet continues. The departure fixed for the 20th of May for Modon, to meet Barbarossa with his fustes.*

Letters from Adrianople dated the 15th May. Sultan Solyman was to quit Adrianople for Filippopoli.

[*Italian.*]

June 11.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 324.

778. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

Mons. de Rolimbo [Rochambeau], the Imperial ambassador, arrived in London on the 3rd from Scotland, where he remained six weeks, about the divorce, and to obtain assistance from the King against the Turk. On the 6th a herald came from the King of Scotland to the King of England. A friend at the Scottish Court† writes, in date 28th May, that on the 15th the Parliament closed, having determined, in favour of the Queen, not to assent to the divorce. The King was to quit Edinburgh and to go to St. Andrew's, to hold another Parliament, at the request of the Pope, for the Lutheran affairs; and to obtain assistance against the Turk. This, the Papal Nuncio Dom. Silvestro Dario, hoped to procure; and 70 Lutherans in the neighbourhood of St. Andrew's, where they are in very great number, and plunder the country, doing much mischief, have been captured. Said Nuncio is expected in London in the course of the present month.

Advices purport that King Christian of Denmark, the Emperor's brother-in-law, who, as written by me some time ago, was ship-

* Fustes or Foists. (*See* Hall's Chronicle, p. 799.)
† Query Silvester Dario, Papal Nuncio at the Court of Scotland.

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wrecked with the greater part of his fleet, has been taken by the forces of the League of Lubeck, and it is expected they will put him to death.

The day before yesterday, the French ambassador, Mons. de Pomeraye, arrived from France, where his most Christian Majesty gave him a revenue of 6,000 ducats, and a very rich wife. He went immediately to the King, who is at a distannce of eight miles from London. The Marquis of Saluzzo, who was to have come hither, has renounced the project, as this French ambassador has supplied his place.

Has been assured by a trustworthy friend, that for the Italian expedition the King of France has 15,000 Switzers, and will have 10,000 Italian infantry, and 10,000 Lansquenets of the new band; and when the Grand Turk [Sultan Solyman] shall have commenced war on the Emperor, he, the King, will march.

The King is intent on terminating the divorce, and in momentary expectation of letters from Rome on the subject; but will not proceed to extremities until he sees the commencement of the aforesaid attack. He has commenced inspecting the artillery and ammunition in the Tower, which he purposes fortifying.

The galleys departed on the 27th ult., with a fair wind.

London, 11th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 16. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 13.

779. The Doge and College to Carlo Capello, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Intelligence from Constantinople.

[*Italian.*]

June 17. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. Filza 3.

780. League against Charles V.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta by the Councillors, Paolo Donato, Marco Minio, Toma Mocenigo, and by the Chief, Hironimo Quirini.

Letters from the ambassadors in France and England, dated 22nd and 13th May, containing the confirmation of the league against the Emperor, to be communicated to the Senate, whenever it shall seem fit to all the members of the College (*à cadauno del collegio nostro*).

Ayes, 9—12.
„ —18.
„ — 0.

Amendment proposed by the Councillor Gasparo Contarini—

That the above-mentioned letters of our ambassador in France be alone communicated to our Council of the Senate, and nothing more.

Ayes, 4. Noes, 15. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

June 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 284.

781. Marco Antonio Contarini, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Signory.

The Lutherans at the Diet of Nuremberg demand the maintenance of the articles in their "Confession" and "Apology," and permission

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to preach their doctrine and convert others to it, they considering it so Catholic, that by omitting to do so they reproach themselves with the want of Christian charity. They are content not to have communion with the Zuinglians and Anabaptists, unless they conform to the Lutheran dogmas.

The Emperor, will not consent to hold the Council General until this Turkish expedition comes to an end. When at liberty, he will do his utmost to hold it, and confer with the Pope to that effect.

Ratisbon, 19th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 21. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 400.

782. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

On the 11th received the Signory's letters, with advices from Constantinople. Went to see the King in a park, distant 10 miles from London. The King appeared very glad to see him. Communicated the news to his Majesty.

On the preceding evening Gioan Gioachino arrived from France, bringing the King a large sum of money for the pension on account of Calais (*sic*), and for old debts, as likewise the donations of 5,000 crowns annually, for the Duke of Norfolk and other members of the English Government. To him (Capello), Gioan Gioachino said, that he brought 52,000 crowns, and one morning he counted out 30,000 crowns.

Has paid two visits to the French ambassador [Pomeraye], who daily becomes more and more united with his Majesty. Has been assured that the King's natural son, the Duke of Richmond, will go to France.

Dom. Camillo Pardo Orsini crossed by Boulogne into France, and was waylaid by 25 harquebusiers sent by the Queen Maria* and Mons. de Fiennes, the Governors of Flanders; but they missed Dom. Camillo, who with his servant, continued his journey by another road, and wrote this account from Montreuil to one of his friends.

London, 21st June. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th August.*

[*Italian.*]

June 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 355.

783. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

The day before yesterday a messenger, who came by way of Antwerp, brought the King letters from the Pope, requesting assistance against the Turk, and about the annats. They have not yet answered him; consultations are held daily, but the reply will be one of words. A work is being written in haste against the payment of annats.

Dom. Gulielmo Penezone (*sic*) is going expeditiously as ambassador to France, it is said for damages incurred during the late wars; but the whole proceeds very secretly. He is also to negotiate for the King and other allies.

London, June 30th. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd July.*

[*Italian.*]

* Queen Dowager of Hungary.

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July 2.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 324.

784. Marco Antonio Contarini to the Signory.

In the Diet of Nuremberg it has been decided that the Lutherans are to live without molestation *usque ad futurum concilium*. For this concession, the Lutheran Princes will contribute to the succour against the Turks, and the four principal towns, Ulm, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Strasburg, as well as the others, will give more than the subsidy assigned them.

Ratisbon, 2nd July. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 7.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 318.

785. Advices received at the German Warehouse.

The Lutherans at the Diet of Nuremberg have made an agreement with the Emperor thus: they are to retain their religion (*fede*) for two years; the Emperor promising them a Council General, which is to be summoned within a year, and to assemble in the course of the second year. Should the Pope choose to be present, the Council to be general; if not, it is to be a national Council. On these conditions they will give the Emperor assistance against the Turk.

Augsburg, 7th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 10.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 355.

786. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

On the 6th received the Signory's missives of the 2nd and 8th June, with the advices of Turkish affairs, which had arrived in England a week previously by way of Rome. Sent to communicate these news to the King, as he (Capello) was indisposed.

His Majesty is carefully fortifying the Tower of London; there are about 1,000 men at work there daily, under the direction of Sir William Kingston; they are gradually destroying the old walls and rebuilding them.

Yesterday the King quitted Waltham and went to Risdon (*sic*), 19 miles from London. He will proceed, hunting and amusing himself, as far as Nourgam (*sic*) [Nottingham?], 124 miles (*sic*) hence; and then return by another road, at the end of September. He is accompanied solely by the French ambassador. He is in constant and hourly expectation of the reply from France; and here it is said publicly, that the Kings of England and France have an understanding with the Lord Turk, and are making secret preparations.

On the 5th instant here, in London, a priest was hanged, having been first drawn through the town at a horse's tail, for having clipped the King's coin. Thirty women besought the King to pardon him, but were refused. The fact is very remarkable, as he was put to death without being degraded, contrary to the will of the Bishop; a thing, they say, never done in this island since it embraced Christianity.

London, 10th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd July.*

[*Italian.*]

1532.
July 12.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 380.

787. Ricio and Panizoni, Milanese Secretaries, to the Duke of Milan.

The people of Strasburg, who have hitherto adhered to the Zuinglian doctrine, have joined the Lutheran towns and Princes against the Turk, giving them 1,000 infantry and 200 horse at their own cost. Their doctors, including Capitano (*sic*) and Bucer, coincide with the Lutherans about the Sacrament, and will allow every one to communicate under both forms or under one, according to the dictates of their consciences. This result has not pleased the doctors of Zurich, from fear lest worse follow. The Anabaptists multiply in many of the Swiss cantons, especially in Berne, and to apply a remedy (besides having drowned six persons here, viz., four men and two women), the Bernese Government consented to have a conference held at Zostinghera (*sic*) [Zoffingen?], which was attended by the Bernese doctors and many of the Anabaptist leaders. The conference lasted 12 days, and the Anabaptists alleged many authentic reasons in favour of their opinion, but were unable to confute the arguments alleged against them by the doctors of Berne; so it was settled that the parties should abide the decision of the Government of Berne, which will soon be proclaimed. The affairs of the Christian faith cannot but proceed favourably, having such worthy and learned judges.

Baden (in Switzerland), 12th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 20.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 461.

788. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

On the 14th instant the King received letters, dated the 5th, from his ambassador with the Emperor, Dr. Solemer (*sic*), full of loving expressions about the divorce, and requesting assistance against the Turk. It is supposed that the King will not reply until he has communicated with France.

His Majesty is at a distance of 40 miles from London, and will apparently not move to any great distance thence. He is amassing money, and hastening the fortification of the Tower of London.

Requests the appointment of his successor, that he may return home for the education of his children.

London, 20th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 21.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi.*

789. Bull of Clement VII. for John Scott, Layman of the Diocese of Glasgow.†

Is induced to accede to his pious demands. His competitors and enemies who sought to obtain certain estates and possessions belonging to him by inheritance, and certain adherents of theirs, having thrown him into prison, he was sustained in said prison

* The translation was made from the original Diaries, which are not paged.

† Another bull of a similar tenour, dated Bologna, dated 6 *id.* Feb. 1532, 10 pont., is printed in Rymer, XIV. 447. There is an allusion to John Scott in Mr. Froude's History of England, vol. i. pp. 294–295, ed. London, 1856.

1532.

during 33 days, without food and without drink or human consolation, remaining comforted solely by our Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed Virgin Mary, and by St. Ninian, bishop and confessor, whose miracles in Scotland become daily more and more resplendent. Having been released from that prison, and revived with meat and drink, and his competitors and enemies persecuting him more rabidly, he was driven to take refuge in the Monastery of Holyrood. He remained there without food and drink for 106 days, and in the meanwhile made a vow that if released from such distresses and tribulations, he would visit the Sepulchre of Christ at Jerusalem, and the places of the Holy Land, as also the body and relics of St. Ninian, deposited in the church of Whitehern (*in ecclesia Candidæ Casæ*),* without eating flesh or fish. Shortly afterwards, being freed and at liberty, he visited the relics of St. Ninian, and then directed his steps towards Jerusalem, traversing the kingdom of England, where he suffered much adversity.

The Pope therefore grants to him, and to one companion to be chosen by him, licence to visit Jerusalem and the Holy Land. As his own means (*vires*) do not suffice, the Pope remits to all Christians who shall have supplied him and his companion with necessaries, so many seven years, and the like number of fasts enjoined them as penance.

Rome, at St. Peter's, 1532, 21st July, 9 pont.

Signed: Friar Bernardo.

[*Latin.*]

July 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 410–411.

790. Jacopo Banitio, Dean (*Decano*), to ———.

Nothing has been done with the Lutherans; disagreement about eight principal articles, besides others which are *impertinenti.*

First, they demand to adhere to the "Confession" of Augsburg, until the council general be held.

Secondly, they will not obey the Anabaptists and the "Sacramentarians," *perchè sono specie di heresie.*

Thirdly, that the subjects of other princes and of the Empire be not forbidden to join their sect.

Fourthly, that the monks (*monachi*) and nuns, on renouncing their profession, be left at liberty, and be not compelled to resume it.

Fifthly, that the suits, processes, and awards concerning the despoiled churches and the seizure of the property belonging to them, and its restitution, be not confirmed, and that the judgment of the Imperial Chamber in this matter be suspended.

Sixthly, that their preachers be allowed to preach both *in campo*, and wherever they please, without being hindered by any body.

Seventhly, that the plundered Church property remain to them, and that no one prosecute them on that account. (*Setimo, che come è dito li beni ecclesiastici rapidi, li restino, ne possa venir contra di l'horo sopra zio*).

Eighthly, that they be not subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction with regard to church ceremonies.

* The church of Whitehern was situated in Galloway, and the relics of St. Ninian were preserved at Whitehern until the Reformation.

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These are the principal articles, besides many others, which the Lutherans will not renounce, and which the Catholics will not admit.

The Emperor has given orders for the printing of the Lutheran confession made at Augsburg, as likewise of the Catholic confutation issued there, to the dissatisfaction not only of the Lutherans, but also of the Catholic Princes.

Trent, 27th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 28. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 13.

791. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

By letters dated the 11th instant, from their Captain-General on the sea, are informed that on the 5th the Turkish fleet had arrived at Modon.

Will acquaint him with the future movements of the fleet, to notify to the King.

[*Italian.*]

July 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 461.

792. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

On the 25th letters were received from Rome, dated the 13th. They hope to make an end of the business, and quite despair of obtaining the King's wish at Rome; so his Majesty greatly resents the Pope's conduct, and complains openly, saying that by giving him hopes of the divorce, the Pope procrastinated. During the last two days, the King has been with the Duke of Suffolk and his sister the Queen [widow of Lewis XII.]. Tomorrow he will come to within 30 miles of London, and in a few days will be at Greenwich.

His Majesty has commenced taking the revenues of many abbacies and priories, which will amount in all to 50; the friars and canons will be sent separately to divers other monasteries, and the priors and abbots are deprived (*si deponeno.*)

Here everybody says, and it is heard in all quarters, that the King of Scotland is preparing for war against England, with the favour and assistance of the Welsh and Irish (*col favore et aiuto di quelli di Llans* (*sic*) *et Hirlanda*); a thing which it is hard to believe, by reason of the dependence of the Scottish King on his most Christian Majesty; yet many persons give it credit, and it proceeds from the new compact made with the Emperor. Mons. de Rochambeau (*Rozimbo*), late ambassador from the Emperor, on returning from Scotland, spoke to him (Capello) in honourable terms of the King. The Scots have made many incursions into the English territory, perpetrating numerous acts of incendiarism; but no preparations are visible (in England?), save that they are hastening the fitting out of some ships, and they lately inspected and tried the artillery.

London, 31st July. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th August.*

Note by Sanuto, that in one of his letters Capello mentioned the composition by an English doctor of a work concerning the divorce; and when printed and placed in a shop, all the copies were disposed of (*spazate*) immediately.

[*Italian.*]

1532.
Aug. 4.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 440–441.

793. Marco Antonio Contarini to the Signory.

Many judicious ecclesiastics here are of opinion that the agreement made with the Lutherans at Nuremberg is of another fashion than what was reported, and suspect that much more has been conceded them, judging from apparent reasons rather than from facts, perceiving that the Lutherans are elated. It is asserted that Duke John,* son of the Elector of Saxony, who was at open enmity with the Emperor, on account of what took place at the Diet of Augsburg, will shortly come in person to aid this undertaking [against the Turk] with a much greater number of troops than he is bound to bring into the field; and the like is said of the Landgrave of Hesse, who fled from Augsburg, and has a very important lawsuit with the Count of Nassau, from whom he has usurped certain territory by force. These two are the most Lutheran, and chief vindicators (*assertori*) of this sect. This is a proof that they have obtained their demands not to be molested by hostilities until the next council, and that the prosecutions have been suspended, as they retain Church property yielding a considerable annual revenue, seized by them on their own authority.

I forward the "*recesso*" issued at this diet [of Ratisbon]; the writing was corrected by the Emperor, but the articles were not all accepted by the States.

The Emperor came hither yesterday; he will not depart until he goes to the camp at St. Hippolitus, near Vienna, towards the end of the month. The first lodging will be at Passau. His Majesty is having a small tent of cloth of gold made, in which to arm himself. All are intent on procuring arms, horses, and provisions.

The "*recesso*" of the Diet is very long; it commences thus—"*Extractio quædam ex recessu Ratisbonæ, die* 27 *Julii* 1532;" and ends saying that they will call the Council General on account of the Faith within the period of six months; the term of one year being then appointed for its assembling; and should the Pope refuse, the Emperor promises to convoke and hold an Imperial Diet on this subject.

Ratisbon, 4th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. pp. 250, 251.

794. ——— to Polydore Vergil.

With an engraving of "a marvellous and monstrous fish stranded in the north of England, at a place called Tynemouth; printed in London, and translated out of the English tongue into the Italian."

In the month of August this sea of ours stranded, near Tynemouth, a dead animal, of exceeding great size which for the most part has been already pulled to pieces; and what remains is of such bulk that 100 wains could scarcely carry it away. Those who first saw this animal, and described it as precisely as they could, say it measured 30 yards or 90 feet in length; from the belly to

* John Frederick the Magnanimous, who became Elector on the death of his father John the Constant, on the 16th August 1532.

1532.

the fin on the back, which was buried in the sand, the length was eight or nine yards. The exact dimensions cannot be ascertained, because when I went to see this animal, on the 27th August, it emitted such a stench as to be almost unbearable, but its back, covered by the sand, is some three yards broad, so that the sea beats upon it daily, and the waves break over it. The aperture of the mouth is 6½ yards; the length of each jaw 7½ yards; the circumference, in some parts, 1½ yard, in others less: altogether it is as big as a large oak. It has 30 ribs on its sides, and for the most part, they are 21 feet long and ½ foot in diameter. It has three bellies, like very large caves; and 30 throats, five of which are larger than the rest; it has two wings or fins for swimming, each of which is 15 feet long, so that 10 oxen could scarcely draw one of them away. Adhering to the palate were certain horny laminæ, hairy on one side, in number upwards of 1,000, one of which I send thee. It is not a lie, Polydore, but a thing perfectly true, though they are not all of one size. The length, from the beginning of the head to the aperture of the mouth, is seven yards. Concerning the tongue some persons differ: the majority say that it was seven yards long, and that the animal had a genital member of prodigious size, and that it was masculine. A certain man having entered the body to pull it to pieces, fell, and would have been well-nigh drowned had he not clung to a rib. The space between the eyes is six yards, and the nostrils are very disproportioned to so huge a frame, for they resemble those of an ox. The tail is bifurcated and notched like a saw. In its head were two large holes, from which it is supposed to spout forth water, as if by tubes. It had no teeth, so people infer that it was not a whale, as whales have very large teeth; but in its mouth were the horny laminæ above mentioned.

London, — August 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd November.*

[*Italian.*]*

Aug. 6.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 462.

795. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

The Government in London is daily more and more intent on repairing the ships, seven of which—the King's own—he has seen in well-nigh perfect condition. His Majesty purposes having as many as 50 in all.

The King's son, the Duke of Richmond, with eight other personages, and the son of the Duke of Norfolk, will go to the most Christian King; and the Duke of Orleans will come to England.

Have been told that his Majesty will go to Calais, under pretence of erecting a fortress in the marshes there (*in quelle pallude;*) but it is supposed that he has for object to confer with the most Christian King and negotiate an offensive alliance against the Emperor. My friend says this passage across has not been settled. He declares that the most Christian King, besides the 50,000 crowns, has sent another 60,000 crowns to the Switzers. It also seems that 500,000 crowns

* Sanuto has transcribed the original Latin letter as well as the contemporary Italian translation, but he did not attempt to make a copy of the English woodcut, which would have been worth preserving.

1532.

have been prepared, wherewith to pay for six months 30,000 Switzers, at the rate of seven per cent., all efficient troops (*tutti boni huomini*). He does not doubt but that the most Christian King will also have 10,000 Lansquenets, and another 10,000 infantry in Italy.

The King has sent lately to the frontiers of Scotland two ships, one with 12 culverins and cannons, the other with 14, including falconets and . . . . ;* this artillery being all taken from the Tower of London, which is being diligently fortified (*la qual si attende con diligentia a fortificar*).

Sir William Skeffington, captain of King's County, on that Island,† came hither lately from Ireland, by the King's order, with six ships. He was plundered, and let go, by certain vessels belonging to the wild Irish,‡ and only one of the six ships escaped.

Intelligence has been received in London of the death of Dom. Hironimo Lascho. The French partisans here are in suspense; they suspect Sultan Solyman of having put him to death, for having revealed to the Emperor and his brother the secrets of the most Christian King, of King John [Zapolski], and the other confederates; and the French ambassador praises him vastly, saying that he was a most excellent man, and a very good Christian.

London, 6th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. p. 463.

796. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

The French ambassador, Mons. de Pomeraye, having returned to London from the Court, I dined with him, and afterwards having withdrawn into his chamber he asked me if I had seen the King's ships, and what I thought of them. I replied that they pleased me, and indicated war. He rejoined, "I give you important news, and write it to the Signory; within six weeks this King and my King will have an interview. His English Majesty will cross over to France, and then my King will accompany him hither. All will be done without pomp or display, for the benefit of Christendom. These two Kings purpose being prepared and well armed, in case the Turk worst the Emperor. He never chose to consult any one about so great an undertaking, or that others should have a share in it; he retains the kingdom of Hungary, and demanded troops and money of France and England as if they had been his vassals. These two crowns will themselves defend their own territories, and other Christian powers if necessary."

At the moment when Capello arrived at the ambassador's dwelling, which is a palace belonging to the King, he found that they had just extinguished a fire which broke out in the chapel, from a candle which had been left burning after the mass. The chapel, with all its furniture, was consumed, as also the vestures used by the priest for celebration of the mass.

London, 9th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th August.*

[*Italian.*]

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* Blank in MS.

† "Capitano in quella Isola dalla parte nominata *da questa Maesta.*"

‡ "Li qual viveno liberi."

1532.
Aug. 21.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 16.

797. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

Has been told by the French ambassador that his King will have an interview with the King of England after Michaelmas. His most Christian Majesty comes not to England, but will accompany King Henry from Boulogne to Calais, and the interview will last 10 days. Enquired whether they would treat matrimonial alliances; the ambassador said no, and they would merely consult together and prepare for defence. Marco Antonio Baiō [Baglione?] was present at this conversation, and said, "The King will marry the daughter of his most Christian Majesty, and the Duke of Orleans the Princess of England." The ambassador rejoined that they chose to be armed; and he complained that the Emperor and his brother had undertaken the expedition against the Turks without the knowledge of the most Christian King, and formed the vanguard of the army, which post belonged to his King, whose forces he greatly extolled, and said that he had money, having inherited a considerable sum from his mother. He then added that it would be well for the Signory to send an ambassador to this conference. Replied that there wer already two ambassadors, one for each crown, so should their Majesties choose, there will be two ambassadors at the interview; and if the Signory wished to send a third, they would not have time to do so. The ambassador said, "The Signory cannot trust either the Emperor or his brother, *l'animo di quali non si pol aquietar.*"

The King has not told him (Capello) to accompany him across the Channel, although ships and other necessaries are being prepared. All the lords and gentlemen are making purchases. Yesterday a ship set sail for Calais with tapestries and royal ornaments.

London, 21st August. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd October.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. pp. 502, 503.

798. Marco Antonio Contarini to the Signory.

At Vienna all are cheerful, and the Lutherans attend the sermons and masses, renouncing Lutheranism (*lassando il Lutheranismo*). Everybody rejoices.

It is said there is great plenty there, as they have possession of the bridge over the Danube, by which means they are supplied daily with unlimited victuals, to avoid risking them [in the open country?].

Ratisbon, 22nd August. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 16.

799. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

Four days ago the Rev. Archbishop of Canterbury [William Warham] died. The King sent the Duke of Norfolk to take possession as usual; he will keep it for a year and then give it to Dom. Gramello [Cranmer?] or to Master Pol [Reginald Pole?]. The Bishop of Langres is expected from the most Christian King. Will not fail to enquire the object of his mission. The nobility here are preparing to do honour to their King, and they will number upwards of 3,000 horsemen. It is said that relationships and marriages

1532.

(*parentà e noze*) will be negotiated, as indicated by the preparations making for entertainments.

Besides inspecting the artillery and ammunition, fortifying the Tower, putting his ships in order, and regulating many of his forces, his Majesty is yet more intent on collecting a large store of powder.

London, 26th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd October.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta). File no. 13.

800. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Continue their accounts of the progress of the Turkish fleet. Is to communicate the intelligence to the King immediately.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvi. (Originals.)

801. JOHN SCOTT, the Glasgow Faster.

Attestation of his abstinence by the Bolognese Vianesio Albergati.

Vianesio Albergati to his candid readers, greeting.

The Rev. Father in Christ the Lucchese Silvestro Dario, auditor of the "Rota" of our Holy Lord Pope Clement VII., and Nuncio to the King of Scotland, notified to me that John Scott, a man of probity, and of noble Scottish lineage, moved by piety towards God, abstained from food and drink during three consecutive months. Lest this should appear incredible I interrogated the said Scott, by an interpreter, whether he had remained for so long a while without eating or drinking. As he maintained that it was perfectly true, I asked him whether he would abstain for some days from eating and drinking, which, with God's help, he promised to do. Having stripped him of all his apparel, lest he should secrete anything whereby to recruit his strength and deceive me, and having clad him in other raiment, I kept him for 11 consecutive days and nights in my house, in a bedchamber (*cubiculo*), most carefully closed and sealed (*clauso et obsignato*). I kept the strictest watch, lest anything should enter that could serve for food and drink, for I always kept the keys of said bedchamber (*ipsius cubiculi*) in my own possession, in order that I might convince myself whether anyone could live so long without eating and drinking. On the expiration of 11 days, the said John having most constantly endured so long an abstinence, and having always preserved the same complexion (*colorem*), vigour, and pulse, which seemed singularly marvellous to the learned physicians who came very frequently to visit him; and as he had now exceeded the number of days during which a man can live without food and drink, I let him out of the bedchamber (*cubiculo*), he neither requesting nor expecting his discharge; and I enabled him to depart (*ac ei abeundi facultatem feci*).

During the whole time that I watched him under close custody, he prayed God and the saints continually, save when he talked or slept; of which thing I call to witness God Almighty, whose Majesty may not be deceived; and if I lie, I do not deprecate His eternal

1532. wrath. Farewell, excellent readers, and as no advantage can accrue to me from so impudent a lie, in case I do lie, believe the thing itself to be most true and most certain, as it is.

Rome, 1st September 1532.

VIANESIO ALBERGATI, Bolognese.

So it is with my own hand.

Registered by Sanuto, 30th September 1532.

[*Latin.*]

Sept. 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 17.

802. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

On the 30th August received letters of the 28th July and 7th August, with advices of the Turkish armament (*armata*). Sent the secretary to Windsor, where he communicated them to the Duke of Suffolk; and they spoke together about the King's crossing the Channel, the secretary telling him that he (Capello) would accompany his Majesty as a mark of honour. Thereupon the Duke went into the King's chamber, and came back returning thanks to the ambassador in his Majesty's name; but adding that he did not wish him to take the trouble, and that no ambassador was going with him save the Frenchman.

On that morning,* solemnly and in public, Madam Anne being there at Windsor "*con li capelli sparsi,*"† completely covered with the most costly jewels, was created by the King Countess of Pembroke, with an annual revenue of one thousand pounds sterling.

After this ceremony, the mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Winchester, and an oath administered to the French ambassador as his King's proxy. Then the Almoner made a Latin oration, expatiating on the greatness of the Turk, and the extreme ill-will he bore Christendom, without ever styling him "Turk," but merely "the perpetual enemy of our Lord Jesus Christ." He said that no one was to marvel at the oath taken, as it did not imply the non-existence of perpetual and inviolable confederacy between France and England, but that it was for the purpose of uniting the two crowns more closely, if it were possible, for their defence, and that of Christendom, to which effect the two Kings will employ their money, troops, their persons, and all their forces; and for this purpose they will have an interview, to take counsel together, and arrange what is necessary to be done.

Madam Anne will cross the Channel with the King, accompanied by 30 of the chief ladies of this island, amongst whom will be the Duchess of Norfolk and the King's sister, widow of King Lewis of France, who, it is said, stoutly refused to go; and many persons are of opinion that on the other side of the Channel, his Majesty will marry said Madam Anne, or take for wife the daughter of the most Christian King.

* Sunday, 1st September 1532. (*See* Hall.)

† Her hair falling over her shoulders. In a letter of Cranmer's describing her coronation, it is stated that she appeared, "*sytting in her heere, upon a horse lytter.*" (See Ellis's Letters, First Series, vol. ii. p. 37.)

wrath. Farewell, excellent readers, and as no advantage can accrue to me from an imputation a lie, in case I do lie, believe the thing itself to be most true and most certain, as it is.

Rome, 1st September 1532.

VIAGGIO ALBERGATI, Bolognese.

So it is with my own hand.

Registered by Secrets, 30th September 1532.

[Latin.]

Sept. 7. 802. CARDINAL CARETTO to the SECRETARY.

Vienna Diplom. Corr. vol. p. 17.

On the 30th August received letters of the 23th July and 7th August, with advices of the Turkish armament (arrested). Sent the secretary to Windsor, where he communicated them to the Duke of Suffolk; and they spoke together about the King's crossing the Channel, the secretary telling him that he (Caretto) would accompany his Majesty as a mark of honour. Thereupon the Duke went into the King's chamber, and came back returning thanks to the ambassador in his Majesty's name; but adding that he did not wish him to take the trouble, and that no ambassador was going with him save the Frenchman.

On that morning,* solemnly and in public, Madam Anne being there at Windsor "con il capello aperto,"† completely covered with the most costly jewels, was created by the King Countess of Pembroke, with an annual revenue of one thousand pounds sterling.

After this ceremony, the mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Winchester, and an oath administered to the French ambassador as his King's proxy. Then the Almoner made a Latin oration, expatiating on the greatness of the Turk, and the extreme ill-will he bore Christendom, without ever styling him "Turk," but merely "the perpetual enemy of our Lord Jesus Christ." He said that no one was to marvel at the oath taken, as it did not imply the non-existence of perpetual and inviolable confederacy between France and England, but that it was for the purpose of uniting the two crowns more closely, if it were possible for their defence and that of Christendom, to which object the two Kings will employ their money, treasure, their persons, and all their forces; and for this purpose they will have an interview, to take counsel together, and arrange what is necessary to be done.

Madam Anne will cross the Channel with the King, accompanied by 30 of the chief ladies of this Island, amongst whom will be the Duchess of Norfolk and the King's sister, widow of King Louis of France, who, it is said, shortly returned to go; and many persons are of opinion that on the other side of the Channel, his Majesty will marry said Madam Anne, or take for wife the daughter of the most Christian King.

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* Sunday, 1st September 1532. (See Hall.)

† Her hair falling over her shoulders. In a letter of Cranmer's describing her coronation, it is stated that she appeared "openly in her dovys upon a fayre couche." (See Ellis's Letters, First Series, vol. ii. p. 97.)

1532.

The Bishop of Langres arrived here last night, and went on to the Court.

London, 7th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 17.

803. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

The King has put off crossing the Channel until the 12th October, and it is thought the term will be prolonged. The affairs of the Turk and the Emperor keep his Majesty in great uncertainty.

It is said more and more daily that the King will marry Madam Anne, and make her a duchess before his passage to Calais.

The Bishop of Langres was at Windsor the day before yesterday, and yesterday. Has been unable as yet to learn the object of his mission. It is said he came about the interview. He is still at Windsor, together with the other French ambassador [Mons. de Pomeraye ?].

London, 7th (*sic*) September. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 24.

804. Zuan Antonio Venier, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

This morning his Majesty had the ceremony of the oath performed here, because in the past night a post arrived from England. None of the ambassadors, save the Englishman, attended the ceremony. Mass was said at noon, the King being present with his attendants, and it was sung by the Bishop of Macon; after which, the King took the oath, and a very brief oration was made, purporting that this act was a confirmation of the perpetual peace between his most Christian Majesty and the English King, made for the King's security when crossing the Channel; and that on this same day he is to proclaim it in England. Others say he will do so on the day of Our Lady (*il dì della Madonna*, qu. 24 Sept. ?).

The interview will take place on the 25th October next.

Amboise, 15th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 16.

805. Zuan Antonio Venier to the Signory.

The most Christian King is in the neighbourhood of Tours, not having chosen to enter the town, by reason of his very numerous attendants, who occupied every place. The ambassadors had to lodge themselves within the city, where the plague is raging, people dying in the streets. On the 11th, arrived at Amboise. On the 13th the King sent the Lord Steward to Calais; he came through Amboise. Went to meet him. He (the Lord Steward) said that he was going for four or five days to his house at Chantilly, and would then proceed to Calais, to make the necessary arrangements, and the King of England will cross the Channel and have a meeting with his most Christian Majesty as friends. They purpose taking into consideration the present important state of affairs, as the Turk is near Vienna, much to the peril of Christendom.

1532. Adds in cipher, that they much fear the Emperor may be victorious, instead of being worsted, as against the Turk they might find a remedy; but these two Kings do not approve of the Emperor's greatness, and have a defensive league between them, and this interview is for the purpose of arming; but the most Christian King will not make an attack, either in Italy or elsewhere, on the Emperor, so long as he is occupied with the Turk.

Amboise, 15th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 160.

806. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

On the 11th, the Bishop of Langres returned to France; he remained but one night in London. Was unable to speak with him. Sir Francis Bryan will also depart in a few days, on his way to the most Christian King; it is not known with what commission, but according to report, it relates to the interview, though he (Capello) is assured that the marriage is being negotiated, and that on the 12th instant the King, who had not seen the Princess for more than a year, spoke with her alone for three hours, and they then went together to a very grand hunt (*una bellissima caza*), at which 100 bucks were killed.

Here preparations are made daily by those who are going to the interview, on which the most Christian King is much bent; and noblemen and others are constantly crossing over to Calais.

It is also reported that the King of Scotland is preparing for war against King Henry, and has sent to tell him to remain at home, as he (the King of Scotland) is coming to visit London with 60,000 men, and to recover the body of his father King James. King Henry replied, telling him to come, as he will be as welcome and as well received as his father was.

Has seen letters from Scotland from a friend, in conformity with the foregoing news; and that the King is intent on arming and on having a very large quantity of bows, and a great number of bowyers, as he has neither the supply required by him, nor staves with which to make them. He has sent some captains to the borders of Scotland. King Henry will not allow the nobility of the Border to cross the Channel with him.

The Dantzikers (*quelli di Dans*) lately plundered and cruelly murdered the crews of certain English ships, having taken all the men, who as usual every year went to buy fish in those parts; and it is supposed that the Dantzikers are allied with the King of Scotland.

Tomorrow his Majesty is to come to inspect the ships and the building at the Tower; and on Tuesday he will go to Greenwich and subsequently to Gravesend and Dover by water, as there is much plague in those parts, and there is no lack of it in London. Yesterday, at the King's Court, the master of the kitchen (*il maestro della cusina*) died of it, having waited on his Majesty the day before.

London, 18th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st October.*

[*Italian.*]

1532.
Sept. 21. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 124.

807. ZUAN ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The Bishop of Langres has returned from England, whither he went about the conclusion of the peace between these two Kings and the future interview. The English ambassador, late resident here, has departed on his way to Chantilly, to accompany the Lord Steward to Calais and do him honour, as he (the ambassador) is Captain of that fortress.

Blois, 21st September. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 160.

808. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Has heard through two channels that his Majesty will cross to Calais to terminate the divorce, and certain doctors and friars who advised in favour of his Majesty, are also going beforehand to Calais to consult about the affair of the divorce with those of the university of France. Here they prepare daily for his Majesty's passage, which will take place on the 16th October.

Today the Marchioness gives a banquet to the King and the French ambassador.

His Majesty has reduced the number of attendants who were to accompany him across by one half, from fear of the plague, and for greater despatch. The plague increases daily in London, and well-nigh throughout the country. The King also does this to leave more men of account, by reason of the Scottish affairs, which cause him anxiety.

London, 24th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. pp. 19–21.

809. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

There are three ambassadors from the King of England in this city [Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Benet, and Sir Gregory Casal], and as his Majesty is going across the Channel, they have determined that one of them shall go to acquaint him with the state of his affairs; so Sir Gregory Casal (*il monte Casal*) (*sic*) is going. The Pope approves of this, and has written a brief to the King, praying him to send the mandate for the cause, and that such good consideration as due will be had at Rome. Casal will depart in three days.

Rome, 27th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 25.

810. The SAME to the SAME.

John Scott, who came from Scotland, his country, on his way to the Holy Sepulchre, is here; he offered the Pope to remain many days without any food, and his Holiness gave him in custody to trustworthy persons, who kept him securely locked up for 13 days without having eaten. He remained there the whole time, always in prayer, and would have staid longer had not the Pope desired him to be set at liberty, and that food should be given him. This proceeds from divine grace rather than from deceit "*o atto alcuno.*" On his aforesaid voyage he will visit Venice. Has been requested

1532.

both by him and by the chief personages here to recommend him. Beseeches the Signory to concede him favour.

Rome, 30th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 242.

811. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

The King will commence his journey on Friday next, and will go by water to Canterbury. On the —th instant, he is to be at Boulogne with the most Christian King, and the greater part of the Court has already crossed; he will remain but a short while; he takes only 500 horse with him on account of the movements in Scotland, which become daily more intelligible.

A herald has come from the King of Scotland defying his Majesty to war. King Henry replied that being his nephew and a King, and considering him his son, he does not wish for war with him, but is not afraid, nor does he doubt whilst defending himself, to be able to injure (*offender*) his enemies. The cause of this stir is said to be that King Henry refused him the body of his father, which is unburied at Richmond. The King of Scots demanded it earnestly, and insisted on the expulsion from England of the Scottish emigrants (*foraussiti*). To this King Henry would not consent. The King of Scots has a large force of troops on the Borders, including the Earl of Angus, husband of the Queen, who is the English King's sister, and mother of the King of Scotland, who shows himself averse to the divorce and in favour of Queen Katharine, and he is supposed to be agreed with the Emperor. He has expelled all the English from his territory, and issued a proclamation for all the men of Scotland from the age of 16 to 60 years to be ready within 20 days with arms and victuals for the performance of 60 days' military service.

This intelligence has been received by letters from Scotland, and from two of the attendants of the Papal Nuncio there [Silvestro Dario], who are now in London. The King of Scotland will have with him 10,000 Irishmen from that part of Ireland which the English call Savage-land (*Selvagion*), whose inhabitants yield obedience to the Pope, and lately captured or plundered some ships belonging to the King of England.

It is said that the people of Dantzick (*di Dans*) are in arms, and in league with the King of Scotland; and in Flanders, Queen Maria [Queen Dowager of Hungary] has raised 10,000 infantry on the borders of France, and of the places [in Picardy] held by the King of England, and has sent 2,000 foot soldiers to Gravelines.

It is believed that the divorce will take place, and that this King will marry the Marchioness, to the discontent of the majority.

London, 2nd October. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 28.

812. John Scott.

Reading in the Senate of the letter from Marco Antonio Venier. (*Note by Sanuto.*)

A letter came from our ambassador at Rome, dated 30th September. He writes that one John Scott has arrived there on his way to Jeru-

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salem. He professes to remain many days without eating. The Pope placed him with a guard; he remained 13 days, praying the whole time, without taking any food: on their expiration the Pope gave him leave to restore himself. He is coming to Venice with a brief of recommendation from the Pope, for his voyage to Jerusalem. The letter was read in the Senate.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 194.

813. ZUAN ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

All the ambassadors came hither in advance of the most Christian King, who departs today to Abbeville, awaiting the passage of the King of England across the Channel to Boulogne, where the first interview will take place.

Whilst his Majesty was in Britanny, an ambassador from Scotland arrived to negotiate the marriage of the most Christian King's eldest daughter to the King of Scotland; he was ordered to Tours, and the plague being there, he waited at Angers, and at length they desired him to come to Paris. Lately this ambassador used high language, saying his King would no longer procrastinate, and will make terms with the Emperor, who offers him two Princesses (*donne*), one of whom is supposed to be his niece, daughter of the ex-King of Denmark; and he said that if the most Christian King delayed in order to have the opinion of the King of England, the King of Scotland would then not take the French Princess, should any words or clause of consent be inserted [in the contract] by King Henry.

There are advices from the Emperor's court, dated 13th September, purporting he is sure of victory, as the Turks must retreat. King Francis is much perplexed on this account, and goes protracting the interview, at which it is thought he will merely look to his own affairs without making any stir. The Lord Steward was to quit Chantilly today, on his way to Calais.

Paris, 4th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 29.

814. JOHN SCOTT at VENICE. (*Note by Sanuto.*)

This morning came to the Doge, Dom. John Scott, who, according to the letter from Rome, remains many days without eating. His Serenity sent him to the Chiefs of the Ten. He was accompanied by Ser Michiel Morosini, to whom he brought a letter of recommendation from Cardinal Pisani. He cannot speak (Italian?); is about 50 years old; long hair, red face, rather fat; is wrapped round the body in a very sorry cloth garment; and holds in his hand a book of offices (*uno officio*), on which his eyes are bent. He has with him a Scot, who can speak nothing but Scotch, and no one understood him. On his departure from Rome the Pope gave him 12 crowns for his journey hither. He exhibited a certificate "*di uno di Scozia*," how that he (Scott) had passed three months without eating anything, during which interval he communicated twice. There is also a certificate from Rome, to the effect that he

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salon. He professes to remain many days without eating. The Pope placed him with a guard; he remained 13 days, praying the whole time, without taking any food: on their explaining the Pope gave him leave to restore himself. He is coming to Venice with a brief of recommendation from the Pope, for his voyage to Jerusalem. The letter was read in the Senate.

[Italian.]

Oct. 4. 813. Rome Arrival of Venetian Envoy.

Senato Dispacci, v. lvii. p. 195.

All the ambassadors came hither in advance of the most Christian King, who departs today to Aubervilliers, awaiting the passage of the King of England across the Channel to Boulogne, where the first interview will take place.

Whilst his Majesty was in Britanny, an ambassador from Scotland arrived to negotiate the marriage of the most Christian King's eldest daughter to the King of Scotland; he was ordered to Tours, and the plague being there, he waited at Angers and at length the desired him to come to Paris. Lately this ambassador used high language, saying his King would no longer procrastinate, and will make terms with the Emperor, who offers him two Princesses (nieces), one of whom is supposed to be his niece, daughter of the ex-King of Denmark; and he said that if the most Christian King delayed in order to have the opinion of the King of England, the King of Scotland would then not take the French Princess, should any words or clause of consent be inserted [in the contract] by King Henry.

There are advices from the Emperor's court, dated 13th September, purporting he is sure of victory as the Turks must retreat. King Francis is much perplexed on this account, and goes protracting the interview, at which it is thought he will merely look to his own affairs without making any stir. The Lord Steward was to quit Chantilly today, on his way to Calais.

Paris, 4th October. Registered by Soranzo, 7th November.

[Italian.]

Oct. 6. 814. John Scott at Venice. (Now by Sanuto.)

Senato Dispacci, v. lvii. p. 72.

This morning came to the Doge, Don John Scott, who accompanied the letter from Rome, remains many days without eating. The Seignory sent him to the Chiefs of the Ten. He was accompanied by Ser Michiel Morosini, to whom he brought a letter of recommendation from Cardinal Pisani. He cannot speak (Italian ?): is about 50 years old; long hair, red face, rather fat; is wrapped round the body in a long sorry cloth garment; and holds in his hand a book of offices (uno officio), on which his eyes are fixed. He has with him a Scot, who can speak nothing but Scotch and no one understood him. On his departure from Rome the Pope gave him 12 crowns for his journey hither. He exhibited a certificate "di mano di Sorzio," how that he (Scott) had passed three months without eating anything, during which interval he communicated twice. There is also a certificate from Rome, to the effect that he

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had been locked up in a chamber for 10 days without taking any food. The Chiefs of the Ten then sent for the cellarer of S. Giorgio Maggiore, and desired him to keep the two Scots for 10 days, after which they will be sent to San Spirito,* and to other friaries, until a safe passage to Jerusalem can be procured for them. Many persons went to see him (John Scott).

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 11. **815.** MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 89–90.

Last night the Imperialists received news of the capture of Modon on the 25th ult., by Prince Andrea Doria, who hopes to make progress in the Morea.

The Pope says that the King of Scotland will make war on the English King.

Rome, 11th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 14. **816.** CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 243.

On Friday the 7th instant the King left Greenwich and crossed to Calais. It is said he goes to terminate the divorce, and espouse Marchioness Anne; but one of the doctors who wrote in favour of his Majesty, declares that he will take for wife the daughter of the most Christian King, and give the Marchioness in marriage in France, so as to unite himself with the Pope and satisfy the Emperor; and for this purpose the Bishop of Langres, who had been to the Emperor, came hither. A week ago King Henry sent another ambassador in haste to his Majesty (King Francis ?).

The Papal ambassador tells me this interview is not about the divorce, and still less for the marriage of the Marchioness; they will not assume the Pope's office (*non si vorano far si stessi Pontifici*) but will negotiate matters of extreme importance. He (the Papal ambassador) said, "The Signory would do well to have a secret agent with them, to bear in mind the League of Cambrai." I replied thanking him, but said that the Signory merely employed ambassadors.

A few days ago, on the northern coast of this island, the sea stranded a dead fish of marvellous size, 90 feet long. Sends a letter addressed to Dom. Polydore Vergil "*de quì*" [in London], together with the engraved likeness of this fish.†

Three weeks since there appeared here a comet, which is still visible, two hours before daybreak, to the eastward, its tail extending towards the south, five yards in length; well nigh in the form of a luminous silver beard. (*De qui già xx. giorni, di quì è aparso una Cometa, ch'ancor apare do hore inanzi giorno in le parte di*

* In the year 1532, the island of S. Spirito in the Venetian Lagoons was inhabited by the "Canons of S. Spirito." (See Flaminio Corner.)

† "In 1526, Polydore Vergil published a treatise *de Prodigiis* (8vo., Lond.), consisting of Dialogues and Attacks upon Divination. This work was reprinted at Basle by Bebelius, in 1531, and again by Hingrim in 1545." (See pp. xiii. xiv., Sir Henry Ellis's Preface to "Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History," printed for the Camden Society, 1844.

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*Oriente, e stende la coda sua verso mezo dì, di longeza di braza 5, in forma quasi di una lunga barba, e d'arzento splendulo).**

On the morrow of the King's departure from Greenwich, the people here declare that the tide flowed for nine hours, the water having nearly reached Greenwich Chapel; a thing never hitherto seen or heard of. The English consider these things prodigies.

Nothing more is known about the affairs of Scotland. King Henry is mustering considerable forces for the Scottish borders, and here every night diligent guard is kept.

The plague increases daily, and makes everybody uneasy.

London, 14th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 17. **817.** ZUAN ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 238.

On the 15th, when at Boulogne with part of the ambassadors, the rest being all lodged within eight leagues of that place, a messenger came from the Lord Chancellor Legate [Duprat], saying that the English King had left the ambassadors on the other side of the Channel; so King Francis, on his part likewise, wished the ambassadors not to attend this interview, King Henry having sent him word to this effect. In the course of tomorrow King Francis would wish them all to be at Abbeville, 18 leagues from Boulogne and 25 from Calais.

The English King crossed the sea to Calais on the 11th of this month, with from 1,500 to 2,000 horse. The Lord Steward went to pay his respects to him, and was received with great honour; and on that day he dined with his Majesty.

The most Christian King arrived within three or four leagues from Boulogne three days ago, according to the arrangement made and on the 25th or 26th the evening entertainments† will be at an end.

From discretion (*modestia*) the ambassadors have determined not to send their secretaries to the Court. Will endeavour to learn the news and transmit it.

Montreuil, 17th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 24. **818.** The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 13.

The day before yesterday Count Guido Rangon presented himself to the Signory with letters of credence from the Emperor in whose name he informed us that Sultan Solyman had retreated to Constantinople, abandoning the expedition against Germany. His Imperial Majesty proceeds through the Signory's territory to Mantua, on his way to Bologna, where he purposes kissing his Holiness's foot, and will then embark at Genoa for Spain.

* In date 5 August 1531, the ambassador Falier mentioned the appearance in London of Halley's comet; and of the comet of 1532, a Venetian dictionary of dates, contains the following notice: "From the 23rd September to the 20th November, with a long tail towards the south." (Cronologia del P. Coronelli, p. 509; ed. Venice, 1707.)

† In the original *le vele*, for *veglie*. Baretti translates *veglia*, "a night's meeting."

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The Senate had elected four of our chief noblemen as ambassadors, to meet and accompany him.

Is to acquaint the King with this, and also that last night a galley arrived with letters from their Captain-General on the sea, dated Cephalonia 27th September, informing them that at mid-day on the 21st, the Imperialists stormed Coron, after having battered it during four consecutive days; they cut to pieces all the Turks in the place, and the castle surrendered immediately. It was said there [at Coron] that the Imperialists would attack Zonchio, Patras, and Lepanto; but some persons are also of opinion they will lay siege to Modon.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 195, 196.

819. Marco Antonio Venier to the Signory.

The Pope being cured of the gout, went this morning to congratulate him on his convalescence. Was told by his Holiness that he had received letters from Dover, dated the 15th instant, informing him that the English King had arrived there to cross over to Calais.

Rome, 27th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 354.

820. Conference between Henry VIII. and Francis I., at Boulogne and Calais*.

To the praise and eternal glory of God our Creator and of our blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and in order to obviate the injuries, conspiracies, and machinations which the Turk, the ancient enemy and adversary of our holy faith, has of late devised against Christendom, we, Francis, by the grace of God Most Christian King of France, and Henry, by the same grace, King of England, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, although we believe firmly and indubitably that notwithstanding the reports and scandalous things heretofore circulated against us, yet nevertheless do the Princes and other persons of honour and virtue and of good and loyal conscience consider us as due princes and kings, holding the position held by us, and following the footsteps and virtues of our ancestors, as becoming the greatest princes of Christendom, and that we have constantly, with our whole hearts desired, and still desire, amongst other worldly wishes (*tra queste cose mortal*), to hazard not only our forces and power, but also our own persons and lives for the defence and conservation of the Christian religion, and to resist the injuries, forces, and acts of violence perpetrated by said Turk, our common enemy and adversary. Of this good and valid testimony has been afforded by the offices already performed by us to resist said Turk; but wishing nevertheless more than ever to give sure proofs of our will and intention, so that the other Princes and potentates who share them may be enabled to join us, and by mature

* Document enclosed in a despatch from the Venetian ambassadors Venier and Giustinian, date Paris, 14 December 1532. (See also Leonard, t. ii. p. 388, and Dumont, t. iv. part ii.) It is not in Rymer.

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consent see what assistance and succour each of them can afford, becoming their means, for the purpose of providing and arranging in those parts on the borders of Christendom apparently most in danger from said Turk, in case he determine to pursue yet farther the undertaking commenced by him, or attempt hereafter another fresh invasion of said Christendom, we have deemed it well, and more than necessary, to meet together, with the intention of negotiating certain articles relating to the conservation and defence of said Christendom, according to what we see and know to be necessary, and such as the matter requires, and notifying them subsequently to the Princes and potentates. And although the principal cause and foundation of our said conference was and is, as already stated, to provide and arrange for averting the evident peril and detriment which might be incurred by said Christendom; and as by the advices received by us since we met, announcing retreat of said Turk, for which with our whole heart we must give thanks and praise eternal to God, our Creator; it seems that at present there is no great need to make farther provision. Nevertheless as possibly said Turk, although he has removed to a certain distance, may have formed some fresh plan of attack, or may purpose invading Christendom on some future occasion, we, not choosing to lose the opportunity for which we have held this interview, but rather to avail ourselves of it to provide against what may happen hereafter; on this account, we, as Most Christian, and we, as Defender of the Faith, have resolved and agreed together that in the case aforesaid we will prepare and put together a very large and powerful army, supplied with every requisite, to prevent said Turk from advancing farther to the detriment of said Christendom; and to do this we purpose assembling our forces, to the amount namely of 80,000 men, comprising 15,000 cavalry, with such a train of artillery and amount of ammunition, as also of other things necessary for said army, which we shall pay monthly, and these forces to be mustered at such time and place, as may seem fit to us, and as we shall know to be expedient. And we will march in such direction as shall seem to us the most fitting to meet said Turk, and oppose him with all our power; nor will we separate our said forces without the will and consent one of the other; and with regard to the victuals which will be required for our said army on its march, we will give such orders and make such provision that there will be no lack thereof, nor any deficiency, for the which things we will defray the necessary cost. And as we cannot take with us the requisite stores nor provide them on the line of march, unless we are conceded passage and succour of said victuals, as notorious to everyone, we have therefore agreed together that should this come to pass, we will send persons express to the Princes and potentates, both of Germany and the Imperial cities, as also to the Italian towns through which it will be requisite to pass, and in like manner to the parties most liable to detriment through the coming of said Turk, earnestly requesting them to concede passage to our said army, both going and returning, through their countries, towns, and signories, and that they will give us security to this effect, and moreover provide us with the requisite victuals, everything being paid for at a reasonable rate; all which

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we firmly believe that the said Princes and potentates will grant us freely. And we have moreover this firm hope and trust in them that as it is a question of so holy and necessary a work, and which affects the entire common weal and defence of the whole Christian religion, and in like manner the establishment and security of their states, that besides granting said victuals and passage, they will not fail to ponder, and, should this matter come to pass, to conjoin and unite their forces together with ours, remembering also that possibly said Turk may become so powerful in Christendom that the aforesaid forces mustered by us, without the assistance of the said Princes and potentates, may be insufficient to produce the effect desired and intended by us, so that said Christendom would remain at the mercy of the common enemy, a thing which would be of such great importance, as anyone of good understanding may imagine and conjecture. All the which things here aforesaid and written, and each of them, we promise respectively one to the other, in good faith and on the word of a king and on our honour, to keep and inviolably observe without diminution; in testimony whereof we have signed the present agreement with our hand, and caused it to be sealed with our seal. Given at Calais on the 28th October 1532, in the year of the reign of us, Most Christian, the 18th, and of us, Defender of the Faith, the 24th.

Registered by Sanuto, 18th January 1533.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lv. p. 41 tergo.

821. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR and VICE-BAILIFF at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Emperor had quitted Vienna on his way to Spain.

The interview between the Kings of France and England will take place.

Ayes, 179. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31. Sanuto Diaries v. lvii. p. 266.

832. ZUAM ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

All the ambassadors being here [at Abbeville] on the 18th, I wrote from Montreuil, that on the 17th the Papal Nuncio and the Imperial Ambassador caused us to remain here at Abbeville, an insult to the powers we represent, we being put to cost and in confinement whilst the former ambassadors are sent for to Montreuil and Boulogne, and while others are allowed to attend the congress, which shows they are treating against our princes.*

On the 11th instant the English King crossed the Channel, and landed at Calais with from 1,500 to 2,000 horse. He brought with him the Marchioness Boleyn, his favourite, with some twenty maids of honour (*damigelle*). The most Christian King remained hunting in the neighbourhood of Boulogne until the 19th, when he entered the town. On the 20th he went to Marquise, and on the afternoon

* "Ritrovandosi tutti li Oratori quì alli 18, scrissi da Montreuil che adi 17 il Nontio Pontificio et Orator Cesareo concluseno questo atto di farne star quì apartati, e via, (con pocha consideration, et per far grande iniuria a li Principi de chi semo Oratori, li quali è sta fati venir a Montarol e Bologna), e spender, confinandone, e a cadaun altro è sta lecito andar a veder i congressi."

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of the 21st proceeded towards Calais, and midway met the English King, and both their Majesties, with mutual goodwill and respect, embraced, calling each other "brother;" and coming to Boulogne, the most Christian King placed the King of England on his right hand; and passing through Marquise they refreshed themselves, the reception being as pompous and costly as possible, there being great plenty of everything requisite.

Proceeding on their way, they met the Dauphin and the Dukes of Orléans and Angoulême, and the most Christian King said to the English King, "Sire, those are the Dauphin and my other sons, who wish, and are bound, to pay their respects to your Majesty;" and he then drew a little aside, not choosing to take part in the reception. Whereupon the English King not only embraced but kissed them all three on the mouth; and the Dauphin and Orléans thanked him for what he had done, and for having released their father from captivity, declaring that their lives and their entire substance would at all times be at the disposal of his Majesty and his kingdom. Angoulême, who had not the same subject of discourse, addressed him in another form, but so sweetly and sagely, according to report, that he spoke like an angel; so that the English King again embraced him alone, kissing him several times; after which the most Christian King resumed his place beside King Henry, thanking him for his gracious reception of his sons. They were then met in succession by five cardinals, namely, the Legate [Chancellor Duprat], Bourbon, Lorraine, Tournon, and Grammont, and by a great number of archbishops, bishops, and prelates, and by many princes and barons, all of whom were embraced by the English King, which being a tedious and fatiguing ceremony, was considered a mark of great graciousness on the part of his Majesty; there being, in addition to these, the 200 gentlemen of his most Christian Majesty's household, in rich and noble array, and the 400 archers, and the 100 Switzers, all in very costly liveries of silk and gold, so that the abundance of silk, gold, pearls, and jewels on the part of France was considered inestimable, most especially on account of the embroideries and brocades (*brocature*) now in fashion there; but on the side of England there were many cloths of silk, and gold chains without number, but not such boundless expense.

On entering Boulogne, although the English King remonstrated against it, his most Christian Majesty accompanied him to his chamber; and on the following day sent him, as a present, a coat (*iuppone*), a doublet (*saio*), and a gown (*roba*), such as he himself purposed wearing on that day, which apparel was embroidered with pearls and precious stones, so that it is said to be marvellous. And the various games, entertainments, and pageants were most splendid and endless; and the extreme graciousness of both the Kings was remarkable, for the most Christian King always banqueted the Englishmen, King Henry doing the like by the Frenchmen. On the 13th the most Christian King gave the English King a suit of bed furniture, wrought throughout with pearls on crimson velvet, which he purchased lately in Paris of an Italian merchant for

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10,000 golden crowns; and the other day he gave him six coursers of his own breed, the handsomest he had in his stable.

It is said that on the evening of the 23rd the two Kings held a long secret conference, there being present on the part of France the Lord Chancellor Legate, the Lord Steward, and the Admiral,* and on the part of England the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the Bishop of Winchester.

The result of this conference is understood to be that the most Christian King sends the Cardinals Tournon and Grammont to the Pope about the Emperor entering Italy, and will send a personage to said Emperor (*a esso Cesare*), and he has despatched an ambassador to Scotland to offer his daughter to the King there, according to the request made by the Scottish ambassador, who had returned to his King without any decision. But his most Christian Majesty will give him his daughter on condition that he do forthwith form a league and understanding with his Majesty and the English King, which will be difficult.

It is said that the English King having made the Marchioness cross the Channel with him for the purpose of marrying her, with the intervention of King Francis, (*per sposarla con intervento dil Re X^mo.*) his most Christian Majesty apparently modified this project at the consultation held between them; and such is the belief of the French and English.

The Reverend (*sic*) Casal † arrived lately, having ridden post from Rome, where he was negotiating for the English King. No farther change was caused by his coming.

On the morning of the 25th the most Christian King gave the collar of his order of St. Michael to the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and went to Calais with the English King; and on the road, and on entering that town, the same compliments were paid as on entering Boulogne, every loving and honourable demonstration being made towards the French; nor was there less magnificence; games and pageants being exchanged for wild fowl and venison, and, moreover, for English ladies.‡ Then the English King gave his most Christian Majesty a vesture (*uno vestido*), and six coursers, and six hobbies (*chinee*); and it is said, though this I do not know for certain, that he remitted and gave to the three French princes the entire debt due from their father, amounting to about 300,000 crowns. He also gave his Order of St. George to the Lord Steward and to the Admiral§; and finally gave, as servant to the most Christian King, his natural son, who is about 13 years old.

On the 29th the English King, accompanied by the most Christian King, went a distance of three leagues beyond Calais; there they took leave of each other with many mutual embraces and caresses.

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* Philippe Chabot, Seigneur de Brion.

† Query Sir Gregory Casal. (See State Papers, vol. vii. part 5, p. 380.)

‡ "e non furono inferiori di splendidezza, suplendo nelli jochi spetaculi, de animali silvestri e di più dille dame Englese." *See also* Hall, p. 795. "I assure you he [Francis I.] and his trayne, were requited at Caleis for [by ?] the plentie of wylde foule, venison," etc., etc.

§ Montmorency and Chabot.

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It is reported that these two nations, which are by nature hostile to each other, exchanged greater marks of honour and goodwill than were expected.

Two days hence the most Christian King will go to Amiens, there to consult about the mission of these two Cardinals. It is said that these two Kings have agreed for the Cardinals to insist on the Pope's not leaguing with the Emperor, and should he make a fresh agreement with him, they will no longer allow the collation of the benefices of France and England to be referred to Rome, but will separate their clergy from the Roman See. (*Si dice questi Rè hanno convenuto che li Cardinali insista ch'el Papa non conseguisca il vincolo con Cesare; et facendo nova intelligentia non voler più che la expeditione di Franza et Anglia vadino a Roma, ma divider il suo clero dalla Sede Romana*). But this interview (*vista*), and conference have been a superfluous expenditure,—entertainments and pageants, and nothing else.

Abbeville,* 31st October. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31. **823.** CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 276.

Wrote that his most Christian Majesty and the English King met together on the other side of the Channel, there being present at the interview solely a French secretary, who wrote down their negotiations.

According to the advices received their Majesties met on the 21st, at the distance of a league and a half from Calais. The most Christian King was accompanied by the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Lord Steward Montmorency, Monsr. di St. Pol, Monsr. de Guise (*Monsr. de la Gisa*), Monsr. de Pontier [Penthièvre?], and other lords and gentlemen, some 1,800 in number, who came processionally, all most richly clad, the meanest wearing black velvet. The King of England was with the Dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Richmond, the Bishops (*sic*), and others numbering 800 horse, all in embroidered coats, some of velvet and others of cloth. The King was all covered with pearls and jewels, and on meeting the most Christian King was the first to uncover; and having embraced each other, King Francis went to salute the Duke of Norfolk and the other lords, King Henry doing the like by the Cardinal of Lorraine and those of France. And the King of England being placed on the upper hand, they went together towards Boulogne, hawking on the way and quarrying herons; and when within a league of Boulogne they were met by the three sons of the most Christian King, accompanied by four Cardinals, the Lord Chancellor, Bourges, Bourbon, and Grammont, with 600 lords and gentlemen, in no less gallant guise than the aforesaid, with a very handsome company of 500 halberdiers. And his most Christian Majesty presented his said sons to the English King, making him a present of them, commanding them, under pain of his displeasure and paternal malediction, always to honour and obey him as their father, which pleased the King of

* In the original "Bovilla," but see letter dated Montreuil, 17th October.

1532.

England; and it is said that he gave them the 300,000 crowns which he lent to their father for his ransom from Spain. Their two Majesties then entered Boulogne, whereupon all the artillery, which is in great quantity there, was discharged; and in one guard there were 100 Switzers, dressed from head to foot in red, yellow, and violet-coloured velvet. The two Kings lodged together.

Next morning the most Christian King sent to the English King an entire suit of white velvet, very costly, with embroidery; and the most Christian King clad himself in a similar suit; and dressed thus alike they heard mass. The other greetings (*accoglientie*), such as banquets and entertainments, were very exquisite, and replete with every demonstration of honour.

Then on the 25th they quitted Boulogne at sunset, and entered Calais together, with no less rejoicing than was made at Boulogne, and the most Christian King and his company were well received, and the day before yesterday departed; and it was said that yesterday the King of England would embark on his return to this island; but I have seen letters from a member of the Privy Council that he will tarry some days beyond sea; and it is supposed that he will have another interview with the most Christian King at Guisnes and Ardres, this last-named place belonging to France, the other to England; and that the Duke of Orleans, the second son of the most Christian King, will come to England with King Henry, whose son, the Duke of Richmond, will remain with King Francis.

The Parliament here has been prorogued until Candlemas, and will be prorogued as much longer as the settlement of the divorce is delayed; and fresh books appear daily in English, French, and Latin, part in favour of the King and part for the Queen.

London, 31st October 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th December.* [*Italian.*]

Oct. 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 279.

824. SUMMARY of the INTERVIEW between the KINGS of ENGLAND and FRANCE.

Madam Anne is not one of the handsomest women in the world; she is of middling stature, swarthy complexion, long neck, wide mouth, bosom not much raised, and in fact has nothing but the English King's great appetite, and her eyes, which are black and beautiful, and take great effect on those who served the Queen when she was on the throne—(*et li ochj, che sono neri et belli, el che ha grande modo de l'intertenimento di servitori avesse la Regina quando era in salute*).

The most Christian King will go to a distance of two leagues from Calais to meet the King of England, and then return to dine at Marquise, and sleep at Boulogne, where they will remain Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and then on Friday go to Calais, remaining there Saturday and Sunday.

These two Kings have a bitter feeling against the Pope and the Emperor. The English King purposes destroying the castle of Gravelines, which the Emperor built opposite Calais.

Madam Anne lives like a Queen at Calais, and the King accompanies her to mass and everywhere as if she was such.

1532.

The King's son is very handsome and accomplished.

On the 20th October the most Christian King, accompanied by the gentlemen of his household, went to mass at Notre Dame de Boulogne.

200 Imperial horse and 500 infantry have entered Gravelines; so the Emperor has shifted his quarters.

In the afternoon the King, accompanied by the princes, went to sleep at Marquise, between Boulogne and Calais; his three sons, the Legate, the Lord Chancellor, and the other Cardinals and Bishops remaining at Boulogne, he having solely Lorraine and Bayonne with him; and tomorrow the two kings will meet at the "Hospice" of St. Gilbert.

On the 21st October 1532, at the ninth hour, the most Christian King dined; at the 10th he mounted on horseback with all the princes and gentlemen who were at Marquise, and they went towards Calais, without servants: and all the gentlemen, who were in great number, were clad in velvet.

On arriving at St. Gilbert's, two leagues from Calais, the King of England came in sight, very well accompanied by princes and gentlemen. And when the two Kings met they embraced each other twice, and after exchanging a few words, again embraced closely, shedding a few tears of joy, and then reciprocally embraced the princes.

The Dauphin with his two brothers and the Legate, Bourbon, Tournon, and Grammont, were at a distance of half a league from Boulogne with the young Princes Nevers, the sons of Vendôme, de Guise, and many other gentlemen, and the King's archer-guard and the Switzers. When the Kings met them, his English Majesty embraced them, and Angoulême's speech to him was graceful.

They then entered the town in a body; and in the evening the two Kings remained together before supper in pleasing discourse, after which all went to supper in their own apartments. And after supper the most Christian King went to visit the English King, and they discussed light topics (*e parlono di cose piacevole*), and then withdrew to their chambers. The chambers were richly furnished, and the halls also.

This morning, the 22nd, the most Christian King sent to give the English King a gown, a coat, and a doublet (*una vesta, uno zamaro, e uno giupono*), and the King also clad himself in like manner, and they went to a church. One went to one chapel, the other to another, both of which were very richly furnished; and the mass being ended, they joined company, and a "*mottetto*" was sung in his (*sic*) chapel, commencing with the words "*Da pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris.*" All the Cardinals who were at the mass went together, after church, to the apartment (*scalla*) of the English King, where they remained half an hour in conversation, and then went to the apartment of the most Christian King, and the English King kept the Cardinal of Lorraine to dine with him; and after dinner they had a game at ball, and then gambled. The most Christian King dragged the King of England* to Council, where he remained

* "*Il Rè Xmo il tiro in consilio dove stete,*" etc.

1532.

about an hour, and then went to see the English King joust. They are intent on making good cheer; the Dauphin and the Lord Steward invite some of these grandees to banquet with them. The negotiations are conducted very secretly. On coming from the game of ball in the middle of the court, compliments were exchanged about accompanying each other. Having entered their chambers, the most Christian King before supper went to visit King Henry, whom he took to sup with him, and a very handsome banquet was served, after which they gambled, and the Cardinal of Lorraine lost 1,500 crowns to the Duke of Suffolk; everyone then withdrew. The Lord Steward placed the first service before the the King, and then retired to his lodging in the Castle, taking with him all the English princes and lords, to whom he gave a very grand banquet in great state.

On the 23rd, the two Kings on quitting their chambers met in the centre of the court, and after talking together awhile, proceeded to the mass, which being ended, they returned to their apartments. The most Christian King took the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to dine with him, and the English King did the like by the Cardinal of Bourbon, Lorraine, Vendôme, St. Pol, and Guise. Even the King talked licentiously;* and they gambled for the space of two hours. After dinner the most Christian King sat in Council with the Bishop of Winchester, the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, the Cardinal Legate, the Lord Steward, and the Admiral‡; the Cardinals Grammont, Tournon, and Bayonne were in the hall but did not enter, and departed.† They remained together for an hour, and then the most Christian King came to the English King to the joust. The aforesaid again sat in Council, remaining thus for about two hours, the only persons present besides themselves being Vilander (*sic*) and an English secretary. The joust being ended, the two Kings went into his most Christian Majesty's chamber and had a long conversation at a window, and it was known to be of importance.

This evening the Cardinal of Lorraine gave a banquet to the English Princes. The English King gave his most Christian Majesty 13 very handsome horses of his country, and received others from King Francis.

A roll is being made of the persons who are to go to Calais.

The affairs here are conducted very secretly, nor can one hear anything.

It is understood that the Queen of France demands her share in the government of Flanders.‡

On the evening of the 23rd, the two Kings supped, each in their own quarters; and after supper the two remained together alone, more than an hour and half.

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* "*Fino il Rè intrò in ragionamento di lussã*" (sic) (*lussuria*?).

† "Il Re X^mo^ poi disnar intrò in consilio con Monsignor di Vicestre, duca di Sopholch e di Norpholch, il Legato Cardinal Gran Metre et Admirante, li Cardinali Agramonte et Tornon et Bajona, erano in la salla e non introrono e se partirono."

‡ "La Regina di Franza se intende dimanda il suo partagio delle cose di Fiandra." Eleanor of Austria, Queen of France, sister of Charles V., probably claimed part of the property left by her aunt Margaret, Governess of the Low Countries, who died at Mechlin on the 1st of December 1530; or it may mean "her share in the government of Flanders."

1532.

On the morning of the 24th the two Kings quitted their chambers simultaneously, and the sons of the most Christian King went to return thanks to the King of England for the 300,000 crowns which he gave yesterday to all three of them, such being the amount due to him from the King of France.

When the English King came downstairs, his most Christian Majesty presented him with seven very handsome horses, each of which King Henry chose to inspect. Afterwards they went together to mass. They dined together in the large hall, which was very well decorated with very beautiful tapestries, and with them were the Cardinals, the Legate, Tournon, and Grammont, and Louis de Venes (*sic*), Fleuranges, Bartexius (*sic*), and Larisipola [Larochepot ?]; and there was much good cheer, and some of the English favourites dined with the most Christian King. Then the two Kings were together for a short while, and went to see the game at ball [query, tennis ?]. The Legate, the Lord Steward, and the Admiral, with some Englishmen, sat in Council.

It is said that the marriage of Madam Anne will be solemnized on Sunday, and that Bayonne will sing the mass.

During the last two days the most Christian King has been in a great passion, owing to letters received from Rome, purporting that he has been the cause of the Turkish invasion, and the Pope allows sermons to be preached in Rome publicly to this effect.

On the 25th the Legate went to the King, as did also the other Cardinals. Afterwards, the two Kings being in riding gear, and with the order [of St. Michael] round their necks, [the most Christian King] gave it with very great ceremony to Suffolk and Norfolk.

After dinner the two Kings mounted on horseback on their way to Calais, accompanied by his most Christian Majesty's three sons; and the Cardinals Tournon and Grammont are being sent to Rome, for the purpose, it is said, of obtaining the tenths and annats of benefices in the same manner as conceded to the Emperor.

The marriage of Madam Anne is announced by balls,* banquets, and masquings, but the people of England will not allow it to take place.

The King's sons remained [at Boulogne ?]; the Lord Steward went to . . . . .

I write nothing about the doings at Calais, but nothing was thought of but good cheer, balls, and masquings; and very great honour was paid to the most Christian King; and some Frenchmen were made Knights of the Garter.

The son of the English King is very handsome and accomplished; he came to France, and the son of the Duke of Norfolk is also coming.

The King of England has arranged to fortify Guisnes and other places distant 2½ leagues from Calais.

Boulogne ? 31st October. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th December.*

[*Italian.*]

* *S'è messo in balli*, etc.

1532.
Nov. 7. **825.** INTERVIEW between HENRY VIII. and FRANCIS I.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 229.

The French ambassador came into the College-hall, saying he had received letters from his King, who was going to hold a conference with the King of England for the welfare of Christendom, as it is necessary to arm against the Turk; and that he hears the Emperor would fain form a fresh league and understanding in Italy; so he (the ambassador) informs them that the most Christian King is the Signory's very great friend, &c.

The Councillor Polo Donado answered him, that the Signory held his Majesty in great account, and has great friendship and alliance with him.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8. **826.** ZUAN ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. pp. 267, 268.

The remittance of 300,000 crowns as written by me is untrue. The miraculous result of Turkish affairs* has stopped it, and checks King Francis, who otherwise would have endeavoured to disturb Italy; whereas now the great personages here say that the world will remain at peace.

The day before yesterday, on arriving here, his Majesty despatched the two Cardinals to Rome; and they will be with the Pope by Christmas, this delay being caused by the indisposition of the Cardinal Tournon.

Yesterday, having been to visit the Lord Steward, he said to me, "We have had a loving interview with the English King, and many conferences were held; write to the Signory that we discussed what was necessary for Christendom; our ambassador will announce this, and you will receive a copy of the treaty. The Emperor's affairs subsequently took this turn; but the King has no lack of good-will."

Amiens, 8th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11. **827.** MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 236.

The Pope has received letters from France from the Nuncio; the interview between the Kings of France and England took place on the 21st October. He describes all the ceremonies. His most Christian Majesty gave the English King many costly presents; and many entertainments were made at Boulogne. There was no ambassador there, nor anyone save their Majesties, because the King of England left the ambassadors on the other side of the Channel. The most Christian King is sending the Cardinals Tournon and Grammont to the Pope; and the English ambassadors have told his Holiness that their King is sending the Bishop of Lincoln [John Longland], his Majesty's confessor, to his Holiness, who said he had seen letters from the Lords Stewards of the two Kings, dated in this present month, announcing the interview at Calais on the

* The retreat of Sultan Solyman from the neighbourhood of Vienna.

1532.

26th, and entertainments given by the English King, who would remain there until the weather changed; and the most Christian King was staying at Boulogne.

Rome, 11th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st November.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 15. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 13.

828. The Doge and College to Carlo Capello, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Having received letters from their captain-general on the sea, giving account of the progress made by Prince Doria with the Imperial fleet, enclose a summary of it for communication to the King.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 21. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 292.

829. Marin Giustinian to the Signory.

At the inn from which he was writing he met the English ambassador, Sir Gregory Casal, who went to visit him, and spoke of the interview between the two Kings; said that the most Christian King had given the order of St. Michael to the Duke of Suffolk, the English King's brother-in-law, and to the Duke of Norfolk; and the English King gave the Garter to the Lord Steward and the Admiral. The conferences were very secret, and attended solely by the Lord Steward and the Admiral; the result will transpire in six weeks. The affairs of these two Kings cannot now be ascertained as of yore. Casal then added, "The most Christian King is intent on amassing as much money as possible; this Pope is unwise; he has not chosen to allow my King to have the divorce case transferred from Rome; and the Cardinals Tournon and Grammont have left Paris for Rome. The Pope has granted the Emperor the tenths and the crusade-bulls, and has allowed him even to sell the church property, from which he will derive two millions of gold. You will witness great things one of these days; the French are the good friends of the Italians." He spoke much against the Emperor, and said, "But obedience will be withdrawn from the Pope. Something will be done."

Bevera [Briare ?], 21st November. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 292.

830. The Same to the Same.

Met the Cardinal Tournon, who is going to the Pope, and consigned to him the letters of credence. He said the Cardinal Legate De' Medici had been arrested in Germany; the Emperor apologized, and the Pope desired him to return to his Imperial Majesty. The Emperor is going into Italy; will leave 16,000 infantry there, for which Italy is to pay. Cardinal Tournon does not know what the Signory will do. Cardinal Grammont was following him on his way to Rome, to be present at the interview between

* The summary does not exist in the Senate's register, nor amongst the news-letters which were received at Venice from Vienna, in June 1869.

1532.

the Emperor and the Pope. He says the English King complains of the Pope.

Montargis, 22nd November. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26. **831.** CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 330.

On the 23rd November, received the Signory's letters of the 9th September, to obtain permission to send the galleys on the Flanders voyage. Spoke on the subject to the personages in authority, and subsequently to the King, who is at a distance of 10 miles from London. Congratulated him in the Signory's name on his return; and spoke for an hour about the affair of the galleys, and the confirmation of the privileges for Venetian subjects. His Majesty listened graciously, and said that in all things possible he with his Council always wished to satisfy the Signory, and that he would let him know when he was to return for the reply.

His Majesty returned from Calais on the 14th instant, and is to be at Greenwich today. Nothing is known about the interview; according to report it was for the purpose of confirming the loving alliance between the two crowns. The most Christian King promised the King of England that at the end of this month he would have a congregation of the clergy and doctors held, to discuss the matter of the divorce; and they will also treat the convocation of the Council. Before Candlemas the Cardinal of Lorraine will come to England for a conference with the King, who it is said purposes converting six of the chief abbacies of this kingdom, which yield an annual rental of 150,000 crowns, into a bishopric; thus obtaining very great profit for himself.

London, 26th November 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th January* 1533.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 29. **832.** ENGLISH CONSUL IN CANDIA.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 262.

The English ambassador [Prothonotary Casal] presented himself to the College with a letter from his King, announcing his having elected as his Consul a certain individual, requesting the Signory to accept him; and orders were given for letters to Candia, desiring the Government there to accept said Consul.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 12. **833.** PROTHONOTARY CASAL.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 285.

The English ambassador came into the College for news, but did not transact any business of importance.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 13. **834.** CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 351.

Urged the ministers to grant the permission for the galleys to go to England, and spoke at great length on the subject in the Council Chamber. The Duke of Norfolk said the business was of very great importance, and they would consider it.

1532.

Has visited Mons. de Montpézat, the French ambassador, the successor of Mons. de Pomeraye. Was informed by him that the congregation of prelates held in Paris will not end before Christmas; and that the most Christian King purposes raising a force of 40,000 infantry in France, with their commanders, somewhat like the Venetian militia*; and this he does without taking any foreign troops.

The King of England goes to the Tower daily to hasten the works there; and is founding cannon, and having gunpowder made. He has appointed 24 captains of the island to make a census of the able-bodied men capable of bearing arms; and his forces lately made a foray into Scotland, the Scots having also invaded England.

Requests the State to appoint his successor.

London, 13th December 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th January* 1533.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 353.

835. ZUAN ANTONIO VENIER and MARIN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the SIGNORY.

At the meeting of the ecclesiastics, held in the house of the Legate, it seems that they offered two tenths; but the King not choosing "tenths," they offered him the equivalent of two tenths, though at present it will not be levied, unless needed. Having done this, the meeting was dissolved.

Subsequently the Papal Nuncio, Triulzi, Bishop of Como, was seen in a passion with the most Christian King,† who gave him the lie a good three times, using dishonourable language against the Pope.

Two Germans arrived in Paris, the one as agent from the Count Palatine, the other from the brother of the late Duke Frederick. They had audience of the King, and have departed. It is said they came to notify the dissatisfaction of the Princes at the Emperor's sudden departure from Germany. Will send the copy received by them, of what the two Kings negotiated at the conference. Believes it to be much curtailed.‡

Giustinian has finished paying the visits of introduction, and Venier will set out on his way home at Christmas.

Paris, 14th December 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th January* 1533.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 351.

836. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Has heard upon oath, from persons who are likely to know, that the King of Scotland sent the Princess the ring, and affianced himself to her in the presence of certain witnesses; and this took place owing to the departure of the King, who hearing it on his return, was much troubled, and on this account sent twice to France. Yesterday a messenger arrived from the King of Scotland and told

* "Quasi come si fa le nostre ordination."
† "Alterato col Rè Xmo."
‡ See document dated 28th October 1532.

1532.

his Majesty that his King will do whatever he, the King of England, wishes, and be his good son.

Yesterday the Princess went to the Tower with the King; today she returns to her residence. It is hoped the affair will pass quietly.

It is said that in the spring the most Christian King, with the King of England, will undertake the Italian expedition. They believe that in the event of the Council, the Pope will accede to their wishes, and are expecting the decision from Rome.

London, 16th December 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th January* 1533.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 351.

837. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Went to the *Al malo* [*or Alimalio*] about the galleys, and Dom Cromwell said that should it be chosen to send the galleys, an arrangement must be made with the King. Replied that he had no commission to that effect, his business merely relating to the privilege granting them permission to come during five years, of which two were still due; and if the galleys did not come last year, it was because there was no wool in the island, and now that there is an abundance of it, they ought to abide by the privilege, which is advantageous for England. The King heard the conversation, for he was in a chamber [ensconced?] behind the arras. I then dined with the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Wiltshire, who told me afterwards in his Majesty's name that he was content that the galleys should be sent this year, and ratified the privilege until the end of March 1535. Should it be wished to continue the voyages, they insist on three things: the first is a fixed amount of ready money to be sent with the galleys; secondly, that the spices be of a certain description; and thirdly, a specified quantity of bow staves; but the chief of these conditions is the amount of money. So for this year the Signory may send the galleys under good auspices, and subsequently obtain permission for others to come. Will have the present permit inscribed at the foot of the old privilege, as it would be very expensive to draw up a new one.

The Duke of Norfolk said that the King is the Signory's friend. Suggests that a letter of thanks be written to his Majesty. The Duke added, "The Pope and the Emperor purpose harassing you: be watchful; keep your eyes open." They then said, "Beware of the Pope, who is restrained by you alone (*che non pensa se non de voi*), and would fain make himself master of the greater part of Italy." They also approved of the garrisons placed in the Signory's towns, for the passage of the Emperor.

The Duke of Norfolk requests the Signory to send to him from Venice by safe conveyance, the safest possible, at the least cost, the body or bones of Thomas [Mowbray] the first Duke of Norfolk, who was buried more than 150 years ago in a vault (*deposito*) in St. Mark's Church; and concerning this, the English ambassador, to whom he (the Duke) is writing, will receive instructions.*

* In the inquisition on the death of Thomas Mowbray (1 Henry IV.), the place of his death is not mentioned, but the time is stated to be 22nd September 1399.

1532.

his Majesty that his King will do whatever he, the King of England, wishes, and be his good son.

Yesterday the Princess went to the Tower with the King; to-day she returns to her residence. It is hoped the affair will pass quietly.

It is said that in the spring the most Christian King, with the King of England, will undertake the Italian expedition. They believe that in the event of the Council, the Pope will accede to their wishes, and are expecting the decision from Rome.

London, 10th December 1532. [Replaced by Secretary, 18th January 1532.

[Italian.]

Dec. 23. 837. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

Reform Diaries, v. fol. p. 321.

Went to the 4th audience [of Henry] about the galleys, and Thomas Cromwell said that should it be chosen to send the galleys, an arrangement must be made with the King. Replied that he had no commission to that effect, his business merely relating to the privilege granting them permission to come during five years, of which two were still due; and if the galleys did not come last year, it was because there was no wool in the island, and now that there is an abundance of it, they ought to abide by the privilege, which is advantageous for England. The King heard the conversation, for he was in a chamber [concealed?] behind the arras. I then dined with the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Wiltshire, who told me afterwards in his Majesty's name that he was content that the galleys should be sent this year, and ratified the privilege until the end of March 1533. Should it be wished to continue the voyages, they insist on three things: the first is a fixed amount of ready money to be sent with the galleys; secondly, that the spices be of a certain description; and thirdly, a specified quantity of brown sherry; but the object of these conditions is the amount of money. So for this year the Signory may send the galleys under good auspices, and subsequently obtain permission for others to come. Will have the present permit inscribed at the foot of the old privilege, as it would be very expensive to draw up a new one.

The Duke of Norfolk said that the King is the Signory's friend. Suggests that a letter of thanks be written to his Majesty. The Duke added, "The Pope and the Emperor purpose harassing you; be watchful; keep your eyes open." They then said, "Beware of the Pope, who is restrained by you alone (che non passa se non da voi), and would fain make himself master of the greater part of Italy." They also approved of the garrisons placed in the Signory's towns, for the passage of the Emperor.

The Duke of Norfolk requests the Signory to send to him from Venice by safe conveyance, the safest possible, at the least cost, the body or bones of Thomas [Howbery] the first Duke of Norfolk, who was buried more than 150 years ago in a vault (deposito) in St. Mark's Church; and concerning this, the English ambassador, to whom he (the Duke) is writing, will receive instructions.*

* In the negotiation on the death of Thomas Howbery (? Henry IV.), the place of his death is not mentioned, but the time is stated to be exact to a month.

1532.

It is believed that the affairs of Scotland will be arranged.

An ambassador from the King of Denmark has arrived, and was presented today; and they also despatched the envoy from Scotland.

Requests the appointment of his successor, that he may be enabled to return home.

London, 23rd December 1532. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th January* 1533.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 26. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 351.

838. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

The Duke of Norfolk requests me to have sent for him hither a perfectly impenetrable cuirass, of those made at Brescia; and the Earl of Wiltshire wants another for himself, and one for his brother, and the Treasurer and Dom. Cromwell make a like demand, so that they will be five in all with their coverings; and they say they will pay for them. Sends the measurements.

London, 26th December 1533. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th January* 1533.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1533.

1533.

Jan. 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 379.

839. MONS. DE MONTPEZAT, French Ambassador in England, to ———.

As to the affairs of Scotland, the Scottish gentleman who came hither is gone back with a decision in favour of peace rather than of war, which both sides are waging very roughly on the borders. The King of Scotland has twice assembled the Parliament for a large army for the invasion of England, and they will decide on the 1st of this month.

London, 4th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th February.**

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Mantuan Archives.

840. HENRY VIII. to FREDERICK DUKE OF MANTUA.

Has received the present of the mares by Ippolito Pagano, a gift most agreeable, not merely because he delights greatly in horses of that breed (*illo equorum genere*), but also because they were sent by his Excellency. Returns thanks, &c.

As Pagano is now returning to Italy, the King sends two English hobbies (*gradarios equos*), and requests him to accept them, together with assurances of his good will and affection.

From Greenwich, 8th January 1532–(33).

Signed: Vester bonus amicus, Henricus Rex.

Countersigned: Petrus Vannes.

[*Latin.*]

* From the letter of Marin Giustinian, dated Paris, 20th January 1533, it may be inferred that the foregoing was addressed to the Lord Steward of France, whose secretary probably gave a copy of it to the Venetian Ambassador.

1533.
Jan. 8. Mantuan Archives.

841. HENRY VIII. to FREDERICK DUKE OF MANTUA.

His beloved servant, Matteo Barba, the Duke's subject, who has served the King faithfully for many years, is returning to Italy, to visit his kinsfolk; the King requests the Duke to treat him graciously.

From Greenwich, 8th January 1532–(33).

Signed: Vester bonus amicus, Henricus Rex.

[*Latin.*]

Jan. 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 394.

842. CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

Writes by way of Antwerp. During the holydays this King's forces gave battle to those of Scotland, each side numbering some 6,000 men, both incurred great loss of life. The English entered Scotland in three directions and burnt a castle, bringing back much plunder of cattle, worth 30,000 ducats. Both English and Scots are preparing for war. Dom. Cromwell has sent into those parts 30,000 pounds sterling (30,000 *sterlini*) to raise troops, and the Duke of Norfolk will go on the expedition. A great battle is expected shortly. The Scottish ambassador spoke haughtily to the King, threats being exchanged between them. The ambassador has departed, and told the King that if he possesses riches and treasures, his King has braver and more valiant subjects than the King of England;* and that if his English Majesty promises himself the support of the most Christian King, his King promises himself no less [support] than he [King Henry] does, because the late King, his father, died for the army of France; and that the English will greatly deceive themselves by relying on the Earl of Angus, as he is a rebel to his King, and detested by all Scotland. This nobleman was the husband of the Scottish Queen, the sister of the King of England, and mother of the King of Scotland; and last year he came over to England accompanied by two of his brothers, with whom he is now on the Borders. It is hoped that matters will be adjusted by means of the most Christian King; and since the arrival of the post from Scotland on the 8th, it is said that the King purposed retreating, and is willing to be pacified.

London, 11th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 378.

843. MARIN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Concerning the affairs of England and Scotland, the English ambassador here† tells me he has received letters from the Duke of Norfolk, dated the 4th, informing him that the Scots have come to open war, the King being in the field with from 40,000 to 50,000 men, who however refused to assemble or to march until the King in person joined the army, which was within some

* "Che si l'ha richeze thesori, il suo Re a più animo et valorosità di soi huomini di lui."

† John Wallop. (*See* "State Papers," vol vii. pp. 422, 423.)

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30 miles of the English borders, at a place called Unbarg [*sic*; *qu.* Dunbar] King Henry has mustered an equal amount of troops under the command of the Lord Chamberlain, and if necessary the Duke of Norfolk will go thither, he being in great repute there, and was also present at the death of the late King.

Paris, 15th January, 1533. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 379.

844. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The understanding between France and Venice is good. Two French Cardinals had arrived at Bologna,* and were well received.

England and Scotland were in arms on their borders. King Francis has sent an envoy to Scotland to quiet the matter.

Paris, 20th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 389.

845. The SAME to the SAME.

One hundred thousand crowns have been paid here to D. Joachim [Passano], ambassador from the King of England, on account of what his most Christian Majesty has to pay; and at Boulogne in Picardy, he also had a like sum on this account.

Nothing further about England; the English ambassador says that preparations are being made, and that he has letters from the Duke of Norfolk to this effect. Has also been told by a courier from Scotland that he saw the muster of the Scots; and that the King of England also has raised 12,000 infantry besides the troops already in his service on those Borders.

Paris, 23rd January. *Registered by Sanuto, 10th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 405.

846. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Nothing further has taken place with regard to the affairs of Scotland; both sides are preparing for war within a few days, and King Henry will have 40,000 men in those parts, but it is thought that the two kings will be reconciled through the mediation of his most Christian Majesty. The King's viceroy in Ireland was killed lately under a castle on that island [Castle of Birr], by an harquebuse shot, from the so-called "wild Irish" (*chiamati selvatici*), who do not tender obedience to this King; and some gentlemen also lost their lives.

His Majesty has created Dr. Cranmer—who had been tutor to the Marchioness Anne, and lately ambassador to the Emperor—Archbishop of Canterbury; this having been done by favour of said Marchioness. The Parliament is to assemble on the 2nd of February and after hearing from the ambassadors the resolution formed at Bologna, it is said that the Cardinal of Lorraine and another cardinal, and also Philip Melancthon and some others of the most

* The presence at Bologna of the two French Cardinals, Tournon and Grammont, is mentioned in a letter from Benet to Henry VIII., date Bologna, 14 January 1533. (*See* "State Papers," vol. vii. pp. 407-409.)

1533.

learned men in Germany, will come over to this Parliament. It is supposed that should the Pope not accede to King's Henry request about the divorce, the matter will be decided here, where they will also discuss the Council. New books are written daily; and many abbots and prelates, besides the usual members, have been summoned to attend this Parliament.

By way of France, the King has received letters dated Ferrara, the 2nd instant, from the two French cardinals, who say it is hopeless to obtain what is desired about the divorce, although his Majesty says he has also had letters, dated Bologna the 2nd, from Sir Gregory Casal, purporting that the Pope is inclined to satisfy him.

The reply made by the Signory to the Pope and the Emperor about making the new League, has been heard here, and pleased everybody, including the French ambassador.

On the 13th instant, at Greenwich, towards sunset, there fell from the sky, in the south-east, a ball of fire the size of a human head; which phenomenon, these English consider a prodigy, and draw conclusions thence.

Beseeches the Signory to elect his successor, that he may be enabled to return home.

London, 24th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 407.

847. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Doctor Bonner, late ambassador from his Majesty to the Emperor, arrived here on the 24th. He quitted Bologna on the 8th, and brings the King satisfactory intelligence (*grate novelle*). Two couriers with letters from Bologna followed him, on which account the King has sat in Council daily; and today they discuss the reply to be made to the Pope and the Emperor. According to report, the King has large offers relative to the divorce; and the Nuncio, who rarely had audience of his Majesty, now confers with him frequently; and they are preparing for him the moneys on account of the annats for the bulls of the Archbishop-elect of Canterbury—contrary to what had been determined. Is assured the Emperor would wish his Majesty to marry his (the Emperor's) sister, the Queen Maria [widow of King Lewis of Hungary], but the King chooses to be free.

The Scottish King is mustering troops on the Borders. It is said he will marry the Princess of England, and he shows great courtesy (*usa gran humanità*) towards King Henry.

The day before yesterday, the King created Sir Thomas Audley—who was keeper of the Great Seal—Lord Chancellor.

Private advices from Venice, received in London, announce that the Signory was awaiting the licence to send the galleys, as already transmitted by him.

Requests the Signory to elect his successor.

London, 29th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd February.*

[*Italian.*]

1533.
Feb. 6.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 410.

848. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Had audience of the King, who, after discussing other matters, spoke of the marriage of the Pope's niece [Catherine de' Medici] to the Duke of Milan, which his Holiness has renounced.

As the Lord Steward had told him that the Scottish forces were increasing in number, and that he hoped the gentleman sent by the King to quiet matters would do some good, asked his Majesty about the affairs of Scotland. The King replied—"It is said there are troops on the Borders, but not in great number, and I believe peace will be made, as both those kings wish for it. Scotland has no money; they will raise the troops of the country, which are bound to keep the field at their own cost for 40 days, and may amount to some 80,000 men. They are like wild beasts (*sono come bestie*); they rush forward to get themselves killed (*vanno avanti a farse amazar*); they are personally brave (*sono valenti homini di le sue persone*). The King of England is much more powerful; he has a fund of money (*fondamento di danari*), but has no fortified town in which to save himself, and might be compelled to give battle; and were Scotland supplied with 100,000 crowns, 4,000 harquebusiers, a certain number of Lansquenets, 1,000 light horse, 300 spears, and an artillery train, she would give the King of England something to do (*daria da fare al Re di Anglia*); and when at Calais, I spoke to him about this matter, and found him much irritated against said King of Scotland. And the dispute proceeds from a small place which is not worth 5 *carlini*, and which belongs rather to Scotland than to England, and the King of Scotland went with 3,000 men and took it; and hence arose the enmity. The King of England is now the enemy of the Emperor, and the Emperor might assist Scotland, and cause him to make war. They wished to refer the matter to me, but I would not undertake this charge. The King of England is my brother, the King of Scotland my very old friend, though I have cause of complaint against him; for his sake, I spent a million of gold against the King of England, and then he accepted the Emperor's collar [of the Fleece?]. But I have given sound advice (*tamen ho consegia la ragion*)." He then said that the Emperor in his Council had determined to abandon Coron, but the Pope induced him to delay, saying it would be well for the Grand Master of Rhodes to undertake the defence.

Paris, 6th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 394.

849. MARCO VENIER and MARCO ANTONIO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassadors with the Pope and the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor strongly urges the Pope to announce (*intimar*) the Council, his Majesty having bound himself to that effect, to the Princes of Germany. The commissioners (*deputati*) having assembled, the Papalists said that the replies of France and England had not been received; and that it would be well to send a nuncio to the King of the Romans, to acquaint him with what had been written; proposing for this purpose Dom. Aleandro, Archbishop of

1533.
Feb. 6.
Senate Dispa. v. Ivii. p. 419.

848. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Had audience of the King, who, after discussing other matters, spoke of the marriage of the Pope's niece [Catherine de' Medici] to the Duke of Milan, which his Holiness has renounced.

As the Lord Steward had told him that the Scottish forces were increasing in number, and that he hoped the gentlemen sent by the King to quiet matters would do some good, asked his Majesty about the affairs of Scotland. The King replied—"It is said there are troops on the Borders, but not in great number, and I believe peace will be made, as both these kings wish for it. Scotland has no money; they will raise the troops of the country, which are bound to keep the field at their own cost for 40 days, and may amount to some 80,000 men. They are like wild beasts (come cose salvatiche); they rush forward to get themselves killed (vanno correndo a farsi ammazzare); they are personally brave (sono valenti uomini di lo ma persone). The King of England is much more powerful; he has a fund of money (condennaio di danaro), but has no fortified town in which to save himself, and might be compelled to give battle; and were Scotland supplied with 100,000 crowns, 4,000 harquebusiers, a certain number of Lansquenets, 1,000 light horse, 300 spears, and an artillery train, she would give the King of England something to do (darebbe che fare al Re di Inghilterra); and when at Calais, I spoke to him about this matter, and found him much irritated against said King of Scotland. And the dispute proceeds from a small place which is not worth 5 crowns, and which belongs rather to Scotland than to England, and the King of Scotland went with 3,000 men and took it; and hence arose the enmity. The King of England is now the enemy of the Emperor, and the Emperor might assist Scotland, and cause him to make war. They wished to refer the matter to me, but I would not undertake the charge. The King of England is my brother, the King of Scotland my very old friend, though I have cause of complaint against him; for his sake I spent a million of gold against the King of England, and then he accepted the Emperor's dollar [for the Peace]. But I have given sound advice (buonissimo Io consiglio da vuoyrsi)." He then said that the Emperor in his Council had determined to abandon Genoa, but the Pope induced him to delay, saying it would be well for the Grand Master of Rhodes to undertake the defence.

Paris, 6th February. Received by Senate, 22nd February.

[Italian.]

Feb. 8.
Senate Dispa. v. Ivii. p. 424.

849. MARCO VENIER and MARCO ANTONIO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassadors with the Pope and the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor strongly urges the Pope to summon (indurre) the Council, his Majesty having bound himself to that effect to the Princes of Germany. The commissioners (deputati) having assembled, the Papalists said that the replies of France and England had not been received; and that it would be well to send a nuncio to the King of the Romans, to acquaint him with what had been written; proposing for this purpose Don Alexandro, Archbishop of

1533.

Brindisi. It was also proposed to send a nuncio to the most Christian King and to the King of England, to perform the like office with them, and obtain their Majesties' reply; and they talked of sending the Bishop of Faenza. The Imperialists did not reject this proposition, and would confer with the Emperor. The French Cardinals [Tournon and Grammont] request the Pope, for the benefit of the Christian commonwealth, to have an interview with their King at Nice or Marseilles, and after negotiating together, the Pope might then confer with the Emperor at some neighbouring place, and a congress be afterwards held by all three; saying that the King of England approved of this, in order to establish confidence and good-will (*amorevolezza*) between their Majesties. This having been proposed by his Holiness to the Emperor, his Majesty did not approve of the Pope's going.

Bologna, 8th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 430.

850. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Since my last of the 29th January, his Majesty has sat in Council daily, on the reply to be made to the Pope, whose Nuncio is well nigh every day and hour with the King, who therefore sends Dr. Boner back in haste to Bologna.* Has heard that the Pope and the Emperor consent that the judgment of the divorce be delivered in England, but insist that the Princess, his Majesty's daughter, be given for wife to the Duke of Milan, to which the King demurs (*è difficile*), in order not to break with the most Christian King; and the French partizans are in great suspense.

It is said publicly that the marriage of Madame the Marchioness to his Majesty here will come to an end (*si dice publice le noze di Madama la Marchesina in questa Maestà finiranno*).

Parliament met on the 4th, and they are now endeavouring to raise a large sum of money for the war against Scotland; his Majesty has already fitted out seven ships to be sent in that direction. According to report the King of Scotland has mustered 30,000 men on the Borders; and what is called the wild part of Ireland (*e della parte d'Hibernia che si chiama selvagia*) is with him, and gives him assistance.

I understand that Parliament will discuss the means—and they have already commenced talking about it—whereby to raise a revenue for the maintenance of 1,000 men-at-arms, in the French fashion, the greater part of which will, it is said, be raised from church lands (*di lochi di chiesie*, sic).

London, 10th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 10. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lv. p. 57.

851. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR and VICE-BAILIFF at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Signory's last advices from France announce the muster of troops by the King of Scotland for an attack on England. With

* Dr. Boner arrived at Bologna on the 27th February 1533, "very yerly in the mornyng." *See* his letter announcing the fact, in vol. vii. "State Papers," p. 441.

1533.

regard to the conference held some months ago between the most Christian King and the King of England, we know nothing more than that their Majesties made mutual demonstrations of friendship.

Ayes, 105. Noes, 68. Neutrals, 21.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Deliberizioni Senato (Secreta), v. lv. p. 58.

852. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR and VICE BAILIFF at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Advices from England dated the 11th January state that on the borders of Scotland the English and Scots had come to blows.

To communicate this intelligence to the High Porte.

Ayes, 112.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 392.

853. ENGLISH AMBASSADOR in VENICE.

The English ambassador, Prothonotary Casal, who said he had been at Bologna, came into the College, and commended the reply given by the Signory to the Emperor's demands.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 407.

854. MARCO VENIER and MARCO ANTONIO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassadors with the Pope and the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

Went this morning to the Pope, to hear about the negotiations with the Emperor. His Holiness said the Emperor urged him to create three Cardinals, Bari, Capua, and Musetola. The Pope replied that he was always disposed to gratify his Majesty, maintaining however the dignity of the Apostolic See, and that he could not now create Cardinals, there not being a sufficient number of Cardinals at Bologna for the purpose, and that the matter should be deferred until they were at Rome. The Pope said, "The most Christian King wishes us to make the Archbishop of Toulouse, the brother of the Duke of Albany [Cardinal]; the King of England insists on his (*sic*) Auditor of the [Papal] Chamber. We have some of our own [subjects], some four or five in number, well deserving of this see, who were in person in Germany against the Turk, to expel him thence; and we have desired the three Cardinals Farnese, Campeggio, and Cesis, to consult with the Emperor about this."

Went subsequently to the Cardinal Farnese, who told me he had been sent for by the Emperor about this promotion of three Cardinals. Farnese replied, that in the midst of so many troubles, the only prerogative which had remained intact was the election of Cardinals by the College; so it was necessary to take the opinion of those near at hand, and he would send some one to Grimani and Ridolfi, who were gone to Venice, which would necessitate delay. He told the Emperor that, including Spaniards, Germans, and Italians, his Majesty had 18 Cardinals his feudatories; that in the next place, the Pope wished to make three, the Bishop of Verona, the Bishop of Faenza, and Simoneta, the "Auditor di Rota;" in

1533. addition to which France and England would fain have the three above-named; so that they would be nine in all. The Emperor rejoined that he was well deserving of the Holy See, and that he thought it fitting for the College to gratify him; so that he shows himself very much bent on this.

Bologna, 17th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 460.

855. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Four days ago, the most Christian King sent one of his "valets de chambre" (*verletto di camera*) to Germany. The cause is unknown, but it is supposed to be some negotiation for alliance with the Princes of Germany.

According to public report current during the last two days, the Scots have routed the English, killing a commander (*capitano*) and 6,000 men; some say more, and that the Scots had entered England. This is confirmed by the most Christian King's gentleman of the chamber (*camerier*), the brother of the Count of Pontremolo, who heard it from a Scottish captain of the King's guard, and also by D. Joachim [Passano]. But neither the English ambassador nor the Lord Steward have any information.

The 120,000 crowns which this King is sending to England have not yet been disbursed.

Paris?, 17th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lv. pp. 60, 61.

856. The DOGE and SENATE to CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Received his letters of the 13th December concerning the galleys destined for the voyage to England. Were very glad to hear of the King's excellent disposition towards the State.

To thank the King for the free permit for the galleys, and, as the ministers show such readiness to oblige the State, to assure them of the Republic's gratitude in as ample a form as possible.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lv. pp. 60, 61.

857. The SAME to the SAME.

Have appointed the galleys for the English voyage, and will hasten their despatch without regard for expense, so that this trade may be continued, feeling certain that the merchants, being acquainted with the King's good will, will readily send their goods; this liberality being a greater inducement than any declaration or convention, which, although it might be submitted to from necessity, would increase that necessity,* as the merchants are less ready to act under compulsion, than from liberality (*largezza*) and their own free will. This being well known by the King and his ministers, are convinced that he will always be ready to give the

* "La quale, insieme che potria essere dalla necessità superata, accresceria quella necessità."

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safe-conduct unconditionally; in like manner as we shall be ready to encourage this voyage, and afford it the greatest favour and assistance possible; and if the Portuguese track (*corso*) prevents the shipment of the same quantity of spices as heretofore, the merchants will send gold, if not in lingots, in ready money, in crowns (*scudi*) and although some persons may have used bills of exchange (*qualche cambio*), the universal custom is and will be, to send money, this mode being also more profitable, by reason of various losses incurred through bills of exchange (*cambij*), nor can there be any doubt about this.

There is no need to say much about the bow-staves or anything else, it being certain that liberality and liberty induce the merchants to send and do much on these voyages, to the general profit and advantage.

We have thought fit to tell you this much, not for you to give it as our reply, for which we do not see any immediate necessity, but to let you know what we require, so that when opportunities present themselves you may induce the English Government to do what is fitting in this matter; and the Ambassador Casal having spoken to us on the subject, in conformity with your statement, quoting a letter from his King, we said the same to him, and suppose that he will have written back accordingly. We spoke to him about the bones of that Duke of Norfolk,* and his Lordship said he had been unable as yet to ascertain where they were buried, and that he was in search of them. We in like manner have hitherto had no notice whatever of them, but if in our power to make the discovery, we will not fail to gratify his most illustrious Lordship the [present] Duke [of Norfolk].

Concerning the cuirasses, we have given orders for them to be made at Brescia, and as soon as they can be got, we will courteously transmit them.

Ayes, 171. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 7.

The College to be authorised to disburse what shall be necessary for the making of five cuirasses, and to send them as a present to those noblemen in England who have asked for them; the whole with the moneys of our Signory.

Ayes, 177. Noes, 7. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 466.

858. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

On the 11th the most Christian King's ambassador Mons. de Tintiville, Bailli de Urge (*sic*), arrived to replace Mons. de Montpezat who departed a few days ago, having received costly presents from his Majesty. Visited both one and the other, and talking together, they told me of the request made by the Pope and the Emperor to

* Thomas Mowbray died at Venice 22nd September 1399. "There is among the early Chancery proceedings in the Public Record Office, a bill addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor of England, by John Duke of Norfolk, stating that his father enfeoffed Henry, late Cardinal of England, and others, of the manors of Weston Alconbury, etc. with the intent that they should, with the issues and profits thereof, *ordeine and make the bonys of Thomas, late Duke of Norff., aiell of yo'suppliant, to be carried fro Venyse into Englonde.*" (See Sir Thomas Hardy's Report upon Venetian Archives, p. 78.)

1533. the Signory to join the League, and the reply given them, which was beyond measure agreeable to their King, as the State turned a deaf ear to the demand.

The stir in Scotland augments; King Henry daily reinforces his army in those parts, and besides the armed ship of which I wrote, he has sent thither a quantity of artillery and ammunition.*

It is said that the King of Scotland has received a reinforcement of some 3,000 harquebusiers, including Spaniards, Italians, and Lansquenets. Should this be true, it would be very important, as these English use scarcely any other weapon than the bow. It is also reported that the King of Denmark will give assistance to the most Christian King; notwithstanding which, a messenger arrived in London yesterday from Doctor Lij [Lee?], the English ambassador in Denmark, who announces that the Danish King will maintain friendship with King Henry. Saw a letter from one of the attendants of said ambassador, dated Hamburgh 4th instant, saying the same, and that on their way they passed near the city of Munster, which on account of the Faith, was besieged by 5,000 infantry, and the inhabitants had imprisoned all the canons and the Bishop.

As yet, the only momentous matter treated in Parliament has been that of raising throughout the island a very large sum of money for the war of Scotland, to secure a good number of men-at-arms, and to repair certain ports and fortresses for the defence of the kingdom.

It is said for certain that Philip Melancthon arrived here ten days ago, and a friend of mine says he saw him; but the ministers will not allow any person, save the dependants of his Majesty, to speak to him.†

Well nigh everybody is of opinion that immediately on the arrival of the bulls for the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, the divorce case will be terminated, whether the Pope assents or not.

London, 23rd February. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 417.

859. MARCO VENIER and MARCO ANTONIO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Having heard that the Emperor was to depart on Thursday, went together this morning, after hearing mass, to the Pope, who seated himself at a window and sent for us, and knowing that letters had arrived from France, we asked him what news there was. His Holiness said they were dated the 15th instant, and that the Cardinal Tournon had been to him, and said the troops of the English and Scots seemed to be increasing in number on the Borders; that the English King had proclaimed war against the King of Scotland and his confederates, and that the most Christian King had sent Mons. de Langes to England and Scotland to devise some adjustment. The battle fought between them was

* In the original "*munition*," which may mean either ammunition or victuals, or both one and the other.

† "Ma *questa nova* (sic) permetono alcun li parli" [ma *questi non* permetono?].

1533.

not of importance as the advices are solely from private letters. Tournon did not speak about the marriage, as Grammont is indisposed, but not seriously, and the commission is given to the two jointly.

Bologna, 25th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th February.* [*Italian.*]

Feb. 26. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 466.

860. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

On the evening of the 23rd, the King received two expresses which left Bologna, one after the other, on the 8th instant, but were detained six days at Calais. They announce the good intention of the Pope and the Emperor, to the effect that the sentence concerning the divorce be decided in this kingdom. The King's partizans (*questi*) are labouring to prove by holy writ, "*che la semplice promission se intenda la mutua dispõsatiõ,*" although the marriage be not consummated; and this they do, because heretofore the Queen said and certified in confession to the Legate Campeggio that she had never been known by his Majesty's brother. The adherents of France seem not a little suspicious lest King Henry, being satisfied by having the cause decided in England, condescend to the wishes of the Emperor and of the Pope.

Mons. de Langes, ambassador from his most Christian Majesty, arrived here in very great haste on the night of the 24th instant, having left Paris on the ——. The Ambassador Giustinian writes that de Langes quitted the French Court suddenly. Here they say he is come to adjust matters with King Henry. On that same night, the French envoy, Monsignor de Buovi [Beauvoir], who had been first to the King of Scotland, arrived. Has been unable to visit either of them, as they are gone to the Duke of Suffolk; they return tomorrow; will see them.

Has heard that by letters received from Bologna, the Pope and the Emperor urge the King to give the Princess, his daughter, as wife to the Duke of Milan; and yesterday his Majesty replied, and swore to the most Christian King's ambassador, that he would not do anything whatever to displease his Majesty.

Cannot certify anything about the adjustment with Scotland. The stir on both sides increases daily; and on the 22nd instant, five Scottish ships captured three English vessels, and one Portuguese, in Dover harbour. Mons. de Langes, on his passage across, was in danger, and is apprehensive of the capture of Mons. de Montpezat, who departed hence, and for greater safety embarked at Rye for Dieppe; and subsequently thirteen Scottish ships were seen to pass Dover, steering in that direction.

Requests the election and despatch of his successor, that he may be enabled to return home.

London, 26th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th March.* [*Italian.*]

March 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 18.

861. The SAME to the SAME.

On the 26th ult. visited the French ambassadors, Mons. de Langes and Mons. de Beove [Beauvoir], who have departed for France. They charged me to thank the Signory for having refused to

1533. make the new League, which they call, "*a desire to occupy Italy and place her in servitude.*"

Langes tells me he has been in Scotland, whose King will not do anything to displease his most Christian Majesty; and Beove [Beauvoir] says he saw the Scottish army, which is equidistant from the two kingdoms 1½ day's march, and comprises 12,000 cavalry, well nigh all gentlemen, armed in the Burgundian fashion, without any stipend, and who fight as volunteers, from the wish to come to blows with the English. They have also 500 harquebusiers trained in the wars of France and Italy. The English army is of about the same force; part cavalry with short spears (*lanzeti*), and part infantry with bows; troops which, in his opinion, are not so experienced in war, but their number increases daily, and the King is constantly sending money into the camp. But Beove [Beauvoir] hopes an adjustment will be effected through the mediation of his most Christian Majesty, and says that the Emperor is negotiating a marriage between the King of Scots and his sister's daughter* by King Christian, now a prisoner in Denmark; and the Scottish King answered him he would not do this without the consent of the most Christian King; and that he was ready to make peace, and to have the King of England for his father, provided the territory held by him be in no way diminished, in which case he would peril all he has, even to his life. Beove [Beauvoir] added, that should peace not ensue, his most Christian King must break either with England or Scotland; and that if he remains neutral, the Scottish King will throw himself into the arms of the Emperor, who will endeavour to effect the release of his brother-in-law, in which case King Christian will cross over to Scotland with a good number of troops to assist King James.

The Scottish ships lately attacked five English merchantmen, and captured two of them. It is understood that till now the Scots have a fleet of some twenty sail. The origin of this fleet was that some months ago they purchased five ships in Britanny, and then two in Normandy; all the rest were prizes, which they subsequently armed.

With regard to his Majesty's marriage, it is said publicly that in a few days the divorce case will be decided (*si terminerà*) in Parliament,† and they merely await from Rome the bulls for the Archbishop of Canterbury, which will arrive after Easter; and his Majesty will espouse the Marchioness Anne.

* Isabella of Austria, sister of Charles V., married King Christian of Denmark in the year 1515. Their daughter Christina was married by the Emperor to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, in the year 1533. The Duke died in October 1535, and in 1537, after the death of Jane Seymour, Henry VIII. offered his hand to Duchess Christina, who declined it, saying she "had but one head; if she had two, one should have been at his Majesty's service." (*See* Ellis, Note to Original Letters, etc., 1st. series, vol. ii. p. 123.)

† Hall (p. 795) writes, "This question" (of the divorce) "was well handeled in the Parliament house, but muche better in the Convocacion house," etc.. etc. "Convocation" and "Parliament" sat at the same time, but in different apartments, and the Acts of the two Houses of Convocation (the upper consisting of the bishops, and the lower consisting of the deacons, prebendaries, archdeacons, and clergy), were apparently passed for ratification to the two Houses of Parliament, and therefore from February 4, 1533, until the 7th April 1533, the Venetian Ambassador frequently applied "Parliament" to Parliament and Convocation, as one sole body.

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Letters have been received here by the Germans purporting (as written by me) that the city of Munster expelled its Bishop, and placed the Imperial Signory (*la Signoria Imperiale*) under the government of the nobility, to whom they say that this supremacy in the olden time appertained; and it is rumoured that Cologne and other cities whose government is in the hands of the ecclesiastics will do the like.

London, 7th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 12. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 475.

862. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The King and the whole Court left Paris for Picardy; so that nothing can be negotiated with his Majesty until after speaking with the Lord Steward. Went to Chantilly, and acquainted him with the contents of the letters from the Senate dated the 16th ult. His Excellency was not much pleased to hear of the Signory's wish for the peace and quiet of Italy. He said that the Duke of Ferrara had joined the League. Replied that of this I had heard nothing; and then, as his Lordship was going out hawking, took leave. After this, proceeded to . . . . . an abbacy belonging to the Bishop of Paris, where the King was, to whom narrated everything. He thanked the Signory greatly, and said he would always be their greatest friend; adding, "With regard to the peace and quiet of Italy, and the peace of Christendom, I will never undertake any enterprise unless I know it to have the Signory's approval and consent; and I tell you that I delight in the peace of Italy—in the peace of Christendom."

All the other ambassadors have remained in Paris; I alone came hither to be near the Court.

No news from England save that the ambasssador Mons. de Montpezat has arrived thence, and the English ambassador says that the English have entered Scotland, and burnt many places, and taken one of their commanders.

Sivry, 12th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. lvii. p. 475.

863. The SAME to the SAME.

The ambassador from Ferrara has heard from Mons. de Beuevoeijs (*sic*) [Beauvoys, or Beauvoir],* who came from Scotland, whither he was sent by the most Christian King from Boulogne (at the time of the conference with the English King), and is now going to his Majesty at La Fere, six leagues hence—that twenty days ago, the King of Scotland cut to pieces upwards of nine hundred Englishmen, and for the last five months has made forays in England, having marched thirty leagues beyond the borders, burning, and putting to the sword, sparing neither sex, age, nor edifices; and he has an army of 20,000 men, very fine troops, who fight to the utmost advantage, and can easily advance into England as the country is open and without a fortress; whereas Scotland is very strong by reason of mountains, which secure the army in case of invasion. He says

* See "State Papers," vol. iv. pp. 641-648, vol. vii. p. 433.

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March 12. Senato Dispacci, v. lvii. p. 412.

March 13. Senato Dispacci, v. lvii. p. 413.

1533. the King of Scotland is assisted both by the Emperor and the King of Denmark, each of whom had an envoy with him, and promised him a large infantry force; and they are still there. Also that the English King is not popular with his subjects, chiefly on account of his intention to divorce his wife, who is much loved, and they hold her daughter in very great account. Also that the Scottish fleet took by force six great vessels and a large Portuguese ship loaded with spices; and that the Scots daily do great hurt to England both by sea and land. The English King's forces are small.

This Monsieur de Neauvesis (*sic*) [Beauvoir ?] quitted Scotland a fortnight ago, and passed through both camps, at great risk.

Sivry, 13th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 19.

864. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

On the 22nd February received the Signory's letters, and as the King was occupied, went to the Duke of Norfolk and communicated their contents to him. He was much gratified, and showed me a letter from Prothonotary Casal, his Majesty's ambassador at Venice, acquainting him with the Signory's reply to the Pope and the Emperor, refusing to join the new League. His lordship evinced great pleasure thereat.

An envoy has arrived here from the Dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, and from the Landgrave of Hesse and others, representing in all eighteen princes of Germany, as also the greater part of the Free Towns, and a good part of the Switzers. I hear on good authority that this envoy brings a writing signed by the princes, urging King Henry to join their League, and to persuade the most Christian King to do the like; saying they sent two ambassadors to Bologna to the Emperor to obtain the Council, and demand the restitution of the territory of the Duke of Wurtemberg, which is held by the Emperor's brother, the King of the Romans, and that he release said Duke's son, who was taken from Germany to Bologna. The envoy then exhibited letters from the Emperor to the Council of the Princes of Spain (*Consiglio di Principi di Spagna*) at Barcelona, saying he should soon return to Spain to crown his son King of Spain, and that he will then attend to the affairs of Christendom (*alle cose Christiane*). The Emperor also said to the two above-mentioned German ambassadors, "I am not a Spaniard, I am a born German; I purpose coming back from Spain."

Whilst the ambassadors were at Bologna, the Duke of Wurtemberg's son escaped to Germany through Switzerland, one hundred horsemen waiting for him on the borders. The Emperor complained of this to the ambassadors, saying he had brought him with him to do him honour, and that he was his relation. They replied that he went away of his own accord, and from natural instinct, which teaches all men to be free; and that if possible they would have carried him off upon their backs. He had been taken to Bologna by an escort of 100 cavalry; and his mother—the sister of the Duke of Bavaria—died of grief, a cata-

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strophe much lamented by the whole of Germany. Concerning the Council, they were answered in general terms; and their princes, being aware that the Emperor and his brother would do the like by other States as they had done by Wurtemberg, have agreed together not to endure it, and insist on the free Council, and that two persons be elected, one for the Pope, the other for them—the princes—the same to elect impartially those who are to decide about the Council; but first of all they will that five Christian Powers, including the most Christian King and the King of England, acknowledge the said persons elected to be free from suspicion.* King Henry answered him that he must go first to the most Christian King, and then return here, when he will give him a suitable reply; and on the day before yesterday this envoy departed for France.

Concerning the affairs of Scotland, there is nothing new. On the 9th instant, his Majesty's ships put to sea, and the land forces skirmish together daily. It is believed that, through the King of France, some adjustment will take place.

With regard to the divorce, it is considered certain, and said publicly, that his Majesty will espouse the Marchioness Anne; they are awaiting the bulls from Rome for the Archbishop of Canterbury, which will arrive in a few days.

By order of the King, the Queen was lately escorted (*conduta*) by 200 of his cavalry to reside 50 miles hence.

Yesterday the Imperial ambassador received letters dated Bologna the 3rd, and Piacenza the 5th, and having been to the King, he told him of the league concluded with all the princes and republics of Italy, without excepting our Signory. Of this I have received no hint save by letters from the ambassador Giustinian in France, which travel very slowly.

From private correspondents, have heard that Dom. Mafio Bernardo has been made over to the State Attornies' Office (*all' Avogaria*); and I should have written ere now about unpatriotic citizens (*cittadini non boni*), because republics are maintained by two things—punishment and reward—but kept silence about his misdeeds, lest having 300 bags of wool in the names of Florentines, he should send them to Florence, and the Flanders galleys lose the freight. On the arrival here of Messer Maphio, Dom. Giovanni Gioachino, the French ambassador, Lord of Vaux, gave a dinner, to which I (Capello) was invited, as also the consul, Hironimo da Molin, my secretary, and Dom. Marco Raphael, and some Genoese and French gentlemen. Dom. Giovanni Gioachino greatly extolled Italy and Venice, but Ser Maphio spoke disrespectfully of our Government, and of the late most Serene Prince Grimani, and

* "Et conoscendo loro Principi la volontà di Cesare e dil fratello, che questo instesso fariano di altri stati, come quel di Vertinberg; si haveano concordato insieme, non volendo patir, et voleno il Concilio libero, et che siano electi do homeni, uno per il Pontefice, l'altro per loro; li quali elezi fuori di sospetto, quelli habbino a judichar il concilio; ma prima voleno che 5 Principi Christiani fra li qualli è il Re Christianissimo, e questa Maestà, conosca se li detti eletti siano fuora di sospetto. Questa Maestà li ha risposto vadi prima al Re X^mo, poi torni qui, et haverano conveniente risposta; il qual Nontio ozi 3^zo zorno si partì, per andar in Franza."

1533. said that the members of the College were elected from the poorest noblemen and of the lowest condition, and that by robberies and extortions (*robarie e magnarie*) they quitted it wealthy; adding that the Prince Grimani was a base retail shopman, mad and ignorant (*un vil bazarioto mato et ignorante*). I rebuked him seriously, and Dom. Marco Raphael contradicted him. I made light of the matter, and attributed his abuse to drunkenness (*crapula*), but it proceeded from his evil nature. Then on the 5th of January 1532, when I went with the voucher to obtain the licence for the galleys to come hither, having frustrated his designs,* on my way home—on Greenwich bridge—he used strange and shameful language to me, saying I was *la fece di homeni*, and that it was his business to negotiate these matters, and not the office of my secretary. I answered him that he was well known at Venice.

There are letters from the Emperor concerning the marriage, to the effect that should the King make a suitable marriage and not a love match, he will contrive (*tenira modo*) with the Pope and the Queen, to annul the one contracted with her Majesty. The Imperial ambassador has complained of the Queen's being sent under guard to a distance hence.

Have heard that a motion has been made in Parliament that with the consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, the King may take to wife the Marchioness Anne. It was also proposed by a Londoner (*da uno di Londra*), that the judges be appointed in this Parliament, and that no application be made to Rome.

London, 15th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 42.

865. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The most Christian King, with the Queen and the Dauphin and his other children, came to this city; and the Lord Steward took me to dine with him, saying he had to talk to me about Scottish affairs. He said that Monsieur de Langes had returned from England, and Monsieur de Beauvoir from Scotland, reporting that both Kings had powerful armies, but the Scots were the strongest, and that they had captured five or six ships, because a Scot, having incurred loss at the hands of the English, obtained a licence from his King to attack them with —— ships, and took the five above-mentioned out of an English harbour; and the English King was fitting out a fleet. He also said that the affairs would be adjusted, and were referred to the most Christian King who would propose a compromise. Went to his most Christian Majesty, who said to me "The affairs of Scotland are not very serious; the Kings will place themselves in my hands. We have friendship with the King of England, and an ancient alliance with Scotland for eight hundred years and more, and this affair will be adjusted, if they accept my arbitration."

* By the entry dated 8th January 1532, it may be inferred that one of Bernardo's designs was to purchase wool and other merchandise from the staplers at Calais instead of taking it from the dealers in England. Capello's letter of the 8th January mentions his having been at Greenwich on the 5th of January 1532.

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Subsequently Monsieur de Beauvoir came to dine with me, and assured me that 1,000 Englishmen had been killed, though he wrote 900, and that there were two ambassadors in Scotland, one from the Emperor, and one from the King of Denmark, who offered infantry and harquebusiers, but the Scottish King would not accept them, because the villages (*li vilazi*) of Scotland give him 1,200 harquebusiers, and the ecclesiastics 1,200, free of all expense, so that they have 2,400 harquebusiers. He said he had passed through the Scottish camp, which is not paid by the King, but serves at its own cost; the *preda* made by them being their sole perquisite, and of this they have abundance. The kingdom of Scotland is divided by the King into three districts, and each district sends 15,000 men into the field for seven weeks. The Scots have marched 20 leagues into England, and the dispute between the two Kings is about an island in the middle of a stream dividing England from Scotland, on which are thirty houses made of straw (30 *case di paia*), and each King says the island is his, and claims jurisdiction over it. England wished it to remain neutral, but to this Scotland would not consent. The matter is referred to the most Christian King, but the King of Scotland insists on keeping the island.

When in Paris, the English ambassador [Sir John Wallop], told me that the 110,000 crowns, sent by the King of France, was for the old debt, and on account of the prison ransom (*rescato pregione*), and Zuan Joachim [Passano] went as far as Calais to obtain the receipts.

The brother of the Marchioness of England came hither as ambassador from his King. I do not know the cause.* The Lord Steward tells me they will send a gentleman to England in three or four days.

I have also spoken with Mons. de Montpezat, who confirmed to me what I have written about Scotland.

Soissons, 19th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 24. Senato Mar, v. xxii. p. 160.

866. VOTE BY BALLOT in the SENATE for THREE MASTERS of the GALLEYS bound to ENGLAND.

The nobleman	Lorenzo Dandolo	:—Ayes	144;	noes,	6.
„	Giacopo Marcello	„	143;	„	2.
„	Angelo Alberti	„	144;	„	3.

[*Italian.*]

March 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 45.

867. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

In the Parliament of the Ecclesiastics [the Convocation of theologians and canonists?] † they are attending daily with the utmost diligence to the affair of the divorce, and to deprive the Pope of his appeal and authority in this kingdom. It is sup-

* The cause of Lord Rochford's mission is stated in the instructions given him as printed in vol. viii. "State Papers," p. 427 and following.

† Concerning the contrast between Parliament and Convocation, *see* Froude, vol. i. p. 339.

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posed they will settle thus; and should his Holiness not assent to the divorce, they will withdraw their obedience. For this purpose the Marchioness's brother [George Boleyn Lord Rochford ?] went to France to have a Latin work printed about these matters, and to urge King Francis likewise to withdraw his obedience to the Pope.

Tomorrow the Archbishop of Canterbury will be consecrated; and on the first Sunday after Easter (*la domenica delli Apostoli*) the Parliament [query, Convocation] will meet again, and settle the matter in a few days.† On the 24th, and yesterday, the Duke of Norfolk warned the Papal Nuncio here, that of necessity this must be done, as the Pope will not take heed for the salvation of this kingdom.‡

It is believed that the affairs of Scotland will be adjusted. Five days ago, a Scottish lord named Stuart—of the family opposed to the Earl of Angus—arrived here, on his way to France for this purpose, and they are expecting Mons. de Beove [Beauvoir ?].

The Scots lately captured seven vessels, laden by English merchants with wines, wax, and other merchandise.

Four days ago, a Doctor, late English ambassador to the King of Denmark, [Frederick I. who died at Gottorp, 3rd April 1533] accompanied by a Danish Envoy, arrived here to confirm the peace and goodwill between the two crowns.

Advices have been received from Dantzic that King Christian, the Emperor's brother-in-law, has been fettered hand and foot, for having written to the Hollanders, to come and release and restore him to his kingdom; and the Danes were preparing for war, and had engaged a considerable band of Lansquenets from Guelders, against the Hollanders. All this proceeds from the most Christian King, and the stir made by the King of Scotland, from the Emperor.

London, 30th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 45.

868. Marin Giustinian to the Signory.

The most Christian King has been lately at Guise.

The brother of the Marchioness [Anne Bolyn] came from England; spoke to the King; remained two days, and departed post with Mons. de Langes for Paris. The English ambassador resident here does not know the cause.

Rheims (*Rens*), 30th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th April.*

[*Italian.*]

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* In the year 1533, the first Sunday after Easter was the 20th of April, and as it was not customary to transact important public business in Passion week or Easter week it had perhaps been originally intended to prorogue the "Convocation" and the Parliament until after the holidays, but on Monday the 31st March, the day of Cranmer's consecration, something occurred, causing the two Houses of Convocation and Parliament to continue their sittings during the 5th week in Lent, and to decide the divorce case on the Monday in Passion week, whereupon Parliament was prorogued until the 6th June, as seen by Capello's letter of the 12th April.

† "Poi che 'l Papa non vol avertir alla salute di questo Regno."

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April 2.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 81.

869. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

The Archbishop of Canterbury has been consecrated, and Convocation (*questo Parlamento delli Ecclesiastici*) has assembled daily. With regard to making the divorce there is now no longer any difficulty; they will assent to what the King wishes, and are discussing the abrogation of the Pope's power. Yesterday there was a debate. It is supposed they will deprive his Holiness of all authority. They are awaiting the return from France of the Marchioness's brother, who is expected to arrive in two days; and they also expect Mons. de Beove [Beauvoir].

London, 2nd April. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 12.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 81.

870. The SAME to the SAME.

On the Monday in Passion week * Parliament (*il Parlamento*) [and Convocation?] assembled. They decided that the marriage of Queen Katharine to the King is null, and that he may marry (*poter prender moier*); and they have abolished (*levato*) the appeal to the Pope. Henceforth, no one may contract marriage by dispensation, but solely as conceded by holy writ, and the sacred canons; so that the dispensation of Pope Julius is void. They have also abrogated the dispensation for holding a plurality of benefices with cure of souls, and for nonage, and other things. They have prohibited obedience to papal monitions and interdicts. The Bishop of Rochester [John Fisher] having publicly opposed these measures, on Palm Sunday [6th April], he was arrested, and given in custody to the Bishop of Winchester [Stephen Gardiner]; and three days ago he was sent to reside at a place of his (*ad uno locho suo*), and is not to go more than a mile beyond it.

Parliament has been prorogued (*si levò*) until Whitsuntide, which will be on the 6th of June.

Three days ago, the King sent the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the Marquis of Exeter (*il Marcheze di Anal*, sic) to notify to the Queen the decision made in Parliament about the divorce, and the new marriage; exhorting her to yield, and secede (*rinmoversi*) from the judgment of the "Rota." She replied that she knew not, and was unable to imagine, how such a matter could have been terminated, the decision not having been made by a legitimate judge; and with regard to a new marriage, she believed nothing whatever, knowing the King her husband to be most sage and holy (*sapientissimo et santissimo*). As to yielding to the sentence, she said that although it was her wish to satisfy his Majesty in everything, yet is it beyond her power to do so on this occasion, not choosing to peril the salvation of her soul, and disobey the law of God who united her to his Majesty; and that recourse must be had to the true judge and vicar of the Lord. Subsequently the Imperial Ambassador went to the King, and spoke to him *molto altamente.*

* In the year 1533 the 13th of April was Easter day, so the case was decided by the "Convocation" or Parliament on the 7th April 1533.

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This morning of Easter Eve, the Marchioness Anne went with the King to high mass, as Queen, and with all the pomp of a Queen, clad in cloth of gold, and loaded (*carga*) with the richest jewels; and she dined in public; although they have not yet proclaimed the decision of the Parliament [Convocation?].

I hear on good authority that the conclusion of the peace with Scotland is expected.

I am assured that some months ago, his Majesty espoused her, and that she bore him a son who is several months old. (*Mi vien afirmato za più mezi questa M^ta averla sposata, e aver uno fiol di qualche meze con lei*).

Four days ago, Mons. de Beove [Beauvoir] arrived here with the son of the Earl of Wiltshire, and he told me he hoped the affairs between his Majesty and Scotland will be adjusted; and Dom. Silvestro Dario, the papal nuncio late in Scotland, tells me King James will be satisfied with fair terms, without which he will do nothing, and the Scots would rather die than submit; they plunder the English daily, and their King is dependent on the Emperor.

On the 5th a gentleman came hither to the King from the Duke of Saxony his cousin (*germano suo*), with letters from Frederick Count Palatine—who last year commanded the troops sent in favour of the Emperor by the Free Towns and other potentates of Germany—to request his Majesty to join their League; and they are holding a Diet, in which, should his Majesty choose, he will have great authority. This envoy went first to France, and he has not yet been despatched.

London, 12th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 125.

871. Marin Giustinian to the Signory.

It is asserted on good authority that the Germans who came hither had for object to marry Madame Isabella of Navarre to the Duke of Bavaria; and they were given fair words and hopes. It is also said that another marriage is being negotiated between the daughter of Mons. de Guise and another German Prince.

It is considered certain that since the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who delayed pronouncing the divorce—now that the King has elected in his stead a kinsman (*un parente*) of the Marchioness Anne, and who is "*familiarissimo*" with her—the divorce will be adopted and executed in England, on which account, said Marchioness's brother came to his most Christian Majesty; and consequently the King will withdraw his obedience from the Pope. The English ambassador here [Sir John Wallop] does not approve the divorce; praising the wisdom, innocence, and patience of Queen Katharine, as also her daughter. He says that the Queen was beloved as if she had been of the blood royal of England; and the Princess in like manner. Also that should the divorce take place, the King will be at war with the Emperor and with Scotland; and with regard to giving his [King Francis'?]

1533. daughter to the King of Scotland, this King [Henry?] would approve of his [most Christian?] Majesty's doing so.*

The report of the conference to be held by this most Christian King with the Pope, at Nice in Provence, gains ground daily. An order has been issued for all the gentlemen and archers in his Majesty's service, to come to the Court for this purpose in a few days, and also all the officials of the Court, of whom there are always four sets, one-fourth of them alone being usually on service; but now, all will assemble for this journey; and the King will go to Bourges, and then into Provence.

A Nuncio has arrived post from the Pope on his way to England.

Paris, 15th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 82.

872. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

On the day after his last letter, Queen Anne was publicly proclaimed in the King's Court; and his Majesty has appointed all her officials, the usual oath being taken, as to the Queens.

It is said that the coronation will be performed on St. George's day.

Queen Katharine will be sent to reside at Pontefract Castle, 160 miles hence, in the north, towards York, and the strongest place in this island. It is supposed that she will be demanded by the Emperor; and the Government (*et questi*) are apprehensive of some great commotion and disturbance.

London, 16th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 123.

873. The SAME to the SAME.

I write this evening by way of Antwerp. Before noon, a gentleman came to me from the King, desiring me to go and dine at the Court at Greenwich; so I went and dined with the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Exeter (*Marchexe Dancer*),† and the father and brother of Queen Anne, who received me most graciously, and said that the King wished to speak to me. Dinner being ended, accompanied by their Lordships, I entered the presence of his Majesty, who was with a number of Lords, and Queen Anne, with many ladies and damsels (*signore et damisele*). His Majesty immediately took me by the hand, and I congratulated him in general terms in the Signory's name on whatever gave him satisfaction; and he then asked me whether I had any news. I told him I had not; and his Majesty continued, "The ambassador here from the Emperor declares that the Signory has joined the League of the Pope and the Emperor." When I told him it was untrue, he affirmed that it was most true, and that the Signory pretended not to be a party to it, but a writing

* "Et zercha dar la fiola a ditto Re di Scozia, a questo Re pararia soa Maestà lo facesse."

† *Query* Dancer for Devonshire, Henry Courtenay being Earl of *Devonshire* and Marquis of *Exeter*.

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proclaiming the League had been printed, including the Signory. I denied the fact, saying I was informed that the Signory had been requested to be a party to it, and refused, and that this proclamation had been printed at Bologna, and not in Venice, being made by the contracting parties in their own fashion. The King seemed satisfied and said, "The Pope and the Emperor make this announcement to render their League more authoritative." He then added, "You have made a law prohibiting any one—under pain of capital punishment—from daring to divulge what passes in the Council of Ten and in the Senate; the Signory governs most prudently, and this decree was most sage, for I assure you that the greater part of your affairs were known."* These words were uttered by his Majesty kindly both in word and action; and he then said he understood the Signory had raised 30,000 infantry between Padua, Treviso, and the neighbouring places. I said they were the usual militia, which are called out at this season; and he replied "I believe it." He then asked when I thought the galleys would arrive; I said I expected them in the course of next November. His Majesty then told me, when I had news from Italy and the Turk, to let him know; after which he took me to Queen Anne, whom I saluted.

London, 16th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 124.

874. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Dom. Zuam Stefano Robio, secretary of the Duke of Milan, told me it was believed here that the Signory had leagued with the Emperor; so he used his good offices, saying it was untrue, which I confirmed by showing him the letters of the 16th February.

The Lansquenets, returning from the Danish expedition, entered Holland and the towns of the Emperor, laid them waste, and having been joined by others from Hungary, they were in number 6,000, some say 8,000, others 10,000; but Mons. de Nassau, with 1,000 horse, mustered amongst the peasantry, and a band of infantry, routed them, and made them retreat into the territories of the Duke of Guelders, as told me by the Milanese ambassador on the authority of letters received by the Imperial ambassador, dated the 29th March. The English ambassador says they are in small number, and that they sent delegates offering their services to his most Christian Majesty, who gave hopes of taking them into his pay; and England also negotiates with them, to prevent their going to the King of Scotland.

Paris, 16th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th May.*

[*Italian.*]

* The law alluded to by Henry VIII. was registered by the Grand Council on the 12th February 1533, and is headed—

"Senatores non possint dicere, scribere, aut ullo modo manifestare res pertinentes ad Statum sub pœna, etc., MDXXXII. (more Veneto) die XII. Februarij in C. X. Presente Collegio." (Libro Roano, vol. ii.)

1533.
April 19. Senato Mar, v. xxii. p. 165, tergo.

875. MOTION made in the SENATE.

To exempt Giacomo Marcello, master of a merchant-galley bound to England, from serving in the Venetian navy.

Ayes, 143. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 4. *Expulsis expellendis.*

[*Italian.*]

April 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 125.

876. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Letters dated the 11th, from a trustworthy person in England, state that on Good Friday, the marriage of the Marchioness Anne to the King was published, and would doubtless be proclaimed at the mass on the morrow [12th April]; and this has also been confirmed by a courier despatched to Rome, who passed through Paris.

The Papal Nuncio, Dom. Ubaldino, who came hither on his way to England, to speak about the Council, but not to settle anything, on arriving in Paris, went, as written by me, to the most Christian King; he has now returned, and will depart for England to-morrow.

Yesterday, an English herald, bearing the habits of the Order [of the Garter] which the King of England conferred on the Lord Steward and the Admiral at Boulogne when the conference was held, arrived at this Court. The festival of the Order [St. George's Day, 23rd April] his most Christian Majesty will celebrate with much ceremony, and it will be attended by the Duke of Richmond, the English King's natural son, who has the same order.

His most Christian Majesty has delayed his departure until the 24th, and will go to Moulins.

Mons. de Vigh (*sic*), French ambassador to the Emperor, and who came hither as written by me, confirms the conference at Nice; and also that the marriage of the Duke of Orleans to the Pope's niece, which has been concluded, will take place (*qual è sta concluso si compirà*).

Melun, 22nd April. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 43.

877. MARCO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Communicated to the Pope the advices from Constantinople, dated the 27th February and 8th March. His Holiness returned thanks, and then told me that the Cardinal de Tournon had letters dated the 5th, from the most Christian King, who chooses to complete (*compir*) the marriage of his Holiness's niece, the young Duchess (*Signora Duchesina*), with his son, the Duke of Orleans; and as they are both of [suitable?] age, the Duke will come to consummate the marriage. I asked his Holiness about the divorce of England. He told me that some months ago, the Queen's agents complained to him that the King would not cohabit with her Majesty; and being thus counselled by the Cardinal of Ancona,*

* The Cardinal of Ancona, whose death (as mentioned at the close of this letter) took place in April 1533, is thus held accountable for the papal brief, dated January 1533, whereby Henry VIII. was pronounced excommunicate unless he restored the Queen to her

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the Pope wrote a brief to the King, that he should return to live with the Queen (*volesse ritornar con la Regina*), as otherwise provision would be made according to the canons; and he sent it to England. The English ambassadors complained, requesting the intimation might not be made, and that the commission should be given according to law (*pregando non fosse intimato, et fosse comesso de jure*); and through the favour of the Cardinal de Tournon, the Pope consented to delay (*fu contento d'impender*), and referred the matter to three cardinals, Monte, Campeggio, and Cesis.

The Pope then told me that the Emperor's daughter* was at Florence with the Duke Alexandro, in the midst of entertainments, and had been requested to remain there and avoid the bad air of Naples in the summer; but her governess, the widow of Don Carlo de Lanoy does not assent to this, saying she will take her into La Brianza where the air is better. She will pass through Rome to kiss his Holiness's feet, and the marriage will take place in due season.

He then talked about the marriage of the second daughter of the King of Scotland (*sic*) [King of Denmark], to the Duke of Milan, which pleases him, because he will no longer be importuned by the Emperor to give the young Duchess [Catherine de' Medici] to Milan.

Spoke subsequently to the Cardinal de Tournon, who confirmed what is aforesaid. He is awaiting the arrival of the Cardinal de Grammont, who commenced the negotiation, and they will then complete it.

The Imperial ambassador, the Count of Cifuentes, has arrived here;† I visited him. We exchanged compliments (*verba pro verbis*). He says the Emperor favoured the Signory's interests, and will continue to do so.

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place, and abstained thenceforward from all intercourse with Anne Boleyn, pending the issue of the trial.

Pietro Accolti, a native of Arezzo, born in the year 1454, had been secretary to Pope Julius II., who created him Bishop of Ancona in the year 1505, and Cardinal on the 10th March 1511, as seen in the Venetian Calendar, vol. ii. p. 44. In Cardella's Lives of the Cardinals (vol. iii. p. 352), it is stated that the death of the Cardinal of Ancona took place in 1532, but this assertion is clearly confuted by the letter of Marco Venier; nor can the Pope's assertion concerning the famous postscript—which according to Cifuentes produced the schism—relate to any other person than Pietro degli Accolti, who, having been secretary to Pope Julius when he granted the licence for the marriage of Henry and Katharine in 1503 (see Rymer), still maintained its validity at the age of 78, after a lapse of thirty years, thus showing himself consistent, conscientious, and courageous.

* Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of Charles V., then in her tenth year. In date Madrid, 26 January 1525, Gasparo Contarini informed the Senate that the Emperor had offered to affiance "*his natural daughter, born 18 months ago at Valladolid*, to Hippolito de' Medici, and to make him Duke of Ferrara, promising the duchy of Bari to the son of Lorenzino." In 1529 Clement VII. created Ippolito de' Medici cardinal, and in that same year the Emperor, who had but one natural daughter, affianced her to Alessandro de Medici, the natural son of Lorenzino, and the marriage was consummated in the year 1536, 29 February.

† In date 12 July 1529 (foot note), it is stated that in the preceding month of January the Imperial Ambassador at the Papal Court—a Neapolitan, by name Musetola—was succeeded by a gentleman of Barcelona, Don Michiel Maj. In date November 5, 1529, Gasparo Contarini wrote from Bologna that the Imperial Ambassador with the Pope was the Archbishop of Bari, a Spaniard, by name Stefano Gabriel Merino; and it is now seen that the Emperor sent Count Cifuentes to Rome in his stead, in the spring of 1533. We thus get the names of the chief Imperial advocates of Queen Katharine at Rome during the divorce suit.

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Cardinal Campeggio has arrived, and the Cardinal of Ancona [Pietro degli Accolti] is dead. He had the title of third Bishop "Sabinese," to which Auch, who was fourth Bishop, succeeds. The fifth [bishopric] is vacant. The "Albanese" see has been conferred on the Cardinal della Valle, who was the senior priest. I have congratulated him in the Signory's name.

Rome, 23rd April. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th April.*

[*Italian.*]

April 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 124.

878. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

By a royal order, all the "city crafts" * have been warned not to dare speak otherwise than well of this new marriage and Queen Anne, and to prepare the entertainments and expenditure (*spese*) usually made for the Queen's coronation, which will be celebrated at Whitsuntide.

They have also ordered the four Mendicant Orders not to allow any one to preach without licence from the Archbishop, and the reason was, that the preachers, having been desired to admonish the people to pray to God for the King and Queen Anne, one who preached at Westminster not only spoke against the marriage, but told the people publicly to pray for the King and Queen Katharine, and for the Princess. They have also prohibited, under pain of capital punishment, the mention by any one of Queen Katharine.

Tomorrow some doctors depart for York, where, as there is another English archiepiscopal see, they will hold a certain conference, and promulgate some decrees in conformity with what was done in Parliament and in the Convocation of the ecclesiastics.

In a few days, the Duke of Norfolk, Master Poulet [Sir John Paulet], Master Bryan, the Bishops of Winchester and London, and the Abbot of Westminster, and some others of his Majesty's chief councillors (*de' primi apresso a quesia Maestà*) will, it is said, go to France, to be present at the conference of Nice; but I am assured on good authority, that the Duke of Norfolk, or a part of these personages, will go to the Emperor.

Nothing more is heard about the affairs of Scotland. The English ministry seems very apprehensive that the marriage of the most Christian King's daughter to the King of Scotland will take place.

The German who was sent hither by the Count Palatine has been despatched, receiving a present; and he took back a letter.

Four days ago when conversing with the Lord Chancellor, he spoke to me at great length about the league made at Bologna and published with the inclusion of the Republic, as told me by the King; so it would be well for the Signory to write a letter about this, that it may be exhibited.

* "Tutte le Corte di questa città." Hall (p. 798), mentions orders given to the "Cominaltie of the Citie" for the coronation, and the commands received by the "*craftes*" accordingly.

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The Lansquenets in Holland are in number 10,000; they have not yet attacked the Hollanders. These Germans declare that it proceeds from the Emperor.

London, 27th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 27. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

879. CARLO CAPELLO to the STATE ATTORNEYS (*Avogadori di Comun*).

Encloses affidavits from the Ambassador and the Secretary concerning the affair of Maphio Bernardo.

London, 27th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st May.*

Note by Sanuto, that next week the State Attorney Jacomo da Canal will plead in the Senate.

[*Italian.*]

April 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 135.

880. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Here in this city, which belonged to the late Duke of Bourbon, I spoke with the Lord Steward, who told me he was sending another gentleman to England and Scotland, besides Beauvoir, who departed from Rheims (*Rens*). I believe a truce will be made between those two kings for a year, so as to be able in the meanwhile to negotiate the peace.

St. Amand, 29th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 30. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

881. MARCO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

When with the Pope today, after acquainting me with the contents of his letters from France about the congress, and his reply, he told me he had news that the King of England has married the Marchioness Anne, and treats her as queen; and he said, "Those English ambassadors" [Boner, Benet, and Gregory Casal?] "have told me that their King, being thus counselled by doctors in Canon Law (*da Dotori che Canonici*) that he might do so, had acted thus, being unable to obtain justice here." His Holiness then said to me, "See how these affairs are going; I hold that the Emperor will be displeased to hear this, and that by force of arms he will," etc. And his Holiness added, "This ambassador of his has been to me, and does not commend the interview with the most Christian King, without first hearing the opinion of his Imperial Majesty;" he said that should the Pope go, they would discuss the marriage of his niece, and something besides which would disturb the peace of Italy. His Holiness replied that he did not think so, and declared that he might indeed listen to the proposal, but not give the King an answer to it. The Imperial ambassador then told the Pope that the marriage of England had been caused by the brief which his Holiness sent to the King, telling him to live with the Queen (*ch'el stesse apresso la Raina*).*

* For an account of this brief, see Froude's History of England, vol. I. pp. 397, 398, 401. ed. London, 1856.

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In Consistory, the Pope narrated what had taken place in England. It is said that the brief which his Holiness sent has been the cause of this.

Rome, 30th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 30. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta). File No. 13.

882. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Ambassador in England.

Commend his diligence in sending them frequent and copious advices; is to continue doing so, and to make every loving demonstration towards the King. As they have lately received letters from their ambassador at Constantinople, send summaries for communication to his Majesty.

[*Italian.*]

May 3. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lv. p. 82, tergo.

883. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning the AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

The nobleman Carlo Capello, our ambassador in England, having requested the election of his successor as his private interests suffer from his absence, especially owing to the death of his consort:

Put to the ballot, that an ambassador to the King of England be elected to succeed Ser Carlo Capello, receiving for his expenses 140 golden ducats monthly, as received by said Ser Carlo and his predecessors, without being bound to show any account; with the obligation to keep eleven servants and the same number of horses, including those of the secretary and his servant; also to keep two running footmen,* and to depart when and with such commission as ordered by this Council.

Ayes, 153.

Amendment to the foregoing motion:—

The present movements (*moti*) and occurrences in England, being of such important nature, connecting themselves with respects and interests affecting the Emperor,† the King of the Romans, and other potentates; and as it therefore becomes the Signory to act with such reserve as not to dissatisfy anybody; and as to make a fresh election of a new ambassador to that most Serene King at present might cause umbrage or anxiety (*pensiero*) to some one, contrary to what is aforesaid, it is therefore proposed—

That the election of an ambassador to the King of England be deferred for the present, until a more seasonable moment.

Ayes, 52. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

May 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 202.

884. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

The Consul Dom. Domenico Erizo has complained to me that at Hampton, wools belonging to foreigners are loaded in the names of

* "*Staffieri.*" The literal translation would be "*stirrup-men*;" they ran by the side of the horsemen, with whom they kept pace on the longest journeys, and in England these active pedestrians were called "running footmen."

† "Intervenendo li respetti et interesse di Cesare," etc.

1533. Venetian merchants. Wrote yesterday to Messer Marin Zapello * not to load them, for the reasons assigned in my letter, and said I would speak to the Duke of Norfolk. He told me it was an imputation against the custom-house officers (*costumieri*, customers). There is no code or law in this consulate, and I hear that our merchants have frequently accommodated Ragusans, Florentines, and Genoese, who export wool in their name, which is ill done.

London, 4th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 74.

885. Prothonotary Casal in the College.

The English ambassador came into the College about a dispute with his landlord, Ser Tomaso Contarini, concerning the house inhabited by him in the quarter of . . . . which seems to have been rented by him. He has the lease for another year, but wishes to give it up now.

[*Italian.*]

May 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 135.

886. Marin Giustinian to the Signory.

I have visited the English ambassador [Sir John Wallop], who confirmed to me that the marriage had taken place, and that Queen Anne appeared with the royal insignia, and dined in public; and the King appointed her officials, as in the service of the repudiated (*derelicta*) Queen; and it is said they believe her to be pregnant. Three days previously the King sent the Duke of Norfolk and the Duke of Suffolk to tell the repudiated Queen what was to happen; and she replied so patiently, prudently, and firmly, that she was considered worthy of very great commendation.

He then told me that in the Parliament nothing more had been done with regard to the Apostolic See, than [to enforce] the ancient statute (*constitution*) for appeals in ecclesiastical matters to be submitted to England, which include matrimonial cases, and thus comprise this one of the King.

The mission of the groom of the chamber (*varleto de camera*) sent by the most Christian King to England and Scotland related to the truce for one year, and he [Wallop] believes it will be made, though the two countries were still fighting. He then told me that King Francis and the Lord Steward have announced to him the conference at Nice with the Pope, and that they will conclude the marriage of the young Duchess (*Duchesina*), the Pope's niece, to the Duke of Orleans, which will take place on next St. John's Day. This interview and marriage have also been confirmed by a nephew of the Cardinal de Grammont, who also stated that [the Pope] will give the Duke of Orleans territory in Italy, namely, Parma and Piacenza.

* By the entry dated 9th January 1532, it is seen that the Venetian Consul at Southampton was a Genoese, by name Nicolin da Conta, who was perhaps succeeded by Marin Zapello.

1533.

The Scottish ambassador* says that the Duke of Albany,† the uncle of the young Duchess—who is called "Madame de Boulogne"—will be sent from Lyons to the Pope, his journey preceding that of the Lord Steward; and it is also said that he will go as commander of the French fleet to meet his Holiness. This Duke is the "Protector" of Scotland, so the ambassador's authority is good; and he confirmed the [report of the ?] negotiation for the annual truce [between England and Scotland] (*et confirmò la tregua si tratta annual*), and the marriage of his King to Madame Madeleine, the daughter of his most Christian Majesty, which would have been already concluded had not the English King thwarted it. He added that the Queen of France will remain at a short distance from Nice.

St. Amand, 7th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 7. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

887. MARCO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

I have been with the Emperor's ambassador, the Count de Cifuentes, who told me his Holiness informed him that he, the Pope, had been requested by the most Christian King‡ to confer with him at Nice, to treat matters against the Infidels and Lutherans; the ambassador replied it was a matter to discuss with the Emperor, and the Pope said, "It is a thing not yet determined." Cifuentes thinks the Emperor would advise against (*con-conseiaria*) this conference, and told the Pope he would conclude the marriage of his niece. His Holiness said he thought he should, but that it would be a marriage and nothing more (*solum simplice noze*—query, not a political alliance).

They then spoke about the English marriage, and Cifuentes urged his Holiness to settle the matter. The Pope replied it required much consideration, that he would ponder the matter well, and do justice. The Archbishop of Capua [Nicholas Schomberg] tells me the Pope said to him about England that it was requisite to procede rather reservedly (*un pocho di andar intertenuto*) in order not to give cause to the King to effect something else.

In the last consistory the demand made by the Cardinal de Tournon in the name of the most Christian King against those who follow the Lutheran views (*via*) was again proposed, and it was determined to manifest to all those in France who shall be in this Lutheran *via* after proclamation, and to such as adopt the Lutheran doctines, that they cannot take advantage of the law concerning such as lapse (*caschano*) into errors for the first time, but may be punished corporally as shall seem fit to his Majesty. The Cardinals Monte and Campeggio were charged to draw up the writing.

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* Abbot of Arbroath? (*See* "State Papers," Scotland, vol. i. p. 31.)

† John Stewart, Protector and Governor of Scotland in 1515, made his final retreat to France in 1523. In 1505 he married Anne de la Tour, whose sister, Madeleine, became the mother of Catherine de Medici by Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino. (*See* Burke's Extinct Peerages, p. 781.)

‡ "Son stato con il Signor Conte de Cifuentes, orator di la Cesarea Maiestà, et mi ha ditto come erra stato col Pontefice, qual li havia ditto di la rechiesta del Re Xmo."

1533. Yesterday the Emperor's daughter arrived in this city; by the Pope's order she was met by his guard and attendants, and by the Imperial and Portuguese ambassadors; and before going to her lodging, she went to kiss his Holiness's foot. Today she visited him, and as she does not speak Latin the late Vice-Queen of Naples, widow of Don Carlo de Lanoy, replied, returning thanks, etc., saying how much love her deceased husband bore the Pope, to whom she had much obligation. Last evening her husband the Duke Alexandro came hither post from Florence.

The Cardinal of Bari* has also come to Rome: I visited him today, and he told me he found two great matters (*ponti*), one, the congress of Nice, the other, the marriage of England; that on the third evening after his arrival, he supped with the Pope, and told him this conference of Nice would not produce any effect; that he was of opinion the Emperor, for his honour, will not choose it to be held; and concerning the marriage of England he expects something to take place.

Rome, 7th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

888. MARCO ANTONIO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

It is said that the King of England has espoused his new wife publicly.

Barcelona, 8th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 202.

889. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

After my letter of the 4th the King made the mandatary (*il Dottor*) † summon Queen Katharine for this morning before the Archbishop of Canterbury to defend her rights. Her Majesty denied being either able or willing to defend them; nor would she acknowledge any other judge than the Pope. The mandatary said that by not assenting to have the judgment passed here, she would be subject to the statute called *præmunire*, which signifies the confiscation of all property and person to the King (*la qual importa la confiscation di tutti li beni e la persona sua im potestà dil Re.*) The Queen replied that she marvelled at the mandatary's imprudence, as being the person she is, not only is her body also in the King's power, but her personal effects likewise, nor has she any thing else, except her soul, which is of God. Notwithstanding this, the Archbishop went in person to within a mile of the Queen's residence‡ to hear her. It is said her Majesty will not appear, so that on the morrow of the Ascension sentence will be passed declaring her "*contumax.*"

* Stefano Gabriel Merino, a Spaniard, Archbishop of Bari, who had been Imperial Ambassador to Clement VII., as stated in the footnote to entry dated 23rd April.

† The term "mandatary" is used by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his letter to Henry VIII., dated Dunstable, 12th May 1533. (*See* State Papers, vol. i. p. 394.)

‡ The Queen resided at Ampthill, and Cranmer went to Dunstable, as seen by his letter of the 12th May.

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Three days ago, the Imperial ambassador [Eustace Chapuys] had audience of the Royal Council. He spoke haughtily, and said that if their Lordships thought to make the people believe that the Emperor will not take heed of these things, they deceive themselves; and that he (the ambassador) would not fail to proclaim publicly that the Emperor will rather risk all his realms than ignore justice. The ambassador is preparing for his departure.

Great preparations are being made for jousts and entertainments for the coronation of the new Queen; and his Majesty has determined to confer knighthood on all Englishmen whose annual rental exceeds 40 pounds sterling; and those who will not accept this dignity are to pay a certain sum according to their revenues; by which means he will realise a great sum of money, and his Court will be increased by a large amount of gentry.

The embassy of the Duke of Norfolk and others has been deferred until after the coronation.

The Imperial and French ambassadors consider it certain that the interview at Nice between the Pope and the most Christian King, will take place, and that his Holiness will then and there unite the most Christian King and the Emperor against the King of England; and this is the general opinion. Others say, that at this congress they will negotiate the confederation of the Christian powers against the Turk; the Pope thus delaying the arrangements for the council, and the disturbances in Germany;* and it is believed that this conference will take place with the Emperor's consent.

Six days ago the Papal Nuncio Dom. Ubaldino Bandinelli,† who was despatched by the Pope from Bologna to the most Christian King, and then to England, arrived here. He went to France, to speak about the Council. He says the interview will take place; that it has the Emperor's consent; and that one day at Bologna when the Pope was talking with the Emperor, the latter was heard to say, "It seems that the most Christian King will accept the bargain." The Pope replied, "I have no doubt of it; and if necessary I will go to Provence to confer with his Majesty;" and the Emperor commended this.

Nothing is heard from Scotland; yesterday a messenger from France, on his way thither, passed through London; it is hoped that an adjustment will take place.

The troops who were in Holland remain there; it is not known in whose pay they are.

The Lubeck fleet of 25 large ships, lately captured 5 Dutch vessels.

The City of Munster, which expelled its bishop, has made terms with him, giving him his living and sovereign authority (*dandoli*

* "E a questo modo il Papa farà intertener le cose di far il Concilio et li motti di Alemagna."

† In vol. vii. p. 459, "State Papers," there is the King's letter (the last of the series in the reign of Henry VIII.), to the Pope, acknowledging receipt of the brief delivered by the Nuncio. The letter is dated Greenwich, 20th May 1533.

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il viver e ch'el godi il dominio), and he is not to interfere with their rites; and after his death, the sovereignty is to return to the laity.

London, 9th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 10. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 13.

890. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Ambassador in England.

Send him a summary of the contents of their letters, dated Constantinople the 3rd April, with which he is to acquaint the King as usual.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 232.

891. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Has seen the Duke of Albany, who departs tomorrow for Auvergne, of which province he is governor. He says that the congress will certainly take place at the commencement of September.

The papal nuncio, the Bishop of Faenza, tells me the Queen of England was crowned on the 30th ult.

The papal nuncio, Dom. Ubaldino, has arrived here from England; I have not yet visited him.*

Lyons, 13th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

892. MARCO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The Imperial ambassador the Count di Fuentes (*sic*),† having received advices from Constantinople through the Viceroy of Naples, sent to communicate them to me, and I enclose the copies.

The Pope told me he had been urged by the Imperial ambassador to proceed against the King of England according to justice (*a proseguir per justitia contra il Re de Ingilterra, al che li ha fatto molta instantia*); and that he (the Pope) answered that the King had offended the Divine Majesty, and the Apostolic See, and his Imperial Majesty with regard to the ties of blood; that it was well to consider, and then act in concert, both spiritually and temporally; that the Emperor, being the advocate of this Holy See, was bound to defend it by force of arms, and his Holiness likewise with spiritual weapons, but it is to be remembered that this stir of arms would be also against the most Christian King, owing to the close friendship between him and England, and that war might cause detriment to the Christian religion; and that it would seem well to delay this matter (*e che li pareria ben se intrometesse tempo a questo*).

The Emperor's daughter departed hence four days ago for Naples, accompanied by the Cardinal of Bari, and by the Imperial ambassador and the Duke Alexandro [de' Medici]; and the Pope gave her a jewel of the value of from five to six thousand crowns.

Rome, 13th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th May.*

[*Italian.*]

* By Capello's letter, dated London, 20th May, it appears that Ubaldino Bandinelli had then just quitted England; in which case he could not have been at Lyons on the 13th May.

† In a former letter Cifuentes, which is the correct name.

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May 14.

893. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 135.

Conversed with the English ambassador [Sir John Wallop], who came from Paris, having been at the Court; he lodged with me for two days, and I accommodated him with horses. He says he lately discussed with the most Christian King the conference of Nice, and the marriage of the young Duchess, in order that his Majesty may mediate concerning that of his King; and it has been arranged for the Duke of Norfolk to attend the conference with a great number of prelates in the name of all the clergy of England, forming a company of 500 horsemen. The most Christian King answered that the Duke of Norfolk must come post, so that they may be together with the Pope on St. John's day, the term being subsequently prolonged to the end of July. Then, speaking of the marriage of the Duke of Orleans, he said he knew not how it would please the Emperor to hear he was to have territory in Italy; and that they would then require other things contrary to the articles of agreement. He also says the most Christian King will have a great number of galleys, of which 24 are in readiness, and to man them, he has taken out of prison all the malefactors and felons.

He told me, in the next place, that the marriage of Queen Anne to his King took place on the 10th of January last, by the advice (*co'l conseio*) of the most Christian King, on which account (*per il che*) the brother of said Anne came to this Court, and the King gave him a most beautiful and costly litter.

I spoke subsequently with the Papal Nuncio about this conference, which he denied entirely, saying he knew nothing about it.

Iserne, his Majesty's groom of the chamber (*varleto di camera*), has returned from Germany, whither he went about the marriage of Madame Isabella of Navarre to Duke Frederick of Bavaria, and other projects (*intertenimenti*).

I request that the name of the English ambassador may be kept secret, so as to enable me to obtain other advices from him.

Moulins, 17th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 14.

894. MARCO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

The Scottish ambassador here is intent on accomplishing the marriage of his King to Madame Madeleine, the most Christian King's daughter. The Pope thinks he will succeed, because, if unable to obtain her, he was commissioned to go to Flanders to Queen Maria, and conclude the marriage with the eldest daughter of the King of Denmark; and his Holiness said, "The King of England would be averse to this, lest the war with Scotland continue."

The Pope then told me that the Imperial ambassador had persuaded him to act against the English King, and that he had answered him that he would allow the Imperial agents to hasten the legal proceedings. (*Poi Soa Santità mi disse che l'Orator Cesareo lo havea persuaso a far contra il Re Anglicho, al qual havea*

1533. *risposto, lasseria che li agenti Cesarei solicitasse a proceder di jure.*)

Rome, 14th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 156.

895. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

On the 15th, the most Christian King made his entry into this city with his sons and the Queen, being met by the whole town with all possible honour; and as usual, this community presented him with a silver mill, said to be worth 1,000 crowns, which present his Majesty gives to his servants (*qualli presenti soa Maestà dona a soi servitori*).

The King and others have received letters from Rome dated the 5th, purporting that the Pope had announced in consistory to the Cardinals, the conference to be held with his most Christian Majesty at Nice. The Lord Steward, after a long conversation with the Imperial ambassador, said to me, "There can be no doubt the Pope will come to Nice, and I have to tell it you in the King's name, and his Majesty will speak to you." He then took me to the King, who, after a long colloquy with the Imperial ambassador, said to me, "Ambassador, it has seemed fit to our Holy Father to come to Nice, about the middle of July; so we will discuss at this congress both matters relating to the faith and other things concerning Christendom in general; and I tell you especially, that the Signory may rely on having in me not only the most affectionate of Princes, but the most anxious of men for the advantage and honour of the State, because they refused to join this last Italian league with the Emperor, and I have known that they refused chiefly on my account; and although I believe his Holiness will not speak about the Signory's affairs, yet should he do so, be assured that he will address himself to one who is most attached to the State." I thanked his Majesty, saying that the Signory had not less trust in him than in any other sovereign. In reply to an enquiry made by me, he then said, "The Pope will come by sea; he will have Antonio Doria's three galleys and the three ships built by him, and those of the knights of St. John, which will be ten in number. I shall send him 22 galleys, six banked fustes, and eight galleons, being 40 vessels in all, which together with the Pope's ten, will be 50 sail; so that he may come without apprehension of Andrea Doria, by whom I will not be circumvented; and I put 100 harquebusiers, 40 archers, and 20 men-at-arms on board of each of the galleys; and the companies of the Lord Steward, of the Duke of Albany, and of the Count of Tenda will be on board. The Duke of Albany will be commander of the entire armada. The Lord Steward will precede me; I believe he will depart from Lyons, to make arrangements at Nice; and he will confer with the Bishop of Faenza, who is coming in the name of the Pope. The Duke of Norfolk, one of the chief personages in England, will come on behalf of his King. The Duke of Savoy will place Nice and the fortress in the hands of the Pope, who will consign it to me for my security, and I promise him to give it back, after the congress, and

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not to speak of my disputes with the Duke, until after the expiration of two months from that time." I asked his Majesty about the marquisate of Montferrat, owing to the death of the Marquis, and the seizure of Alba and other places in that territory by the Marquis of Saluzzo. His Majesty replied, "He lays claim to that state, he and the deceased being descended from two brothers; I wrote to him that having so good a right I advised him to defend it by right;" and his Majesty seemed averse to strife (*e mostrò non voler novità*).

I then asked about the affairs of Scotland and England, and the King said, "The truce will certainly be made, and speedily; the King of Scotland has now referred it to me, and I will arrange those affairs."

An ambassador from the Duke of Savoy has arrived here, I do not know for what purpose; but when talking to him about what will become of the county of Asti, he said he was come to adjust all disputes with the King, who will give him audience, which he had never chosen to do hitherto; and he added that his Duke will have a claim on the state of Montferrat on account of dowry of a certain Madona Bianca of Montferrat, who married a Duke Carlo of Savoy.

The English ambassador [Sir John Wallop] supped with me today, and told me that the French galleys at Marseilles are not in good order, on which account the conference at Nice was delayed until July. It is said here that [Andrea] Doria might prevent the Pope's coming, but the most Christian King when talking with me said, "The Emperor has 34 galleys, 12 of which will remain in Spain, 6 go to Sicily, and there are 16 with Andrea Doria, with whose fleet the Pope would be very well able to cope."

It is reported here, that the marriage of the Pope's niece [Catherine de' Medici] to the Duke of Orleans will take place, Parma and Piacenza being given as dower.

Provisions are one-third dearer. At Lyons and at Avignon the prices will be most exorbitant.

Moulins, 16th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 202.

896. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Messer Ubaldino [Bandinelli], the Papal Nuncio, has shown me his commission, of seven articles.

1. That the Council be held for the benefit and conservation of the Christian commonwealth.

2. Princes who shall not be able to attend it may send thither legitimate procurators.

3. Should any Prince not assent to the convocation, that it be held by those who do assent.

4. Should any one not assent to the decrees of this Council, and therefore oppose the Pope, that all the other Princes be bound to lend the Pope their favour and assistance.

5. In the meanwhile (*in questo tempo*) the Lutherans to make no innovation whatever.

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6. Before the announcement of this Council the Princes to agree where it is to be held.

7. The places proposed for the Council are Mantua, Bologna, Piacenza, and Turin.

Immediately on the settlement of the aforesaid points, the Council to sit.

His Majesty spoke the Nuncio fair and in general terms, saying that the Duke of Norfolk will convey his resolve to the congress which will be held; and he gave him a cup, worth 300 crowns, and he departed.

On the 14th, a secret envoy from the most Christian King arrived, to acquaint the King with the congress to be held at Nice, and to urge him to send the Duke of Norfolk. A messenger from the Duke of Saxony and Frederick the Count Palatine has also been here, and went away the day before yesterday. He announced that a diet of the greater part of Germany is being held at Constance, and will close at Whitsuntide. They are to discuss the creation of a new King of the Romans, and wish his Majesty and the most Christian King to consent to this.

The coronation of the new Queen will take place on the 8th June, and great preparations are being made for entertainments.

The hostilities between Scotland and these English have been mutually suspended through the intervention of the most Christian King; and the ships of the King of England have returned to the mouth of the Thames.

London, 20th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 21. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

897. Marco Venier to the Signory.

I have spoken to the Imperial ambassador the Count de Cifuentes, and communicated to him the advices from Constantinople.

The Pope has told me the King of France wishes the peace of Italy to continue, and the agreement between the Emperor and himself to be observed, and says he will not fail in the matter of the Infidels, or in providing for the Lutheran affairs, and that good consideration must be had about the Council, to effect which he was of opinion that his conference with his Holiness should be held speedily. The Pope told me he answered that the matter was *grande*, and that he would consult the Cardinals.

He also informed me that the French Cardinals said that at this congress some expedient might be negotiated concerning the marriage of the King of England, and that should his Holiness wish it, the French King would make the Duke of Norfolk come in the name of the English King; to which he answered that in this matter there were many difficulties, both spiritual and temporal, and it was necessary to know the will of the Emperor.

Rome, 21st May. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 204.

898. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

The Duke of Norfolk will depart on Monday next the 26th, having sent his baggage, and the greater part of his attendants; he

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goes straight to Lyons, and thence to Nice. His Majesty hopes the Duke will adjust the affair of the divorce with the Pope, through the most Christian King, who has hopes of inducing his Holiness to comply with the King's wishes.

London, 23rd May. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 23. Parti Comuni Consiglio X., v. ix. p. 23, tergo.

899. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN by the CHIEFS.

That licence for carrying arms be conceded to six servants of each of the under-written ambassadors,—

The Rev. Apostolic Legate;
The Magnifico the Imperial Ambassador;
The Rev. Ambassador of the most Christian King;
The Rev. Ambassador of England;

and to four servants of each of the following ambassadors, namely, of the magnificos the ambassadors of—

The most Illustrious Duke of Milan;
„ „ „ of Ferrara;
„ „ „ of Mantua;
„ „ „ of Urbino;

the said ambassadors declaring upon oath that the servants notified by them are in their pay and in their houses; and their names to be noted in the book of licences of this Council as usual.

Ayes, 16. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

May 24. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Filza 8.

900. The DOGE and SENATE to CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

With regard to what was said to you—first by the King and then by the Lord Chancellor—about the publication of the confederacy lately made at Bologna, the printed copies of which make it appear that it includes the Republic, we commend your reply; for we, having been requested to join the confederacy, did not modify our treaty of peace and confederacy stipulated at Bologna in 1529; and the present confederacy having been lately formed between the Pope, the Emperor, and others, without our intervention, certain printers at Bologna—and not in Venice—from love of gain have named our Signory as one of the contracting parties.* This being resented by us, we wrote to our ambassadors with the Pope and the Emperor to complain, and caused the Imperial ambassador to write to his Majesty. Their answers purported that this took place unknown to them, and that they regretted and blamed the cupidity of said printers; and that had they known it in time to remedy it, they would not have failed to do so. You will therefore declare as aforesaid, without showing any particular anxiety in the matter on our part, save for the welfare, quiet, and tranquillity of all Christendom.

* This falsification by the printers of the treaty between Clement VII., Charles V., Milan, Genoa, Ferrara, Sienna, and Lucca, is alluded to by the Venetian historian, Andrea Morosini, vol. i. pp. 367, 368. The treaty was dated Bologna, February 1533. I do not find it in Dumont.

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Enclose summary of letters from the ambassador and vice-bailiff at Constantinople, dated 18th and 23rd ultimo, for communication to the King.

It is reported that negotiations are on foot for a conference at Nice, between the Pope and the most Christian King. Ascertain whether this conference is to take place—what is to be negotiated on the occasion, and whether it is with the consent of other powers.

Ayes, 177. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

May 26. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 188.

901. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Arrived here on the 24th, and spoke with the English ambassador [Sir John Wallop], who said he had letters from Rome dated the 8th, to the effect that the Pope's voyage to Nice; would not take place so speedily, the paragraph in his letter being as follows:—

"Our Lord is irresolute and in great suspense about this voyage for the conference; he awaits letters from Spain."

The ambassador told me he had sent another courier express to his King, and that the Duke of Norfolk, who is to go to Nice, would accelerate his journey so as to be at Avignon by the 28th June; adding, "I will try and learn from the Lord Steward, and you shall hear."

Lyons, 26th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 169.

902. The SAME to the SAME.

The English ambassador told me he had letters from Rome of the 18th instant from Casal and the other ambassadors* of his King, and, yesterday at midnight, when the courier arrived with the letters from Rome, the most Christian King sent for him immediately, and he spoke to the Lord Steward, who told him that by letters from Rome, they perceived that the Pope was very doubtful about coming, and had cooled, saying, he awaited letters from Spain, and a reply from his most Christian Majesty, which was written 20 days ago, and that until he received them he could not determine. The English ambassador said to the Lord Steward in reply, "Do you wish me to write to the Duke of Norfolk to speed his journey?" The Lord Steward replied, "Write warmly." The ambassador having rejoined, "The Pope's coming is doubtful, and the Duke of Norfolk not having departed, it would be well for him to delay his coming," the Lord Steward continued, "Write to him to come notwithstanding, as there is no doubt of the Pope's coming, though it is quite true he wrote to us about a certain matter, the reply to which was not sent by us until four days ago from this place. On receiving our letters, we are certain that he will at any rate depart." The ambassador says he does not know what this reply, concealed by the Lord Steward, is; he supposed it to relate to his King's marriage, and that it was unfavourable for his Majesty, and he read to me a paragraph in the letters from Rome, to the effect that the Pope will

* The English ambassadors at Rome at this time were Gregory Casal, Edmund Boner, and William Benet. (State Papers, vii. 454–465.)

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not have the galleys of the knights of Rhodes (*dilla Religiom*), as the prior of Rome (*il prior di Roma*), who commands them, is the dependent of his Holiness, who is the cause of this. This was confirmed to him by the Lord Steward and the Admiral, and they told him that the French fleet numbers 20 galleys, in excellent order, and will supply the place of the Rhodians.

I have been unable to execute the commands given me in the Signory's letters of the 20th March and 30th April, as the King has been occupied. Yesterday the Dauphin made his entry into this city, being honourably met by all the nations * and by the whole town; the Queen being also met in like manner by the whole town with much more pomp and ceremony, as all the nations, both on foot and horseback, went forth to meet her, richly clad with costly surcoats and much embroidery, besides 3,000 infantry of the town who went in like manner. All the ambassadors were invited to this entry, namely, Papal, Imperial, English, I, and Ferrara. The Scottish ambassador did not appear, as his affairs are not well adjusted with the King of England. The ambassador from Savoy was not invited, because the King professes to consider his Duke contumacious, for the cause written in my letter of the 10th February last, but six days ago he had audience of his Majesty, nor is anything further known. This Court is much crowded (*ingrossata*), though there have yet to come, the King of Navarre, the Cardinal de Bourbon, the most Illustrious de Vendôme, the Duke of Norfolk, Mons. de Guise, and others, who are all expected indubitably. This town cannot accommodate so many men and horses, and this has caused a great scarcity of all things, and most especially of lodgings bread, corn, and stabling; and the quantity of bread sold for one French *sous*, equal to rather more than three *marchetti*, is so small, that I never remember to have got less for three *marchetti* at Venice, however great the scarcity may have been there. The poor people eat very coarse and bad bread; corn has trebled in price; and should the Court remain here some days longer, the cost will become unbearable. I know not how I shall be able to defray such vast expenditure, as even in the midst of plenty my need exceeded my means; and at this Court negotiations are carried on at table. I pray God to relieve me in one way or the other.

Lyons, 27th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 27. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

903. Marco Venier to the Signory.

Today the Imperial ambassador received letters from the Emperor dated in Barcelona the 12th inst.,† informing him that his Majesty has heard of the Congress, and desiring him to tell the Pope that he does not approve of it (*che lui non lo lauda*), it not seeming to him apposite (*al proposito*), adducing many reasons for its not being held, but should his Holiness have a firm promise from the most Christian King that nothing shall be treated save matters

* "Da tutte le nazioni," foreign traders established at Lyons.

† By a letter dated Barcelona, 27th April 1533, which the Emperor addressed to his Ambassador in Venice, Dom Lopes de Sora, it appears that he landed at Roses on the 21st April, having embarked at Genoa on the Tuesday in Passion week, 8th of April, the day after the decision of the divorce in London.

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relating to the Christian religion, his Holiness might do what he pleased, as his Imperial Majesty did not choose any one to be able to say that the King of France wished to do some good deed, and that he the Emperor was the cause of preventing him. This the ambassador represented to the Pope, and his Holiness declared to him he would neither treat nor take any other course or way than that of the quiet of Italy, and its maintenance; not wishing to make any alteration in the agreement stipulated at Bologna.

His Imperial Majesty also writes of having heard from England what displeased him, without saying more, but he had not yet received the letters written to him by Count Cifuentes on the 3rd and 8th instant, concerning the colloquies on this subject between the ambassador and the Pope.

Rome, 27th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 28. **904.** MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 170.

In this hour communicated to the King the contents of the Signory's letters of the 20th, and the summaries and advices contained in those of the 30th April and 9th May.

His Majesty said: "I imagine that the Turk feels his honour wounded by the loss of Coron, and would fain recover it by all means possible, but the money and outlay would be great. By these threats, he seeks its restitution, but the Emperor intends to keep it; though as he (the Turk?) meditates an attack by sea and land, and the invasion of Italy, his Imperial Majesty should not talk so largely (*così largamente*). Heretofore the Pope and the Emperor wished the Grand Master of Rhodes [Philippe Villiers de L'Isle-Adam], who is a Frenchman, my servant and good friend, to take Coron for the habitation of that order and to defend it; and he wrote to me—as the Grand Masters are dependent on this Crown, and have two thirds of their revenues in this kingdom—asking my opinion; and here at Lyons I answered him, that if he could defend Coron against such a potentate as the Turk, I should approve of the undertaking; but seeing that an Emperor can with difficulty defend the place, still less could he the Grand Master hold it; and if taken, it would be the ruin of the entire Order. I believe nothing will be done."

The Lord Steward will depart for Nice in three or four days. He will be accompanied by the Duke of Albany, who is come from Auvergne for this purpose. He says "that the King of Scotland has referred his disputes with the King of England for arbitration to the most Christian King, and thus peace will certainly be made." This was confirmed by the Scottish ambassador, who said that in a few days everything will be settled. The King said: "Write to the Signory that the Emperor thought of giving his niece—the eldest daughter of the King of Denmark—to the King of Scotland; the negotiation has been cut short." His most Christian Majesty did not say a word about the marriage of his own daughter to the King of Scotland.

Lyons, 28th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th June.*

[*Italian.*]

1533.
May 29.
Sanuto Diaries (Originals), vol. lviii.

905. Mafio Bernardo.

Trial of Mafio Bernardo for traducing the Republic in England; dealing with the wool-staplers; impeding the importation of English wools into Venice, and injuring the Venetian trade and the traffic of the Flanders galleys.*

The Senate met in the afternoon at the suit of the *Avogaria*.† It was a full house. After the motion had been read, the kinsfolk of Mafio Bernardo withdrew. Bernardo came into the Senate-hall with his brother Bartolo, and eight advocates.

The State *Avogador* Jacomo da Canal, and his colleagues, stated the case, and made a fine oration. Thirty pages of the process were read, and the hour being late, they postponed the perusal of the remaining twenty-five until tomorrow.

[*Italian.*]

May 30.
Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

906. The Same.

The Senate assembled at the suit of the *Avogaria* against Ser Mafio Bernardo. Proceedings again adjourned.

[*Italian.*]

May 31.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 193.

907. Marin Giustinian to the Signory.

I spoke with the Admiral ‡ about this conference; he said it would take place speedily, adding: "We have 22 light galleys in excellent order; we shall send them to Hostia to fetch him (*a levarlo*), and on his arrival at Nice we will discuss matters against the Infidels, and the Lutheran affairs, and the Duke of Norfolk also will be present." I inquired how the Pope bears the marriage of England. He replied: "Very ill indeed; and that King is still more estranged from him: he has caused very great mischief; he chose to act in his own fashion: he ought to have waited for this conference. Letters are expected from Rome." He said that the disputes between England and Scotland have been referred to the most Christian King. The Emperor has chosen to give the King of Scotland his niece, the eldest daughter of the King of Denmark, and gives the Duke of Milan the other daughter, who is four years old.§ These English ambassadors ‖

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* Mafio Bernardo was one of the wealthiest of the Venetian merchants domiciled in England in the first half of the 16th century, and some account of his misdeeds may be read in Capello's letter dated 14th March 1533. So far as I can understand Sanuto's account of the trial, Bernardo attempted to farm the English wool staple, and thus monopolize the importation of English wools into Venice. The historian, Andrea Morosini (vol. ii. pp. 168,169), records the murder, near Ravenna, of Mafio Bernardo in the year 1546, the deed having been effected by his relations (and by the envoy of Henry VIII., Lodovico dalle Arme, to whom he had revealed certain state secrets which the King's "Bravo" feared he might divulge), for the sake of obtaining his immense property.

† Office of the "Attornies-General, or State Attornies."

‡ Philippe Chabot, Seigneur de Brion, succeeded Bonnivet in the post of Admiral of France. (*See* Brantome, "Des Hommes Illustres et Grands Capitaines.")

§ In an entry dated 11th June, the younger Princess of Denmark is said to be thirteen years old.

‖ Query at Rome. Sir John Wallop was alone at Lyons.

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do not approve of this interview, although the congress [of Nice] is the consequence of the interview in Picardy.*

Lyons, 31st May. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 4. Parti Comuni Cons°. X., v. xix. p. 32, tergo.

908. Motion in the Council of Ten by the Chiefs.

Licences to carry arms to be granted only to such persons of the ambassadors' households as shall be specified in a note to be delivered by the secretaries and under the sign-manual of the ambassadors, the secretaries affirming upon oath that they are veritable servants (*veri familiari*) dwelling in the houses of the ambassadors, and at their cost; making them also one by one appear personally in the presence of the Chiefs. The same form to be observed at the renewal of these licences every four months. These "arms-licences" to be available from Easter to Michaelmas until the second hour of the night, and from Michaelmas to Easter until the fourth hour, according to the letter of the law, with the exception of guns (*schioppi*), pole-axes, and other sorts of arms prohibited by the laws. Should anyone be found [with prohibited weapons] the licence shall not be available as excuse, and he shall incur the penalty for arms, etc. in addition to *scossi tre de corda* † on St. Mark's Square.

Ayes, 15. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

June 5. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

909. Marin Giustinian to the Signory.

The English ambassador [Sir John Wallop] has heard from Rome that they have appointed the 15th July for the observation of the vintage season (*e lui ha di Roma esser sta messo adi* 15 *Luio per la in-tempore di l'ue*‡ *et perho, etc.*), and therefore the Pope's coming has been postponed until the beginning of September. His most Christian Majesty has acceded to the Pope's wish. The Duke of Norfolk was to be at Nice by the 15th August, when the Pope will certainly be there, but Wallop is of opinion the Duke will not come.

The new Queen was to be crowned in England on the 8th.

Lyons, 5th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 5. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

910. Mafio Bernardo.

The Senate assembled in the afternoon at the suit of the *Avogaria,* for the cause of Ser Mafio Bernardo of the bank; and Ser Piero Mozenigo, late State-Attorney, and the State-Attorney, Ser

* This remark seems to have been made by Philippe Chabot, who was present at the conference of Calais, on which occasion he received the Garter from Henry VIII. (*See* entry dated 31 October 1532.)

† Jerks of the cord, or strappado. It is to this punishment that Shakespear alludes when he makes Othello say,—

"If there be *cords* or knives,
"Prison, or fire, or suffocating streams,
"I'll not endure it."

‡ The "*Tempora*," or *Ember weeks*, were observed at certain seasons, of which, in Italy, that of the vintage (*l'ue*) was one; and the Pope pleaded the Ember weeks as an excuse for not commencing his journey in May. He did not remain for the vintage, but for the church ceremonies of that season.

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Jacomo da Canal, spoke of the other two charges, namely, that Bernardo sought to farm the wool-staple, and would not allow wools to be loaded on board his galley. There are five charges in all. Ser Jacomo da Canal then mentioned the bravadoes of the defendant, and ended his speech; but, although it was early, Bernardo's advocates went to the Signory to say they would reply tomorrow; so the house was cleared, the members of the Senate alone remaining; and the letters received during the last few days were read, and the Council was dismissed at the 22nd hour.

[*Italian.*]

June 6. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

911. MAFIO BERNARDO.

In the afternoon, the Senate assembled for the *Avogaria*, to despatch Ser Mafio Bernardo. It was a full house, and the advocate D. Francesco Fileto, LL.D., spoke in his favour, and well, saying the process is not well drawn up, nor ought credit to be given to the ambassador [Carlo Capello], as he is Bernardo's enemy; nor to the secretary, whose name Fileto did not know, nor to Zuan Morexini, son of Ser Vetor, nor Ser Zuan Battista Capello, son of the late Ser Sebastian, as they are his most bitter enemies, and the State Attorneys put them upon oath, but did not choose to administer it to Ser Hironimo da Molin, to Ser Jacomo Bragadin, or to Domenego di Prioli, because they are Bernardo's friends. He replied, and well, to the five charges made—1st, concerning the words used at the banquet given by D. Zuan Joachin, Count of Val (*Vaux*), the French ambassador; 2ndly, touching abuse of the ambassador, Carlo Capello, on Greenwich bridge; 3rdly, about his having wished to take the wool-staple to prevent the entry of wools into Venice; 4thly, that he paid the crew of his galley, contrary to the will of the Captain of the Flanders Galleys; 5thly, that he would not allow wools to be loaded on board his galley. He then confuted the State-Attorney's quotation, "Si quis imperatori male dixerit, capite puniatur," saying, on the contrary, that the rulers (*li imperatori*) choose him to be pardoned; and he had an act read—passed by the Council of Ten on the 8th of August—concerning those public ministers to whom abusive language shall be addressed, that they are not to reply, but to draw up a process with two single witnesses. In short, he spoke eloquently and with vehemence, in Bernardo's favour. The house was then counted, all being dismissed who have no ballot, with the exception of the members of the College, and the numbers were 200.

The three State attorneys now in office, and Ser Piero Mozenigo late State attorney for this cause, then made a motion thus,—whether, considering what has been read and said, the Senate thinks fit to proceed against Ser Mafio Bernardo, son of the late Ser Francesco.

The motion was carried, thus:

Ayes, 108. Noes, 48. Neutrals, 44.

Five motions were then made. One by the State attorneys. One by Ser Zuan Boldù, chief of the Forty. One by Ser Vincenzo Morexini, chief of the Forty. One by Ser Francesco da Molin, chief of the

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Forty, son of the late Ser Piero; and the fifth, by the Doge and six councillors.

Motion made by the State Attorneys:—

That Ser Mafio Bernardo be confined (*confinatus et relegatus*) for life in this city of Venice, and be bound to present himself once every week to the State attorneys. Should he infringe this decree, all his property to be confiscated to the State; he himself to be banished from Venice, and from all inland and maritime towns and places of the Signory, and from all ships, armed and unarmed; and should he at any time break these bounds, and be captured, to be brought to Venice, and imprisoned *in carcere forti* for two years, *et hoc toties quoties*. His captors to receive each time one thousand ducats, to be derived from his property, if they can be obtained; if not, from the moneys of the State. Any person accusing said nobleman to the State attorneys of having broken his bounds, should the accusation prove true, to receive a thousand ducats. This sentence to be published on the edict steps at Rialto.

Ayes, 14. Neutrals, 10.

Motion made by the Doge and six Councillors.

That Ser Mafio Bernardo be banished for ten years from the Island of England, from Calais, Antwerp, Bruges, and from the whole of Flanders; and should he at any time act contrary to this banishment, be he condemned to pay 5,000 ducats to the Signory; and the person accusing him, so that the truth be ascertained, to receive five hundred ducats, to be levied on his property if they can be obtained; if not, the sum to be paid from the moneys of the Signory; and that he Bernardo, do forthwith pay to the water-bailiff's office, for the dredging of the lagoons and shore—as shall seem fit to the College of the most Serene Prince—one thousand ducats.

Ayes, 102. Carried.

Note by Sanuto, that as according to law one third of the fines payable to the water-bailiff's office is the perquisite of the State attorneys, they therefore abstained from voting on this motion.

Motion made by Ser Vincenzo Morexini, chief of the Forty.

That Ser Mafio Bernardo be confined for ten years in this City of Venice, and be bound to present himself once every week to the State attorneys. Should he during that period break bounds, be he banished for life from Venice and the district, and from all towns and places of the Signory both inland and maritime, and from ships, armed and unarmed. If at any time he disobey this sentence, and be captured and brought to Venice, be he imprisoned in a dungeon, there to remain for one year, on the expiration of which, his term of banishment to commence, with the conditions above written in case of infringement of the sentence, *et hoc toties quoties*, so that he remain in banishment for said ten consecutive years (*in tota relegatione per dictum decennium*); the person who captures and delivers him into the Signory's hands to receive five hundred ducats, to be levied on his (Bernardo's) property, if obtainable; if not, from the moneys of the Signory.

Ayes, 64.

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Motion made by Ser Zuan Boldù, chief of the Forty.

Approves throughout the motion of Ser Vincenzo Morexini, chief of the Forty, on condition that the term of confinement be for 15 years instead of 10; and moreover that Ser Mafio Bernardo do pay forthwith three thousand ducats, namely, to the office of the arsenal 1,000; to the armament office 1,000; to the water-bailiff's office 1,000, for the dredging of the lagoons.

Ayes 17.

Motion made by Ser Francesco di Molin, chief of the Forty.

That Ser Mafio Bernardo pay forthwith to the water-bailiff's office, for the dredging of the lagoons two thousand ducats, and moreover five hundred ducats, to be distributed amongst the monasteries of poor nuns and hospitals, as shall seem fit to the Signory; besides 500 ducats to the office of the arsenal.

Ayes, 11. Neutrals, 6.

The Senate was dismissed at the second hour of the night. Almost all the procurators were present, and Ser Domenego Trivixan, Ser Luca Trum [*alias* Trono], and Ser Lorenzo Lorenzo. It was full, to hear the despatch of this business.

[*Latin and Italian.*]

June 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 253.

912. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Wrote last on the 23rd ult., on which day the Archbishop of Canterbury passed the sentence against Queen Katharine, as contumax (*in contumatia di quella*), her Majesty not having chosen to appear.

Subsequently, on the 29th of May, the Duke of Norfolk, with a retinue as already mentioned numbering some 200 horsemen in excellent array, departed hence.

On the afternoon of that same day,* Queen Anne came from Greenwich to the Tower, by water, in a highly decorated little ship (*una naveta ornatissima*), with 50 other large barges, adorned in like manner, full of lords and ladies richly clad, being accompanied the whole way to the Tower by the constant discharge of artillery.

On Saturday, the last day of the month, also in the afternoon, she passed from the Tower to Westminster, with very great pomp, clad in silver tissue, with her hair over her shoulders, and a coronet (*coronella*) on her head; being carried on a chair of cloth of gold, between two mules, which were also covered with silver damask, and under a canopy of cloth of silver, accompanied by the greater part of the nobility of this kingdom, with the utmost order and tranquillity, all the streets and the houses being crowded with persons of every condition, in number truly marvellous; and in many places there were triumphal arches, pageants, and other decorations, as usually made on similar occasions.

Next morning, Whit-Sunday, she was conducted from the royal palace by the two archbishops of this kingdom, four of the chief bishops, and fourteen abbots, to the great church of Westminster,

* Viz. 29th of May. In Hall's Chronicle (edition, London, 1809, p. 298), the date is printed "XIX. day of Maye."

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where she was most solemnly anointed and crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the principal officials (*ministri*) were the Duke of Suffolk and the Lord Chamberlain, with a great number of lords and ladies all clad in scarlet mantles lined with ermine. A very grand and most sumptuous banquet was then served in that . . . . . * called by them the Great Hall (*Sala majore*), where, including the chief male and female nobility, there sat at table some 800 persons; besides the officials, there were also all the Earls and noblemen, and the Duke of Suffolk on horseback, most superbly arrayed, together with the brother of the Duke of Norfolk, who constantly visited the tables.

Then the whole of Monday was spent in banquets, balls, and jousts, at which entertainments the French ambassador and I were most honourably received, his Majesty having invited me *con somma instantia;* and when the French ambassador asked the Duke of Norfolk whether I would come to these entertainments, the Republic being at peace with the Emperor, the Duke replied that I was coming, and that although at peace with the Emperor, the Signory has also very ancient goodwill towards his Majesty and his ancestors.

The affairs of Scotland are not arranged, and the Scots lately took a very rich English merchant ship; but it is expected the truce will be made, though matters are procrastinated, and the English seem not to care.

There are advices from Flanders, Brabant, and Holland, that war has been proclaimed against the Easterlings, and principally against Lubeck; and that in Flanders and Holland they are preparing some 200 sail, on which they will embark a good part of those Lansquenets of Guelders who are on the borders of Holland; which news his Majesty has confirmed to me, and in a few days he will again send an ambassador to the King of Denmark, with whom, and with the Easterlings, he has a good understanding.

The congress to be held at Nice, between his Holiness and the most Christian King, has been spoken of here. The chief personages of the Court say it will take place (but they are unacquainted with all the particulars) on account of the marriage; and they believe the affairs of their King, and the marriage of the Pope's niece to the Duke of Orleans, will be arranged.

Has received the news of the last of April, and the news letters from Constantinople.

London, 7th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 10. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File No. 13.

913. The Doge and College to Carlo Capello, ambassador in England.

Enclose the summary of letters received from their ambassador and vice-bailiff at Constantinople, dated the 7th and 8th ultimo, that he may communicate it to the King.

[*Italian.*]

* Blank in Sanuto's original MS.

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June 11.

914. MARCO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 194.

The Imperial ambassador and the agents of the Queen of England are proceeding (*si continua expedir*) with the divorce case in Consistory, and it was proposed to summon the Auditor *di Rota* Capizucchi to attend the next consistory. The day before yesterday when it assembled, certain acts were read, of which I enclose copy; and they purport, in short, that the advocate of the most Serene Queen* demands (*zercha*) the replies to a protest made to the Pope four days ago by the English ambassadors, against proceeding in this cause, both because the Rota is mistrusted by their king (*al Ser^mo Rè suspetta*), as also because the cause is of such great importance (*di tanto interesse*) to him, that by divine right, the ambassadors and the Excusator [Carne] should be present.

This protest was not admitted, and the Pope and cardinals insisted that the cause should be terminated. The ambassadors said the Excusator had a sufficient mandate to excuse the King, although he had not informed the Cardinals. Time was given them until another consistory; but the Queen's advocate objected, demanding a decision against the admission of the Excusator.

Before this, the Pope complained to the Cardinals that what was treated in the "congregation" held lately about the interview [at Nice] had been divulged, as also the words uttered on that occasion, and that their lordships should be more reserved, as besides subjecting themselves to excommunication, it was also for the public interest; and he said he would then communicate to them more satisfactory information.

The French cardinals here have told the Pope that the wish (*la mente*) of the most Christian King is, that as the Duke of Orleans, and the young Duchess, his Holiness's niece, are of ability (*abili*) to contract and consummate marriage, the Pope should therefore send her to Nice, where said Duke would be; and should his Holiness not approve of Nice, that he do send her to some other place. His Holiness replied that it did not seem fit to him to send her.

The Cardinal de Tournon has told me that the King of Scotland will marry a Frenchwoman; either the daughter of Mons. de Vendôme, or a sister of the King of Navarre, or a daughter of Mons. de Guise; leaving Madame Madeleine, the daughter of the most Christian King, aside, in order not to displease the King of England.

The French cardinals have received letters from the King, informing them that although the Pope's determination to postpone the interview until September did not please him, as he had come too far in advance, yet he did not evince discontent; and he refers

* Compare this with the letters of Benet and Boner, dated Rome, 28th May and 13th and 14th June, in "State Papers," vol. vii. pp. 462–473.

At p. 470, date 13th June, 1533, Benet writes—

"Apon Friday last passed, the advocate of the parte adverse did comme into the consistorie, and their rehersed all that your Highnes had attemptid of late, and specially towched the said proceedinge of my Lord of Canterburie," etc.

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Rome, 11th June 1533. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th June.*

[*Italian.*]

915. COPIES of DOCUMENTS contained in the foregoing LETTER of MARCO VENIER, Venetian ambassador at Rome.

On the 12th February 1531, Consistory was held in the usual place, in which place the Reverend Father D. Paolo Capizucchi stated that a certain Englishman* appeared as one of the people, to excuse the King for not having appeared in the cause of the marriage. He (Capizucchi) stated it was the opinion of the Rota that the Excusator should not be admitted, but that our Lord should discuss the matter with the right reverend Cardinals, who by vote decreed that the Excusator was not to be admitted without a commission.

On the 10th May 1531, Consistory was held, in which it was concluded that in the English cause of the marriage, the decrees made heretofore were to be observed notwithstanding the allegations and suit made by the Excusator.

In the Anglican cause, our Holy Lord, together with the Council of Roman Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, having maturely discussed all the exceptions and allegations presented by one party and by the other, at length determined to await the most Illustrious King of England until and throughout the month of October next, that he may produce the mandate in the principal cause (*in causa principali*), in default of which, on the expiration of said term, the Court will proceed as justice shall counsel.

"Most Holy Father,

"After your Holiness had committed the cause and causes which your Holiness's most serene and devoted Oratrix, Katharine Queen of England, purposed maintaining against the most Serene Lord King of England, her consort, concerning the compact of marriage legitimately contracted between them, and other arguments more amply set forth in the acts of the cause and and causes aforesaid—to the Rev. Father D. Paolo Capizucchi, Dean of the Rota, that he might hear, know, and report them in Consistory on behalf of the said most Serene Queen, in observance of the substantial terms, a process exists against the aforesaid most Serene King; and in order that no doubt may arise of the validity of the process with regard to the observance of the terms, be your Holiness pleased to charge and command the aforesaid Rev. Father D. Paolo, after reiterating all together in one sole context the terms made hitherto—even wrongfully (*male*) or invalidly—to proceed in the cause and causes aforesaid to ulterior steps (*ad ulteriora*), to be reported in due time and place, he doing and expediting whatever is necessary and in any manner opportune, notwithstanding anything to the contrary, and declaring immediately the tenour of the cause

* Dr. Carne. (*See* "State Papers," vol. vii. pp. 282, 283.)

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and causes aforesaid, and the compendiums to be considered fully and difficiently expressed."

By order of our Lord the Pope, said auditor to reiterate the terms, and in one sole context; to proceed as required, and do justice. "PLACET."

The 9th of June 1533. Our Holy Lord, replying to the schedule of appeal and protest presented lately to his Holiness, says that by proceeding and pronouncing in this Anglican cause he did not aggrieve nor does he aggrieve anyone; but that he may be enabled to administer justice, he chooses the decree made in the Sacred Consistory, and the commissions issued respecting the aforesaid cause, to take effect, notwithstanding anything whatever.

From these premises (*ex his*) it is clearly manifest that the pretended Excusator ought not to be heard, and that the pretended appeals interposed by him are frivolous and to be rejected; and as the King —having no regard whatever for our Lord and the Sacred Consistory—has taken another wife, the most Serene Queen petitions for the despatch of the principal affair (*negocij principalis*).*

Rome, 9th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th June.*

[*Latin.*]

June 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 225.

916. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The English ambassador informs me that the Pope will give the most Christian King the towns belonging to the Signory now held by his Holiness.

I hear from the Scottish ambassador that the truce will not take place because his King having desired his subjects to abstain from ravaging the English territory, the English, on the 11th or 12th ult., invaded Scotland, so his King was much angered; that the Emperor will give him for wife his niece, the eldest daughter of the King of Denmark, age 16 years, first destined by him for the Duke of Milan, to whom he now gives the second daughter, who is 13 years old; and that his King wishes for the daughter of his most Christian Majesty, also of that age, and will not make peace save contemporaneously with the marriage.

There is news of the arrival in Paris of the Duke of Norfolk, so the English ambassador has gone to the Court to know what orders his Majesty will give.

Lyons, 11th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 14. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

917. MARCO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Today I went to the Pope, who told me that as the marriage cause of the King of England was worthy of being despatched according to justice, he had it proposed yesterday in Consistory to the Rev. Capizucchi, auditor of the Rota, whether the Excusator can

* Compare this with the letters from Rome of Boner and Benet, 13th and 14th June. ("State Papers," vol. vii. pp. 466–473.)

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be admitted, not having a mandate to proceed in the principal cause; concerning which, the votes of the Cardinals having been taken, it was determined not to admit the Excusator, as he has no mandate for the principal cause.*

Rome, 14th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 200.

918. Prothonotary Casal in the College.

The English ambassador came into the College complaining that possession had not been given him of Cividal di Belluno:—he has more rights than anyone else; he has the bulls; and Barozzi, who is now in possession, which was given him on the 27th March 1527, has neither bulls nor anything else; and sentence was passed by the Rota conferring this bishopric on him, Casal. The Doge told him consultation should be held on the matter, which must be despatched with the advice of the Senate.†

[*Italian.*]

June 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 255.

919. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

On the 8th Mons. Florim (*sic*), the French envoy, returned from Scotland, and, after conferring with his Majesty, departed for France on the morrow. It is believed that truce will be made for a year, to effect which Mons. de Beove [Beauvoir] went to the Borders expecting the conclusion, to be present at the proclamation. The Scots lately attacked and captured another very rich merchant ship, and killed some 60 Englishmen who were on board of it; and his Majesty's ships are preparing in haste to put to sea.

Yesterday advices were received giving hopes that, through the authority of the Emperor, the stir in Flanders against the Easterlings would be quieted.

On the 9th instant, the King received letters from the Duke of Norfolk, dated Paris. The Congress of Nice has been postponed, and the chief personages here (*questi grandi*) suspect it will not take place, and that, if held, it will be by the will of the Emperor, and with his consent, and that he will make war on this kingdom.

There are also advices from Spain that the Emperor had purposed assembling the ordinary Cortes of the Spanish realms, but determined to hold a general meeting of all the chief personages of Spain, on account of the divorce made, saying it concerns them, and exhorting them not to endure such dishonour.

There are advices from Germany that the Diet was ended, the execution of their resolves being committed to five chiefs—three Princes [of the Empire?], one [delegate?] for the eight Swiss can-

* Benet's letter of this date does not allude to the votes of the Cardinals against the admission of Carne. The words in the original are "sopra il che essendo stà tolti li voti da li Revmi. Carli. si risolse che lo Excusator non sij admesso, non havendo mandato in la causa principal."

† In the work entitled "*Le Chiese d'Italia*," vol. x. pp. 188–192, there is a detailed account of the dispute between Barozzi and the English Ambassador Prothonotary Casal, for the bishopric of Belluno, which was eventually conferred on Gasparo Contarini, on the 27th May 1536. *See also* Venetian Calendar, vol. iv. p. 126.

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tons, and one for the Free Towns. It is not known what the resolutions are.

Entreats the despatch of his successor.

London, 17th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 19. **920.** MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 250.

This morning went to his Majesty at the dinner hour to communicate to him the summaries from Constantinople. The three Papal Nuncios, the Bishop of Como, the Bishop of Faenza, and Dom Ubaldino [Bandinelli], late Nuncio in England,* were present, and whilst walking to and fro with the Lord Steward I heard the Bishop of Como say, "The Pope will do what the King of France wishes, and his Majesty will act in like manner by his Holiness." I spoke to the Legate's secretary, Foresta, who told me the conference will certainly take place at Nice, in August, as soon as the weather becomes cool; and he said he was sorry to see the commencement of war and bloodshed, and that although the Pope may give the King towns, they will be lost on his Holiness's demise. The Duke of Orleans is fourteen years old; one of his eyes is rather injured, but not dangerously. After this conversation, I was called by the Lord Steward, whom I acquainted with the summaries. He told me there were letters from Scotland, dated the 12th instant, brought by the *varleto di camera*, Flori [Fleury?], announcing that the truce between the King of England and Scotland had been made, and that their ambassadors were to meet at Newcastle, where the truce will be proclaimed, and they will discuss the disputes, which have all been referred to his most Christian Majesty; nor will the marriage between the King of Scotland and the daughter of the King of Denmark, and niece to the Emperor, take place. He also told me the Bishop of Faenza brings word that the conference at Nice will be in the middle of August. I enquired what the Emperor said about this, and his answer was that he knew not.

After the King had dined, I presented myself to his Majesty, and communicated the advices; he returned thanks, and told me the truce with Scotland was for one year, that the marriage to the daughter of the King of Denmark is at an end, and that the interview at Nice will be effected in August.

Yesterday I visited the Imperial ambassador, who said the Papal Nuncios had been to him and gave no information save about the conference, in accordance with what was told me by the King.

I have spoken with the *varleto*, Flori, who returned from England; he confirmed the intelligence *ut supra*. He greatly praised our ambassador, Dom. Carlo Capello, and says the Queen was crowned on the 29th ult.

Lyons, 19th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th July.*

[*Italian.*]

* Ubaldino Bandinelli, the Nuncio extraordinary, quitted England in May 1533. (*See* entry dated 20 May 1533.)

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June 20. **921.** MARCO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 225.

Was with the Pope this morning. He said that yesterday the Emperor's ambassador [Count de Cifuentes] solicited that, in conformity with justice, the divorce cause of England be determinated in the Rota, insisting on its being settled according to law (*instando per justitia fusse diffinida*), and a comendador of Calatrava has come with letters from his Majesty, dated Barcelona the 2nd instant, to urge this; a gentleman from the King of Portugal having also arrived. The business was, therefore, commenced yesterday, and in Consistory the Rev. Capizucchi, Auditor di Rota, reported the process, which purported, on behalf of Queen Katharine, that the father of the present English King had contracted with King Ferdinand of Spain to take his daughter in marriage for said English King's eldest son, to avert war (*per rimover la guerra*), and be able to live in peace. Secondly, that a bull of dispensation was made by Pope Julius, enabling the second son to take her for wife. Thirdly, that there is a brief made on that day, by said Pope Julius, to the effect that although known by the brother, this King might take her, which was done at his suit,* and that she was his legitimate wife. The English, on the other hand, say, the King of England never had war with the King of Spain; to the second, that marriage is of divine right, and the Pope could not dispense it;† to the third, that their King had never known of the brief until after it was intimated; and with this, Consistory was dismissed, in order to examine their arguments (*ragioni*), and his Holiness said he chose the Rota, together with the Cardinals, to despatch the matters. I enquired whether it would be before the vacation; and the Pope said he thought not, as there were only five days for assembling and giving audience, although the Imperial ambassador said that procrastination had caused the King to do what he has done, and the Archbishop of Canterbury to pronounce himself judge in this cause, which the Cardinals here hold in great account.

The Pope then said there were advices from Germany that the Landgrave of Hesse, together with the Lutherans, had convoked a Diet at Cologne.

Rome, 20th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 20. **922.** PROTHONOTARY CASAL and the BISHOPRIC OF BELLUNO.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 219.

The English ambassador came into the College Hall about his bishopric of Cividal di Belluno, requesting that possession may be given him, and it was determined to wait until next July, when Barozzi, who holds the see, will come here to demonstrate his rights.

[*Italian.*]

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* "Che vol si ben era sta auta dal fratello, questo Rè la poesse tuor, il che ha fatto a soa instantia."

† "E il Papa non poteva dispensarlo."

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June 21. **923.** CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 305.

It is hoped that the truce between his Majesty and the King of Scotland will be made for a year, and proclaimed on the Borders on St. John's day. The stir between the Flemings and Easterlings is not yet adjusted. Yesterday a gentleman arrived here from the most Christian King with a present for this new Queen, namely, a very costly litter with its furniture. An ambassador from the Emperor is also expected here. The Papal Nuncio at this Court and the Imperial resident ambassador are preparing to depart shortly, and have already purchased the greater part of their horses. Queen Katharine is residing sixty miles hence, and I am assured that she is cheerful (*allegra*), and has a handsome retinue (*una bella corte*), which she has arrayed entirely in new apparel, with letters signifying "Henry and Katharine."

I have received advices that Dom. Maphio Bernardo has said that when I was ambassador at Florence, the Signory there paid my expenses, and as silence is considered well-nigh confession, and false rumours and calumnious imputations are like the fire which, if it makes no flame, emits smoke notwithstanding, I therefore request the State Attorneys to investigate the matter, as I have no enemy whatever, save the enemy of my country.

London, 21st June. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 24. **924.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 318.

On the 21st received the Signory's missives of the 24th May. Had audience of the King this morning and thanked him for the love he bears the State, and did the like by the Queen, who said she knew that God had inspired his Majesty to marry her, and that he could have found a greater personage than herself, but not one more anxious and ready to demonstrate her love towards the Signory. I then communicated the advices to the King, and we discussed together the league made at Bologna.

Three days ago I received the letters of the 10th May, with the summaries from Constantinople of the 3rd April, which I had already received through France from the ambassador Giustinian. After listening to them, his Majesty said he thought the Turk would limit himself to the expedition against Coron, and will threaten Christendom to justify himself and show that he on his part had not failed.

The English are apprehensive lest at this Congress of Nice, the French King, at the instigation of the Pope, may make an agreement with the Emperor, and that his most Christian Majesty will deny the English King his request for the marriage of the French Princess Madeleine to the King of Scotland.

The marriage of the Pope's niece will take place.

The truce between the Flemings and the Easterlings continues.

London, 24th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 25. **925.** MARCO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 251.

On Monday, the 23rd, in Consistory, the Pope persisting in his determination to despatch the marriage cause of England (*la causa*

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del matrimonio di Anglia), they commenced reading the process. The reading lasted two hours and a half; the depositions being read of witnesses examined on behalf of the Queen, to confute the adverse statements (*le oppositioni*) made against them in the name of the King by the Excusator; these witnesses being Spaniards and English, who resided and reside in the palace of the King and Queen.

With regard to the first article, purporting that when the marriage was contracted, the Kings of England and Spain were at war with each other, he (*el*) [Capizucchi, Auditor di Rota?] has proved that they were at war.*

To the second article, purporting that Pope Julius could not grant the dispensation, as the marriage was *de jure divino*, they quoted three instances—one of the King of Portugal, father of the present King, who married two sisters and had a dispensation; and of the two other cases, one occurred in Germany, and one in France, the persons concerned being of note.

To the third article, about the brief made by Pope Julius at the suit of the King and Queen with the clause, *although she had perhaps been known carnally by the brother*, he [Capizucchi?] proves by witnesses that the elder brother was incapable (*inabile*) and impotent for connexion with women (*e impotente a poter usar con donne*); and others say, that when this King took her, he was heard to say (*hebbe a dir*) that he had found her a virgin.

With regard to the King's having petitioned (*supplicâ*) for the dispensation, besides what is seen by the bull, it is also proved by witnesses that the King made the petition to Pope Julius.

Today in Consistory they completed reading the process, which contains the depositions of 150 witnesses.

The Pope and Cardinals then determined that the Auditor Capizucchi is to confer with the other auditors "di Rota," and to take their opinion, so as to terminate and proceed to the sentence.

The Pope seems very intent on this, using great diligence, and the Imperial ambassador [Cifuentes] urges the passing of the sentence before the holydays, which commence on the 8th of July.

This morning, the Cardinal de Tournon quitted the Consistory—it is said on account of indisposition—others say it was because he did not choose to be present.

Sir Gregory Casal, the English ambassador, tells me the Pope has addressed a brief to his king, informing him that he has incurred excommunication for not having obeyed, etc.

Sir Gregory also recommends his brother, the Prothonotary, to the Signory, so that possession may be given him of his bishopric of Cividal di Belluno.

Rome, 25th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th July.*

[*Italian.*]

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* Concerning complaints made by Ferdinand and Isabella to Henry VII. with regard to his treatment of Katharine of Aragon at the time of the death of Prince Arthur, see Spanish Calendar, pp. 267–269. The *disputes* were terminated by the marriage, but the word used by the Venetian Ambassador is *guerra*, not *disputa*.

1533.
June 25.
Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

926. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Last evening I heard from a Florentine merchant who manages the property of the late Count of Boulogne,* one half of which belongs to the young Duchess, the Pope's niece, and the other half to the Duke of Albany, that it does not yield [annually ?] (*non val*) thirty-five thousand francs, equal to seventeen thousand crowns, and that it was arranged that, on her marriage, the Duke, who has no children, is to give her 6,000 francs [rental ?], the equivalent of 3,000 crowns.† The Duke of Albany had to wife the sister of the mother of the young Duchess, and it is supposed she will be his heir.

Lyons, 25th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 28.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 318.

927. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

I have conferred with a doctor in theology, who tells me he has written in favour of the King about this affair of the divorce, and that three days ago he was with his Majesty, who told him this congress between the Pope and the most Christian King gives hope of an adjustment of the affairs with the Pope, and that it will be effected with the consent of the Emperor, whose ambassador [Chapuys] has been caressed more than usual by the King. As the ambassador had purchased horses for his departure, I went to see them, to know when it was to take place, and he told me he knew not, and that he was sending the horses as presents to Flanders; and that the Duke of Norfolk is going to Toulouse, to confer with the most Christian King.

The night before last his Majesty's sister died; she was the wife of the Duke of Suffolk, and relict of King Lewis of France. Owing to her death, her husband loses 30,000 ducats annual rental, derived from property in France on account of her dower.

London, 28th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 28.
Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

928. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

I have heard from a person who remained here as Secretary of the Scottish ambassador, who departed hence, that he went to join the other ambassadors in England at Newcastle, to negotiate an adjustment.‡ The English ambassador [Sir John Wallop] is of opinion an agreement will take place.

Two days ago Monseigneur de Boni (*sic*), Captain of the Emperor's Guard, arrived here with credentials to his most Christian Majesty. He has had audience twice, and expressions of honour and goodwill were exchanged between them. I visited him; he told me the

* Jean de la Tour, Count of Boulogne and Auvergne. (*See* l'Art de Vérifier les Dates, p. 726, ed. 1770.)

† Jean, Count of Boulogne and Auvergne, left two daughters. Anne, the eldest, inherited the county of Auvergne and contracted marriage with John Stuart, Duke of Albany, on the 13th July 1505. Her younger sister Madeleine married Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, in the year 1518, and bore him Catharine de' Medici, who became the wife of the Duke of Orleans in 1533.

‡ About negotiations at Newcastle in July 1533, *see* "State Papers," vol. iv. pp. 644–646.

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Emperor has more esteem for the Signory than for any other Power (*che de niun altro*), Venice being the foundation of Italy; that the King of England has behaved ill, and the Emperor is angry with him (*è irato contro di lui*), and will endeavour to take his revenge; and that his Imperial Majesty disapproves of the conference at Nice, lest it disturb the peace and quiet of Italy.

The English ambassador says that according to letters from Rome dated the 17th, the Pope is much against his King, and he suspects the Emperor to be the cause of this; that his Holiness will not await the conference to treat the matter of the divorce; and that a gentleman who is come from England has told him [Sir John Wallop] that the King does not choose the Princess any longer to be styled "Princess," but "Madame Mary" (*Madama Maria*), and chooses her to reside in the Court of the new Queen,* nor will he give her in marriage abroad; others say that he intends to make her a nun.†

The master of the horse and a steward of the household of the Emperor's are expected here today. It is reported that the Empress has a raging fever, and subsequent letters state that the malady has increased, and that she was in danger.

His Majesty departs hence today, and the Lord Steward has desired all the ambassadors to go to Puy, there to await the Court, with the exception of the English ambassador, who is to accompany the King, that he may be with him on the arrival of the Duke of Norfolk.

Lyons, 28th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 253.

929. BASADONA, Venetian Ambassador at Milan, to the SIGNORY.

Letters have been received, dated the 21st, from the Rev. Andreasio, this Duke's ambassador at Rome. He writes of the arrival there of the Spanish gentleman sent express by the Emperor, who, on the morrow, went with the ambassador [Cifuentes] to the Pope, and stated to him his Imperial Majesty's displeasure at the iniquitous conduct (*iniquo modo*) of the English King, and the marriage made by him, praying his Holiness, for the sake of justice, and the interests of the Holy See, to effect the prosecution of the cause with such rigour as required by the law in similar cases. The cause had already commenced; so for this purpose, the Pope appointed a congregation [consisting] of the Cardinals Monte, Campeggio, and Cesis, and the Datary; nor is anything further known. His Imperial Majesty requires deeds, but few Cardinals will be of his opinion.

Concerning the Congress of Nice, Andreasio performed his commission, and the Pope replied that neither the Emperor nor the Duke of Milan would have cause to complain of this interview, as nothing but good would be negotiated.

Milan, 29th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th July.*

[*Italian.*]

* "E vol la stagi in Corte de la nova Regina."
† "Altri dicono che la vol meter monacha."

1533.
June 29. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

930. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The Signor di Seravale came to dine with me, and said England would certainly agree with Scotland; the truce is made, and they are treating to give the Scottish King for wife the eldest daughter of Monseigneur de Vendôme, because Madame Madeleine, the daughter of the most Christian King, is very young.

Subsequently the English ambassador came to me, and confirmed the marriage of the King of Scotland to the daughter of Monseigneur de Vendôme, but said that his King would not wish him to marry the daughter of his most Christian Majesty.

Lyons, 29th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 30. Sanuto Diaries, (Originals), v. lviii.

931. The SAME to the SAME.

Narrates a conversation held by him with the Marquis of Saluzzo, who is going to his territory.

The Pope chooses—*propriis oculis*—to witness the consummation of the marriage of his niece at Nice.

He also said that the Pope and the Emperor place little trust in each other.

Lyons, 30th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 245.

932. GIAMBATTISTA CASAL and the BISHOPRIC OF BELLUNO.

The English ambassador, Prothonotary Casal, came into the College Hall to obtain possession of the bishopric of Cividal di Belluno. The College deferred hearing him.

[*Italian.*]

July 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 320.

933. PROCLAMATION by HENRY VIII.

Proclamation ordered by the King's Highness with the approval (*parer*) of his Council, whereby his subjects are warned in certain cases to shun the perils and penalties of the Statute of "Provision" and "Præmunire."

Whereas the non-legitimate marriage between the King's Highness and the Lady Katharine Princess, relict-widow of Prince Arthur, has been legitimately dissolved by just ways and opinions, the divorce and separation having been made between his said Highness and the said Lady Katharine by the Right Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of Canterbury, Legate, Primate, and Metropolitan of all England; and therefore the King's Majesty has espoused (*disponsata*), and taken for his wife, according to the laws of the Church, the truly high and excellent Princess, the Lady Anne, now Queen of England, having had her solemnly crowned and anointed, as becoming the praise and glory and honour of the omnipotent God, the security of the succession and descent of the Crown (*posterità del Regno*), and to the great pleasure, comfort, and satisfaction of all the subjects of this realm; all the which things have proceeded methodically (*con fondamento*), and took such good effect, by the common consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons of this realm, by authority of the Parliament, as in

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like manner by the assent and determination of the whole clergy in its constant convocations held and celebrated in both the provinces of this kingdom.

It has been ordered, amongst other things, for the perfect and secure establishment of what is aforesaid, that no person or persons, whatever their state, grade, or condition, shall attempt or seek any sort of provision, or do or instigate (*movere*) any act or acts, or derogate from any of the said processes, sentences, and determinations as they stand and have been made, both concerning the said divorce, as also the solemnity of the legitimate marriage contracted and concluded been the King's Highness and the said Queen Anne, under pain of incurring the penalties and provisions comprised in the Statute of Provision and Præmunire, made in the sixteenth year of the late King Richard II., which inflicts no less penalty on the offenders than that of being beyond the protection of the State, as is more largely expressed by the said Act.

By reason whereof, and because the said divorce and separation is now made and finished, and the King's Highness is legitimately married, as afore heard, it is a thing therefore evident and manifest that the said Lady Katharine may not for the future have or use the name, style, or title, or dignity of Queen of this realm, nor be in any guise reputed, taken, or inscribed (*scritta*), by the name of Queen of this realm, but by the name, style, title, and dignity of Princess Dowager, which name it is fitting she should have, because she was legitimately and perfectly married and conjoined with said Prince Arthur; and all the officials, ministers, bailiffs (*barizelli*), receivers (*riscositori*), factors, servants, keepers of parks or forests of the said Princess Dowager, or any other person or persons, of whatever state, grade, or condition, who, acting contrary to what is aforesaid, shall style, repute, acknowledge (*aceterà*), and address (*scriverà*), or in any guise obey the said Lady Katharine in virtue of any sort of security,* or shall write to her, addressing her by the name of "Queen," or attempt to do or move any other act or acts, or any other thing or things to the impediment or derogation of such acts and processes as have been determined and completed, both by the celebration and confirmation of the said legitimate marriage, justly accomplished and concluded as aforeheard, will clearly and manifestly incur the said great pains and penalties comprised and specified in the said Act.

Considering which, the King our most excellent lord, whom we ought greatly to fear, although he in nowise suspects his loving subjects of having attempted any act or acts, or any other thing that can be done, moved or said, contrary to the true intent of the said Act, and of the legitimate excusations (*excusationi*) and processes in the matters aforesaid; nevertheless, in order that his said humble and loving subjects may have clear, open, and manifest notice of the great perils, damages, and penalties which are specified in the said Act, so that they may be able to avoid the prejudices of this matter, his Majesty, of his most gracious

* "Per virtù di alcuna sorte di cautione."

1533.

and most benign goodness, desiring rather the good obedience and conformity of his said subjects, *than to increase in severity owing to their offences and contempt* [of the law ?]*, according to the opinion of his Council, has ordered a proclamation to be made for the open clearness and publication of the aforesaid things, so that all his loving subjects, as likewise others, if they choose, may escape and avoid the said great pains, perils, and punishments above specified. Wherefore it is the pleasure and high commandment of his Grace, that for the future every person take good heed and regard to his perils; and it is moreover not less the pleasure of the most gracious King that the said Lady Katharine be well greeted (*accolta*), obeyed, and treated, as becoming her honour and noble lineage (*parentado*), according to the name, title, state, and style of Princess Dowager, both by all her officials, servants, and ministers, as in like manner by others his [Majesty's] humble and dear subjects, in all her legitimate necessities as here understood, in nowise contrary to this proclamation.

God save the King.

London, 5th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st July.*

This document was contained in the despatch of Carlo Capello, dated London, 12th July, 1533.

[*Italian.*]

July 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 315.

934. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The King departed hence on the 28th ult., and remained at a place six leagues off, owing to a rheumatic pain in his shoulder, accompanied with fever. It is said he will proceed on the 7th or 8th towards Auvergne and Languedoc, a perilous journey, by reason of the very bad air in the month of July.

Today D. Antonio, secretary of the Papal Nuncio the Bishop of Como, dined with me. He says the conference will most certainly take place, as also the marriage of the niece, and that the Pope chooses to witness the consummation of the marriage with his own eyes, and in this matter will not trust his Majesty. For dower he will give him property (*beni*) in France, but nothing in Italy, not even of what belongs to the Medici family, nor had any demand been made of him to that effect.

I hear that today the most Christian King commenced his journey.

News has been received from England of the death of the King's sister, the Duchess of Suffolk, widow of the late King Lewis of France.

Lyons, 5th of July. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 6. Sanuto Diaries, (Originals), v. lviii.

935. The SAME to the SAME.

Tomorrow the Duke of Norfolk will be with the King, who is at a distance of 16 leagues hence. The Lord Steward has ordered us

* Both in Sanuto's autograph Diaries, and in the copy, the passage in italics is written as follows: "che di avanzare da resistere per le l'horo offensione et disprecij."

1533.

ambassadors, with the exception of Sir John Wallop, who follows his Majesty, to go straight to Notre Dame de Puy.

Lyons, 6th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 271.

936. MARCO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The Imperial ambassador urging the despatch of the matter of England, Consistory assembled last Friday. The excusator wished to excuse the King, but was not admitted to speak (*admesso a parlar*). The English ambassadors spoke, saying they would prove by public documents, against the process, that what the Queen has proved is not true, and King Henry VII. to make the second marriage (*sic*)*, and [that at the time?] there was peace with the Catholic King; and that [Consistory and the Rota?] should proceed with circumspection, time being required to inform the right reverend Cardinals. They were answered that they [Consistory and Rota?] would proceed with the utmost consideration, and it was proposed (*parlato*) that Capizucchi should tell the Pope the opinion of the Rota, and have it intimated that they were to attend the next Consistory prepared to give judgment (*et intimato si venisse il primo consistorio resoluti*).

The Pope seems to urge despatch, in consequence of the new laws (*ordeni*) made in England, that those who shall henceforth obtain [Church] benefices are not to come to the Court [of Rome] to receive the confirmation; that excommunication [decreed] against England be not obeyed, and that the clergy (*li religiosi*) may celebrate the [divine] offices.

The Pope has had it intimated, that on Wednesday the Cardinals are to come to a decision. (*Il Papa ha fatto intimar che li cardinali mercore vengano risoluti.*)

The French Cardinals prayed his Holiness to proceed circumspectly in this matter, as at the congress to be held with the most Christian King at Nice, the parties will act in such a way as will be to the honour of this See, and the Duke of Norfolk has a mandate from his King to this effect.

Rome, 7th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 257.

937. PROTHONOTARY CASAL in the COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador came about his bishopric of Cividale [di Belluno]. He could not be heard today, as the sages were in consultation.

[*Italian.*]

July 8. Lettere Secrete, Capi Cons°. X. File 3.

938. The CHIEFS of the TEN to ALVISE GRITTI, at Constantinople.

Our letters from England inform us that the new Queen has been solemnly and pompously crowned, so that the divorce from the late

* "Quello ha provà la Regina non è vero, et il Rè Henrico 7^mo^ a far il 2^do^ matrimonio, et era pace con il Rè Cattolico."

1533.

Queen being effected, to the vexation and no slight resentment of the Emperor, whose aunt she is, the English will not be without some suspicion of his waging war on them, on this account.

Letters received by us today, in date of Lyons the 22nd ultimo, announce a truce between the Kings of England and Scotland, through the mediation of his most Christian Majesty.

[*Italian.*]

July 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 271.

939. MARCO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The Pope said he should go to Nice, with the galleys of the most Christian King, and so early as to be able to return to Rome before the winter.

Yesterday in Consistory, concerning the matter of England, the Cardinals heard the arguments and the canonists*, and determined by the majority of votes, that the Pope may dispense etc.; thus approving the dispensation given by Pope Julius. The English ambassadors† presented a process made *in partibus* by the Cardinals of York and Campeggio, by authority of the Apostolic See, which, after much debate, was at length admitted; and they (the Cardinals) demanded that, for the hearing of this cause, the Rota should not observe the vacations; which the English opposed, so that nothing was done.

Rome, 9th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Sanuto Diary (Originals), v. lviii.

940. BASADONA to the SIGNORY.

There are advices from Barcelona that the Empress was in a bad way (*in mali termini*), and had received the holy oil; the Emperor did not give audience, and had returned, riding post, to Barcelona.

Letters dated the 22nd June have been received from Robio, secretary of the Duke of Milan in France; it is believed there, that the peace between England and Scotland will be concluded, and that the King of England would wish the most Christian King to give his daughter to the King of Scotland, that he may not take the daughter of the King of Denmark, who is the niece of the Emperor.

The Duke of Norfolk was to be at Lyons on the 4th of July, and would proceed thence to the Court.

Milan, 10th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 267.

941. GIAMBATTISTA CASAL and his BISHOPRIC.

The English ambassador came about his bishopric, and it was arranged to give him and the "party" [the defendant Barozzi?] audience, next Monday.

[*Italian.*]

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* "Le raxom e le canonisti."

† Boner, Benet, Ghinucci, and Gregory Casal?

1533.
July 11.
Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

942. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Nothing is heard about the conference between the most Christian King and the Duke of Norfolk, as we four ambassadors, namely, I and those from Ferrara and Milan, as also the one from the Turk, were desired to come hither; and Barbarossa will have audience during our absence from the Court. I arrived here yesterday, and it is said the most Christian King will come on the 7th (*sic*) [17th ?],* when I will endeavour to learn something.

Notre Dame de Puy, 11th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 12.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 127.

943. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

Letters received from Rome announce that in Consistory the Pope determined that his Majesty's "excusator," concerning the matter of the divorce, should not be heard. The King relied on the adjustment of the affairs at the Congress of Nice; he now sees the contrary.

On the 5th, he had a proclamation made in various parts of London, which was subsequently printed and affixed on the walls, concerning the mode of living, and treatment, of Queen Katharine. This document I have had translated most faithfully out of English into Italian, and enclose it.

The Queen will never act otherwise than as Queen. When the proclamation was read to her, and she was told this was the immutable resolve of the King, she replied that everything belonged to his Majesty, including her own person, of which he might dispose at his pleasure, but she neither could nor would cede her rights. She said she always prayed God for his Majesty, as for her own true husband, requesting him to be pleased to remember that the Pope alone is legitimate judge in this cause, and also that in the time of Cardinal Campeggio he consented that his Holiness should be the judge, and of this she had seven witnesses.

The affairs of Scotland are not yet adjusted. According to letters from Monsieur de Beauvoir, the difficulty proceeds from the refusal of the King of England to surrender to the Scottish King a fortress (*castelletto*) in Scotland seized by the Earl of Angus, and which is now being fortified.

An envoy arrived here lately from the Prior of Rhodes, requesting succour from the King, for the defence of Coron, as the Emperor purposes giving that island to the knights of St. John's (*a quella Religione*). He was told, in reply, to go to the most Christian King, whose decision will be adopted by the King of England.

The stir between the Flemings and the Easterlings has been quieted; they have made a truce for six months.

A few days ago, here, in London, they burnt two heretics, one of whom was very learned in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew literature.

* Francis I. "took his journey from Vie le Comte towards Nostre Dame de Puys on the Monday preceding the 15th July 1533." (*See* letter from Sir W. Poulet to Cromwell, dated Courpiere, in Auvergne, 15th July 1533, published in "State Papers," vol. vii. part 5, continued, p. 482.)

1533.

Both one and the other died with the greatest constancy (*l'uno et l'altro morse costantissimamente*).*

London, 12th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 12. **944.** MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 332.

Robbio, the secretary of the Duke of Milan, informs me that the Papal Nuncio, the Bishop of Faenza, told him that after the congress, the most Christian King (*sic*) [the Pope?] will proceed to the censures against the King of England, from which act the King of France had hitherto restrained him; and that with regard to his niece's dower, the Pope will give her jewels and money, and perhaps the duchy of Milan, after the death of the present Duke, should he die without heirs.

Notre Dame de Puys, 12th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 13. **945.** MARCO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 291.

On the day before yesterday Consistory assembled. The Pope said that on that day the audience of the Rota terminated, and the Cardinals were accustomed to go out of Rome on account of the great heats and malaria, so he would inform them how he had been lately requested by the most Christian King to confer with him, for the benefit of the Christian religion, and for the honour and profit of the Apostolic See, and to find some method (*forma*) for the Lutheran affairs, to make provision against the Infidels, and to form some good resolve with regard to the Council, on which the King greatly insisted. His Holiness, therefore, called a congregation of certain Cardinals, who, considering that it was not a thing to neglect, were of opinion that it would be well for his Holiness to hold the conference after these heats, and that he should send the Bishop of Faenza to the most Christian King, who went accordingly; so that on the cessation of this hot weather, his Holiness will go, nor will anything be discussed, save the above written matters; and he therefore purposes going to Nice, lest in case of any disturbance the cause be assigned to him. The old Cardinals are to remain, and he will appoint a smaller number to accompany him, and such as are better able to bear the expense. Concerning the marriage of his niece he said nothing. The French Cardinals confirmed this statement, declaring the good intention of their King in desiring the congress for the benefit and profit of the Christian religion, and that he wished for the continuance of the present peace, and did not choose the Marquis of Saluzzo to make any innovation, for the avoidance of an outbreak of war. This announcement was universally commended.

The Pope then stated the case of the marriage of England, and its importance, and that it had two points (*capi*), one touching the

* From a paragraph in Froude's History of England (vol. i. p. 459, ed. 1856), I infer that these two martyrs were the scholar Frith and the tailor Andrew. *See also* Ellis, first series, vol. ii. p. 40.

1533.

validity of the marriage with Queen Katharine, which is the merit (*ch'e il merito*), the other concerning the things attempted (*attentate*) by the King of England. The first article had several points, and the English ambassadors produced the process drawn up in England; and his Holiness had a consultation of canonists, and all the writings were well examined. There is not sufficient time, but it does not seem fit to him to prorogue the Consistories for this, and he was minded to make provision with regard to these attempts (*sopra li atentati*). Thereupon the Imperial Cardinals insisted that the cause should be despatched, and the process admitted, without reading; and the Cardinals gave their votes, commending the opinion of the Pope; who then said that two years ago he issued two briefs, one of which, addressed to the King, charged him to continue cohabiting with the Queen (*continuar et cohabitar con la Regina*), and to make no innovation whatever; and that should he not do so, he would incur excommunication, and might be compelled by the secular arm.*

It being then proposed to take the votes, the French Cardinals said that they were proceeding too far in the cause of a most Serene King, and that they should hold him in account, and despatch the matter after maturity; and the Imperial Cardinals said that the judgment should be delivered according to justice;† so the Imperial Cardinal, the Archbishop of Bari, said that they would easily find one who would execute the sentence. The French Cardinal de Grammont, who is indisposed, said that the Emperor also, like other sovereigns, had need to remain at peace; and that it was notorious how little he had done for his brother-in-law the late King of Hungary, and for his other brother-in-law the King of Denmark, and of late for his brother the King of the Romans; and that, should it be requisite, a brisk war would be waged against him in Spain. Then, when about to commence voting, the Cardinals suggested that it would be well to give the English King farther time, during the whole of September, to enable him to tender obedience, notifying that should he not do so, he would be excommunicated without giving him other notice or intimation. A long debate took place about this, between the French and Imperial Cardinals, neither one side nor the other being satisfied; and the Imperialists proposed that this might be done by a separate brief. They were answered that this could not be done, and that it must be terminated by the *Concilium Fratrum*. The Imperial Cardinals, approving this sentence, retracted, and gave their votes, the French Cardinals also doing the like.

The judgment thus passed has given satisfaction to the whole Court, and in this matter the Pope has shown a firm mind (*un animo costante*), to the honour of this See.

The Cardinal de Grammont then took leave of the Pope to

* In vol. vii. "State Papers," pp. 480, 481, Boner's last letter from Rome to Cromwell is dated 12th of July 1533, and contained enclosures addressed to the King which were "not found." It may be inferred that they narrated what took place in the consistory on the 11th of July in the mode described by Marco Venier.

† "Che juste si faccia la judichatura."

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return to France, and will depart in three or four days. He told me what had been treated in Consistory in conformity with the foregoing narrative, and complained of the Emperor for having prevented the French fleet from accompanying the Imperial naval forces to succour Coron, after having first urged the junction. He says the congress will take place, and that the Duke of Albany will be here with the fleet on the 8th or 10th of August, and that it will consist of 18 old galleys, and twelve built by the King. His Lordship said he did not know whether the young Duchess would go to Nice by sea or land, should it be chosen to send her in advance; and as the fleet can not make two voyages, he thinks she will accompany the Pope.

Rome, 13th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 281.

946. PROTHONOTARY CASAL and the SEE OF BELLUNO.

In the morning the English ambassador came into the College Hall for audience, about the bishopric of Cividal di Belluno, and he was told that by reason of affairs of State, he could not be heard today, and that he was to come . . . . . .

[*Italian.*]

July 17. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

947. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The Duke of Milan has caused Captain Meraveglia, equerry of the most Christian King, to be beheaded, for the murder of one of the chief noblemen of Milan, a member of the Castiglione family.

Last evening Sir John Wallop came and supped with me, and spoke about this, saying he understood the most Christian King would avenge the injury, and guarantee the life of the Duke's secretary here, Robbio, but not his liberty.

Notre Dame de Puys, 17th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 333.

948. The SAME to the SAME.

The English ambassador [Sir John Wallop] tells me that the Duke of Norfolk has been with the most Christian King, who did him great honour, and desired him to go to Avignon and then to Nice; and that his Majesty would speak to the Pope in favour of his King.

Notre Dame de Puys? 18th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 18. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

949. NEWS from FRANCE.

Advices presented to the College by the secretary of the Duke of Milan, and the French advices from the secretary, Robbio, dated Lyons 22nd and 23rd June.

That the peace between England and Scotland is considered settled by mutual agreement; and with regard to the marriage the King of England is less averse to the Scottish King's taking the

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daughter of the most Christian King, than the daughter of the King of Denmark. That the ambassadors of the two Kings embraced each other in the presence of the Court.

That the most Christian King was to quit Lyons for Toulouse on the 7th July, going by way of Auvergne, until it is time to attend the congress at Nice, and he has written to the Duke of Norfolk to be here at Lyons on the 4th, that they may travel together.

[*Italian.*]

July 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 253.

950. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The English ambassador [Sir John Wallop] has confirmed to me the news of the truce made with Scotland, and the ambassadors are to confer together.

Concerning the Congress of Nice, he [Wallop] said that the Pope, as dower for his niece, will give the Duke of Orleans Parma and Piacenza, and nothing else; and with great difficulty was he brought to consent to this.

Lyons, 19th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th July (sic).*

[*Italian.*]

July 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 333.

951. The SAME to the SAME.

Has conversed with the English ambassador, who hopes that at this congress, his most Christian Majesty will arrange the affairs of the King with the Pope; and concerning the marriage of his niece, he says his Holiness does not give any town in Italy as dower, nor would he give so much as one span (*palmo*) of land.

Notre Dame de Puys? 19th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th August.*

July 19. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

952. ——— BASADONA, Venetian Ambassador in Milan, to the SIGNORY.

On the 2nd the Duke of Norfolk arrived at the French Court, and was lodged at a distance of two leagues [from Lyons?].

Milan, 19th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 288.

953. NOTE by SANUTO.

By letters from the ambassador at Rome, dated the 15th (*sic*) it was reported that in Consistory on Friday (11th) it was determined that the most Serene King of England must repudiate his second wife and take back the first by the end of September; otherwise that he remain excommunicated (*come venere adi . . . . in consistorio erra sta deliberato ch'el Serenissimo Rè di Anglia per tutto Settembrio habbi ripudià la seconda moglie e tolto la prima, aliter resti excomunicato*).

[*Italian.*]

July 21. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 288.

954. PROTHONOTARY CASAL in the COLLEGE.

The English ambassador came about his bishopric of Cividal di Belluno. He was answered . . . .

[*Italian.*]

1533.
July 21. **955.** Recovery of the Empress.

Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

The Emperor's ambassador came into the College saying he has letters from Barcelona, to the effect that after receiving the holy oil the Empress recovered. The Emperor has made great vows.

[*Italian.*]

July 21. **956.** Carlo Capello to the Signory.[1]

Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 370.

On the 14th the Papal Nuncio departed hence,* his Majesty having presented him with silver vessels (*vasi*), to the amount of 600 crowns.

On the 16th the King received letters from France from the Duke of Norfolk, and another letter was brought by a certain individual on the 18th, the reply being sent by an express who took nothing else.

The English Government (*questi*) distrust the most Christian King; they fear his making an agreement with the Emperor. The King of Scotland is urging the King of France to give him his daughter to wife. They are apprehensive of this.

On the evening before last Mons. de Beauvoir, the French ambassador, returned from Scotland. I have not been able to speak to him; he went to the Court at Windsor. It is not yet known whether the truce with Scotland has been made, but eight days ago the Scots plundered the whole of the Isle of Man, situated between Scotland, England, and Ireland, sixteen miles long, and fifteen in breadth, of which the Earl of Derby † is King, but dependent on (*sottoposto a*) his Majesty.

Some twenty-four days ago there commenced appearing here at about the second hour of the night, in the E.N.E. a star with a mane ‡ like a horse's tail, which to the naked eye seemed ten yards in length, its summit traversing the milky way; and whereas at first it stretched towards the south-west by south, so now does it seem to have declined towards the south-east by south.§

Writes at great length about the appointment of his successor.

London, 21st July. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 24. **957.** Prothonotary Casal and the Bishopric of Belluno.

Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 305.

The English ambassador came into the College to obtain possession of the bishopric of Cividal. He was answered, that at present there is not time to discuss the question.

[*Italian.*]

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* Qu. Silvestro Dario, a native of Lucca, who had also been sent to Scotland by Clement VII. in the summer of 1532, as seen by Capello's letter dated 11th June in that year.

† Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby, then in his twenty-third year. *See* his biography in Collins (vol. iii. pp. 67–79), in which no allusion is made to this attack on the Isle of Man.

‡ "*Una stella crinita.*" This "maned star," or "comet star" is mentioned in Coronelli's "*Cronologia*," and was a comet, visible in the year 1533, as the close of July, and in August, not very far from Perseus, traversing [*retrocedendo*] the signs Gemini, Taurus, and Aries.

§ "Et come prima si extendeva verso Ostro-Garbim, cussi hora par che sia declinata verso Ostro-Sirocho."

1533.
July 25. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

958. BASADONA to the SIGNORY.

The King of England has incurred the censures on account of the new marriage.

Milan, 25th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 27. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

959. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Travelled hither from Puy, with the English ambassador [Sir John Wallop], who told me his King was on good terms with his most Christian Majesty, seeing him ill-disposed towards the Emperor, which tendency the English King encourages.

An English gentleman, Sir Francis Bryan, arrived post-wise at Rodez, having come to France with the Duke of Norfolk; he went to the Court with the English ambassador [Sir John Wallop].

Toulouse, 27th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 28. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

960. MARCO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The Duke of Norfolk had arrived at Lyons and was going to the King; he did not then know what had been done against the English King in Consistory.

Rome, 28th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 1st August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 367.

961. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The Lord Steward says the Pope has pronounced sentence against the King of England, proclaiming the first Queen, Queen, and this new one, and her offspring, illegitimate, and the kingdom excommunicated. Also that the conference with the Pope will certainly take place either at Nice or elsewhere; but that the Duke of Norfolk will very probably depart (*si potrà ben partir*). This evening, the King of England will have news of the sentence, which is, however, suspended until October or November. I asked him whether the congress would take place in France or in Italy. He said in France.

Toulouse, 28th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 3. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 415.

962. The SAME to the SAME.

The English ambassador has told me that the league (*sic*) with Scotland for a year will not take place, the commissioners and ambassadors who had assembled at Newcastle for this purpose having departed, because the King of Scotland insisted that the castle in dispute should be placed in his hands, to which the King of England would not consent.

Toulouse, 3rd August. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th September.*

[*Italian.*]

1533.

Aug. 6. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

963. Marco Antonio Contarini, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Signory.

At the end of last month, a gentleman arrived from England, having been sent by the King to justify the new marriage made. He has not yet been despatched, owing to the Emperor's occupations, and because he (the envoy) has been ill of fever.

Barbastro, 6th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 363.

964. Marco Antonio Venier to the Signory.

Letters from England announce that the Archbishop of Canterbury had pronounced a sentence in favour of the King of England, prohibiting Queen Katharine to be any longer named Queen; and was having it proclaimed throughout the realm that she is not to be named Queen, so that she may not be able to defend herself; and her daughter has been admonished not to interfere.

Yesterday in Consistory, the Pope had the letter read, saying it was a very important matter for the honour of the Apostolic See; and he ordered a monition against the King, in accordance with (*dependente da*) the other made against the innovations (*attentati*), so that he may desist from this act, and obey the sentence.

The English ambassadors have received advices that the Duke of Norfolk, on hearing of the sentence passed here in Rome, determined to return to England.

Rome, 9th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 415.

965. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

Writes by a courier who is going to the Duke of Norfolk, and then to Rome.

Every day confirms the suspicion of the English Government about this congress, and when discussing it with Mons. de Beauvoir, he told me the King of England wrote to his most Christian Majesty not to hold it.

On Sunday the Imperial ambassador went to the Court with Dom. Zuam, the secretary of the Queen Maria [of Hungary], he having come from Flanders about commercial disputes. The King paid them great honour (*fo molto honorati dal Rè.*)

London, 11th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 413.

966. Marin Giustinian to the Signory.

On the 10th, the Lord Steward departed from Carcassone for Marseilles, with the Bishop of Faenza; and the Count of Touar (*sic*) for Rome.

The English ambassador says that his King, being disquieted by the sentence passed by the Pope, has given leave to the Duke of Norfolk to return to England; and it is said that the usual ambassador in ordinary will remain here alone, and the Duke will meet the most Christian King, to take leave of him.

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It is said universally, that the congress will not take place at Nice, because the Duke of Savoy will not give that fortress to the Pope, but the conference will be held at Marseilles.

Narbonne, 13th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 371.

967. Marco Antonio Venier to the Signory.

The day before yesterday, letters arrived from the English King to his ambassadors to the effect that as there was no occasion to do anything further here at the Court about the marriage, and as a declaration had been made contrary to their intention, the Rev. Dom. Dr. Benet, the Englishman, was to take leave of the Pope and depart, and that the Papal Auditor [*Ghinucci*] and Sir Gregory Casal, also his ambassadors, are to remain without negotiating anything; wherefore Dr. Benet went to the Pope to ask his leave. His Holiness, "*senza far alcuna alteratiom*," told him to do as he pleased, but to speak to him before he departed; and so yesterday in Consistory the Pope proposed the matter, telling the Cardinals to counsel him whether he should recall his Nuncio from England. They answered him, that he was the common father, and therefore should not recall him, but that if dismissed, he was to depart.

Has heard that the Duke of Norfolk was returning to England, and that when he went to France, it was at the persuasion of the most Christian King, for the purpose of uniting with the Pope, and this did not please [the King of] England. (*A inteso ch'el Ducha di Norfolch tornava in Anglia, et che quando andò, fo persuaso dal Rè Christianissimo a mandarlo, stringendosi co'l Papa, et non li piaceva Anglia questo.*)

It is supposed that the King [of France?] has written to England.

The advocate of Queen Katharine appeared in the above-mentioned Consistory and insisted on proceeding against the King. His Holiness did not think fit to do more (*non li parse a soa Beatitudine di fa altro*).

The Cardinal de Tournon did not attend the Consistory.

Rome, 14th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 460.

968. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

Has heard that the King's messenger, despatched as written by him, was sent to Rome to recall the English ambassadors there, with the exception of Dr. Boner, and that the King appeals to the future Council against the acts passed by the Pope in the matter of the divorce.

This evening his Majesty received letters from the Duke of Norfolk, who writes that the conference between the Pope and the most Christian King will take place, and that the Pope—as told the Duke by his most Christian Majesty—does not choose any one to be present there in the name of the King of England; so the Duke was departing on his way home.

1533.

It is said universally that the congress will not take place at Nice, because the Duke of Savoy will not give that fortress to the Pope, but the conference will be held at Marseilles.

Narbonne, 13th August. [Received by Strozzi, 30th September. Italian.]

Aug. 14. Rymer Diplom. v. xiii. p. 371. 927. MARCO ANTONIO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The day before yesterday, letters arrived from the English King to his ambassadors to the effect that as there was no occasion to do anything further here at the Court about the marriage and as a declaration had been made contrary to their intention, the Bev. Dom. Dr. Bennet, the Englishman, was to take leave of the Pope and depart, and that the Earl Arnlite [Wiltshire] and Sir Gregory Casal, also his ambassadors, are to remain without negotiating anything; wherefore the Earl went to the Pope to ask his leave. His Holiness, "sans rien faire allention," told him to do as he pleased, but to speak to him before he departed; and so yesterday in Consistory the Pope proposed the matter telling the Cardinals to counsel him whether he should recall his Nuncio from England. They answered him, that he was the common father, and therefore should not recall him, but that if dismissed, he was to depart.

Has heard that the Duke of Norfolk was returning to England, and that when he went to France, it was at the persuasion of the most Christian King, for the purpose of uniting with the Pope, and this did not please [the King of] England. (A inteso ch'el Duca di Norfolch tornava in Anglia, et che quando andò in persuaso dal Re Christian insieme a unirsi, dispiacendoli col Papa, et non il piacere a Anglia questo.)

It is supposed that the King [of France?] has written to England.

The advocate of Queen Katharine appeared in the above-mentioned Consistory and insisted on proceeding against the King: His Holiness did not think it to do more (sora il poter e non fare tedine di ciò altro).

The Cardinal de Tournon did not attend the Consistory.

Rome, 14th August. [Received by Soranzo, 17th August. Italian.]

Aug. 15. Senato Diplom. v. xviii. p. 460. 928. GIROLAMO CAVALLI to the SIGNORY.

Has heard that the King's messenger, despatched as written by him, was sent to Rome to recall the English ambassadors there, with the exception of Dr. Bonet, and that the King appeals to the future Council against the acts passed by the Pope in the matter of the divorce.

This evening his Majesty received letters from the Duke of Norfolk, who writes that the conference between the Pope and the most Christian King will take place, and that the Pope—so told the Duke by his most Christian Majesty—does not choose any one to be present there in the name of the King of England; so the Duke was departing on his way home.

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The secretary of Mons. de Beauvoir, the French ambassador, has returned from Scotland. He went with the French ambassador resident here to the King, and I understand he has returned without any settlement, and affairs there remain in confusion.

In the Downs, off Dover, there lately appeared twenty-two sail of Dantzikers (*di Dans*), who have captured some of their smacks (*scute*), laden with merchandise; and in the neighbourhood there are also some of his Majesty's ships.

I am assured that the King has sent agents to Germany to subsidize 8,000 Lansquenets, and that he has a good understanding with the King of Denmark, and with Germany; and it is said that there will soon be novelty and war in these parts.

London, 15th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 17. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

969. Marco Venier to the Signory.

His Holiness told me that the most Christian King had written to the King of England, urging him to act with the least resentment possible concerning the sentence passed in Consistory, and that the Duke of Norfolk sent Sir Francis Bryan [Maistro Briant] to the most Christian King for a positive reply to the letters written to him by the English King. His Majesty answered that it was unnecessary, as since the sentence he had addressed another letter to the King of England, and would await the reply before writing again. The Pope then continued, "I am of opinion they are debating whether said Duke is to attend the conference at Nice or not, or whether some other person should be sent thither on behalf of England."

The English ambassador, Dr. Benet, will depart hence in four days, on his return to England. I visited him; he was my friend so long ago as when I was ambassador in England; I recommended our Flanders galleys to him.*

The Pope reposed very tranquilly last night, his pains diminishing, but he is still in bed. Tomorrow he is sending D. Jacomo Hironimi, his private chamber attendant (*camarier secreto*) and old confidant (*antiquo familiar*), to hasten the preparations for the departure of the young Duchess to Nice, with orders for him to proceed subsequently to the Duke of Savoy, to obtain the consignment of the castle of Nice, which the Duke does not choose to have placed in the hands of the most Christian King; and he is then to go on to Nice to his Majesty, to see what provision is being made for the Pope's going thither, and to speed what is requisite for that purpose.

Rome, 17th August. *Registered by Sanuto 21st August.*

[*Italian.*]

* This gives the date of the departure from Rome of Dr. Benet, of which there is no notice in vol. vii. part 5. "State Papers," where, at p. 513, it is stated that he died at Susa in September 1533, as written, to Henry VIII. by his colleague Dr. Boner, who may therefore be supposed to have quitted Rome in his company.

1533.

The secretary of Mons. de Dinteville, the French ambassador, returned from Scotland. He went with the French ambassador resident here to the King, and I understand he has returned without any settlement, and affairs there remain in confusion.

In the Downs, off Dover, there lately appeared twenty-two sail of Dunkirkers (di Dona), who have captured some of their enemies (sorte), laden with merchandize; and in the neighbourhood there are also some of his Majesty's ships.

I am assured that the King has sent agents to Germany to subsidize 8,000 Lansquenets, and that he has a good understanding with the King of Denmark, and with Germany; and it is said that there will soon be novelty and war in these parts.

London, 15th August. Received by Saturio, 20th September.

[Italian.]

Aug. 17. Sanuto Diaries (Original), v. lvii. 989. Mercy Venier to the Signory.

His Holiness told me that the most Christian King had written to the King of England, urging him to act with the best resentment possible concerning the sentence passed in Consistory, and that the Duke of Norfolk sent Sir Francis Bryan [Maistro Brinat] to the most Christian King for a positive reply to the letters written to him by the English King. His Majesty answered that it was unnecessary, as since the sentence he had addressed another letter to the King of England, and would await the reply before writing again. The Pope then continued, "I am of opinion they are debating whether said Duke is to attend the conference at Nice or not, or whether some other person should be sent thither on behalf of England."

The English ambassador, Dr. Benet, will depart hence in four days, on his return to England. I visited him; he was my friend so long ago as when I was ambassador in England; I recommended our Flanders galley's to him."

The Pope rested very tranquilly last night, his pains diminishing, but he is still in bed. Tomorrow he is sending D. Jacopo Hannibal, his private chamber attendant (cameriere segreto) and equerry (cavalcante), to Nice, to hasten the preparations for the departure of the young Duchess to Nice, with orders for him to proceed subsequently to the Duke of Savoy, to obtain the consignment of the castle of Nice, which the Duke does not choose to have placed in the hands of the most Christian King; and he is then to go on to Nice to his Majesty, to see what provision is being made for the Pope's galley thither, and to speed what is requisite for that purpose.

Rome, 17th August. Received by Saturio 21st August.

[Italian.]

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* This gives the date of the departure from Rome of Dr. Benet, of which there is no notice in vol. vii. part 2 "State Papers," where, at p. 313, it is stated that he did so in September 1533, as envoy to Henry VIII. by his colleague Dr. Heath, who may therefore be supposed to have quitted Rome in his company.

1533.
Aug. 21. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

970. Marco Venier to the Signory.

The Pope tells me that the business of the ambassador from the King of the Romans who came hither post-wise, related to the affairs of Queen Katharine of England, and on finding them settled, he returned post-wise.

His Holiness said the most Christian King would keep the Duke of Norfolk with him, until a reply arrives from the King of England.

Rome, 21st August. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 460.

971. Carlo Capello to the Signory.

The arrangements with Scotland are procrastinated. The King of England is preparing for war, by sea and land. The French ambassadors are expecting one of their secretaries whom they sent to the most Christian King, and there is little hope of an adjustment. Orders have been despatched over the island to provide a greater number of ships of war.*

The ships of the Easterlings (*de Sterlini*) have taken many of the Flemings and Spaniards, whom they treated very cruelly. They have now quitted this island.

There are letters from the Duke of Norfolk, dated St. Esprit, near Avignon. The ministry here (*questi*) say that the conference between the Pope and the most Christian King will not take place. The Duke was awaiting his Majesty, to speak to him, and commence his journey towards England.

The revenues of Cardinal Campeggio's bishopric of Salisbury, amounting to upwards of 5,000 ducats annual revenue, have been sequestered (*suspeso*); and the auditor of his [Ghinucci's?] bishopric of Worcester—one [Hugh] Latimer heretofore accused of Lutheranism,—seems to be preaching publicly against the Pope and the Papal power, so that things against the Pope are done here daily.

A reply is awaited from Germany.

Yesterday the King and Queen came to Westminster, and Thursday next they will go to Greenwich, where most honourable preparations are being made for the delivery (*parto*); and the nobility here are making ready to joust and give entertainments.

London, 23rd August. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 23. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 13.

972. The Doge and College to Carlo Capello, Ambassador in England.

Send the summary of letters, received from the ambassadors and their Bailiff at Constantinople, dated the 16th ultimo, for communication to the King.

They also inform him that the report of the departure of the Imperial fleet from Cephalonia continues.

[*Italian.*]

* "È sta mandato all' Isola per proveder di maior numero di nave da guerra."

1533.
Aug. 25. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. pp. 426–427.

973. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The Duke of Norfolk came hither to take leave of the most Christian King, and return to England. He brought with him the Duke of Richmond, his English Majesty's natural son, under pretence (*soto specie*) of [his] going to consummate the marriage with his, the Duke's, daughter.*

Sir John Wallop, now resident at this Court, and Sir Francis Bryan, will remain here until the termination of the congress, and then go to England.

I visited both these Dukes, compliments being exchanged between us; and they said that his most Christian Majesty perseveres in giving all favour to the marriage newly contracted by their King.

Montpellier, 25th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

974. —— BASADONA to the SIGNORY.

Letters have been received from the Imperial ambassador at Montpellier, dated 20th August.

The congress with the Pope will be held at Marseilles.

The Duke of Norfolk has departed for England.

Milan, 29th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

975. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sir Francis Bryan, one of the English ambassadors, told me that the new marriage of his King, and the repudiation of Queen Maria (*sic*) [Katharine], was all effected by the advice (*con conseio*) of the King of France, who at this congress will arrange his King's affairs, or else depart at enmity with the Pope (*o si parterà inimico del Papa*).

These English ambassadors ask earnestly about the Flanders galleys.

I hear from Sir John Wallop, that a three weeks' truce has been made between the King of England and Scotland, to arrange certain disputed points (*certi dubij*).

D. Peter Vannes, the Pope's collector, and secretary of the King of England, is to come to this Court to be present at the congress with the other two ambassadors (Wallop and Bryan). †

Nismes, 29th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 13.

976. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Ambassador in England.

The Signory's Proveditor at Zante writes, in date of the 12th ult., that the Imperial fleet has had a prosperous voyage, and succoured Coron. According to the usual custom, they therefore desire

* Concerning the betrothal of Lady Mary Howard to the Duke of Richmond, *see* Nott's Works of Surrey and Wyatt, vol. i. p. 28, where it is stated that the dispensation for the marriage bears date the 26th of November 1533.

† *See* letters of Vannes in "State Papers," vol. vii. part v. continued, pp. 508–518, 519–522.

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him to impart this intelligence to the King, and to such of the Lords of the Council as he shall think fit, according to the enclosed copies of the Proveditor's letters.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 467.

977. CARLO CAPELLO to the SIGNORY.

The Duke of Norfolk arrived here on the 30th ult., having come from Lyons in eight days; and his Majesty is sending the Bishop of Winchester [Stephen Gardiner] to the conference between the Pope and the most Christian King—it is said to soothe (*mitigar*) the Pope, and persuade him to suspend the acts passed by him against the King, and to pay his respects to him (*inchinarlo*), making him great offers for the undertaking against the Infidels. Should this be rejected, appeal against the Pope's acts is to be made to the future Council, protesting, etc.

The truce with the King of Scotland has been renewed for twenty days with little hope of adjustment. The Secretary of the French ambassadors who went to the most Christian King has not yet returned.

The ships of the Easterlings, after quitting this island, captured twenty Dutch vessels laden with merchandise.

The Germans here have news that the Diet in Germany continues.

Mons. de Praet, who was sent by the Emperor to the most Christian King, is expected shortly in Flanders.

London, 3rd September. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

978. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

After my audience of the King, I went to the Cardinal Legate [Chancellor Duprat], who was present when I spoke to his Majesty, but could hear but little, and I told him briefly about the death of Meraveglia. His Lordship said, "The King has told me everything: he (Meraveglia) was put to death *contra jus gentium naturale et scriptum;* and a much slighter outrage committed by a French Captain de Lugan (*sic*) against a Swiss envoy or courier, when King Lewis held the Milanese, cost this crown a million of gold; and in England, two ambassadors—one from the Pope,* the other from the King of France—being detected plotting by night against the King of England, were arrested, and their trial committed to the English court of judicature. The Pope perceiving that his ambassador had erred, degraded him; and the most Christian King wrote a letter to his ambassador, who, after reading it, died of melancholy. Reparation will be made for this death; if not, the King will try who is most powerful—he or the Pope (*sic*) [Duke of Milan?]. He [the King] does not wish for his [the Duke's] State, but for reparation."

Avignon, 9th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th September.*

[*Italian.*]

* Hironimo Bonvixi. *See* Venetian Calendar, vol. ii. p. 46. August 4, 5, 1511.

1533.
Sept. 11. Sanuto Diaries (Originals), v. lviii.

979. MARIN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Mons. di Arseglio (*sic*) is on the eve of departure for England, where he is to reside as ambassador in ordinary, in lieu of the Bailli of Troyes, who is in bad health.

Avignon, 11th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12. Sanuto Diaries, v. lviii. p. 436.

980. PROTHONOTARY CASAL in the COLLEGE HALL.

The English ambassador had audience of the College about the bishopric of Cividal di Belluno.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 24. Lettere Secrete, Capi Cons°. X., File 3.

981. The CHIEFS of the TEN to ALVISE GRITTI, at Constantinople.

We hear from England, that on the 7th September last, a daughter was born to the King by his new spouse, and has been named Elizabeth, which name was that of the King's mother, and proclaimed "Princess of England," a title given heretofore to the daughter born of the Emperor's aunt.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 25. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta) File no. 11.

582. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADORS and BAILIFFS at CONSTANTINOPLE.

To the same effect as the preceding.

Ayes, 163. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 22. Senato Mar. v. xxii. p. 208.

983. The SAME to CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Last December he wrote that the King was content that the Venetian galleys should be sent, but for the future proposed coming to an understanding and agreement about three things, viz: the quantity of gold brought, the quantity and quality of the spices, and the bowstaves.

To confer with the King, and urge him to grant an unconditional safeconduct for another five years to galleys from Venice.

Last year his Majesty and his agents knew the impossibility, owing to the Portuguese, of obtaining at Venice the same quantity of spices as heretofore. With regard to the bowstaves, the English well know that those which come from Denmark and Flanders are better than those from these parts; so that as they do not obtain a remunerating price for the merchants, it would not be possible to stipulate and promise a fixed number. Respecting the gold, the merchants are more disposed to send gold, than to export the wools by means of bills of exchange, and if before this last voyage some purchases were made by bills of exchange, this occurred because a sufficient supply of gold had not been provided, by reason of there being a scarcity of wools, or from other causes; but when the voyage is brought to its right course (*redutto al suo bon corso*), there will be no lack of gold or anything else, in the same quantity as

1533.

heretofore. It would therefore be superfluous to subject the trade to the terms proposed, or the merchants would hesitate to risk their property, and the trade would be interrupted and diminished.

To request his Majesty, as the five-years' safeconduct is about to expire, to prolong it for [another] five years, free, and without restriction, so as to encourage the merchants to undertake the voyage.

Ayes, 159. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

APPENDIX.

1376. June 8. Sindicati, v. i. p. 130. Venetian Archives.

984. Sir John Hawkwood and the English Military Companies.

Power from Andrea Contarini, Doge of Venice, appointing Andrea Dandolo, knight, "ambassador" to Sir John Hawkwood, to take him and his brigade into the pay of the Republic.

Ducal Palace, Venice, 8th of June 1376.

Sindicatus in persona nobilis viri domini Leonardi Dandulo, militis, Ambaxatoris ad Dominum Johannem Aguht,* pro firmando ipsum cum sua brigata ad soldum nostrum.

In Christi nomine; Amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo sexto, Indictione quartadecima, die octavo mensis Junii. Illustris et excelsus dominus, dominus Andreas Contareno, Dei gratia Dux Venetiarum etc., una cum suis consiliis ad hec et alia deputatis, per se et successores suos, ac nomine et vice Communis Venetiarum, et ipsa Consilia una cum ipso domino Duce unanimiter et concorditer, nemine discrepante, fecerunt, constituerunt et ordinaverunt, suum et dicti Communis sindicum, procuratorem et negociorum, gestorem, et nuncium specialem, et quicquid amplius dici potest, nobilem et sapientem virum, dominum Leonardum Dandulo, militem, honorabilem civem Venetiarum, specialiter ad tractandum, conveniendum et paciscendum, ac tractatus, conventiones et pacta iniendum et firmandum, cum magnifico et potenti viro domino Johanne Aught (*sic*), generali capitaneo societatis Anglicorum, et cum nobilibus viris, consiliariis, mareschalchis et capitibus dicte societatis et quolibet eorum, et cum ipsa societate, et cum quacumque alia persona vel societate. Et ad conducendum et firmandum ipsos capitaneos, mareschalcos, et capita, et quemlibet eorum, ac ipsam seu aliam societatem in toto vel parte, ut veniant ad stipendia et servitia prefati domini Ducis et Communis Venetiarum, cum illis stipendiis, provisionibus, pecuniis, conditionibus, conventionibus, promissionibus, terminis, clausulis et cautelis que dicto sindico videbuntur; et converso, ad recipiendum a predictis et quolibet predictorum, et a dicta seu alia societate, omnes promissiones et iuramenta, que ipsi sindico videbuntur. Et ad iurandum in anima prelibati domini Ducis et singularum personarum Communis Venetiarum, de observando ea que duxerit promittenda. Et generaliter ad omnia alia et singula que in predictis et quolibet pre-

* The document does not indicate the site of Hawkwood's head-quarters, but by the Venetian Calendar, vol. i., No. 56, it is seen that in May 1376 the English Company was ravaging the Bolognese territory, apparently on account of the Signory of Florence.

1376.

dictorum, et dependentibus et connexis, fuerint oportuna. Dantes sibi plenum, liberum et generale mandatum et administrationem et potestatem. Ac promittentes firma, rata et grata habere, tenere, attendere et observare quecumque dictus eorum sindicus duxerit promittenda pariter et firmanda, et non contrafacere, sub obligatione omnium bonorum Communis Venetiarum. Actum Venetiis, in ducali palatio. Presentibus sapiente et circumspecto viro domino Raphayno de Caresinis, Cancellario Venetiarum, ac providis viris ser Amadeo de Bonignadagnis, ser Dexiderato Luceo, ser Petro de Rubeis, ser Nicolas de Girardo, et ser Nicolas Inviciato (*or Nunciato*), notariis Ducatus Venetiarum, testibus ibi vocatis specialiter et rogatis, et aliis. In premissorum autem fidem et evidentiam pleniorem prefatus inclitus dominus Dux presens instrumentum sindicatus fieri mandavit, et bulla eius plumbea pendente muniri.

(s.t.) Ego Guilielmus de Vincenciis, Imperiali auctoritate notarius, et Ducalis Aule Venetiarum scriba, suprascriptis omnibus interfui, et ea de mandato supradicti serenissimi domini Ducis complevi et roboravi.

1410. June 4. "Sentenze Zudexi de Peticion."

985. EXCHANGE.

Affidavit concerning the rate of Exchange between London and Venice.

On the 4th day of June 1410, Ser Bellini de la Porta, wrote with his own hand and swore [as follows] :—

Ex margine: Pro Ser Barnaba Delphino. Venetian Archives.

Being asked by the judges for requests about exchanges in England, I say that in London I applied to Mathio Contarini for 300 ducats, the money to be repaid in Sicily.* His price was thirty pence per ducat. Subsequently he gave it me at the rate of twenty-nine pence per ducat, and had good security from me on galley board.

Signed: Belin de la Porta.

[*Italian.*]

June 4. "Sentenze Zudexi de Peticion."

986. EXCHANGE.

Affidavit concerning the rate of Exchange between London and Venice.

On the 4th day of June 1410, Ser Bartholomeo Darmano swore.

Ex margine: Pro Ser Barnaba Delphino. Venetian Archives.

The judges for requests enquiring of the matter of exchanges made by the Flanders galleys last May [May 1409], I reply I intrusted my affairs to Ser Felipo Baxiadona, with orders to invest whatever money he had of mine in bills of exchange, at the risk of the galleys (*a risego de le galie*), with security on galley board, to be cautious, and to deal with good men (*bone persone*). He gave 100 ducats to Ser Faciobon Pelicer, at the rate of 30½*d.* per ducat, on freights; and he took for himself 220 ducats at 30½*d.* per ducat, payable to me one month after the arrival of the galleys. The said exchanges were stipulated in London on the 23rd of October.

[*Italian.*]

* The Flanders galleys on their homeward voyage were bound to remain twelve days at Palermo and eight at Messina. (See Commission to Andrea Priuli, vol. ii., Venetian Calendar, p. 365.)

1410.
June 6.
"Sentenze Zudexi de Peticion."
Ex margine: Pro Ser Barnaba Delphino testificatio Ser Petri Trevilio et juravit.
Venetian Archives.

987. THE FLANDERS GALLEYS.

Affidavit concerning shipment of goods on board the Flanders Galleys, and the rate of Exchange between London and Venice.

1410, 6th day of June.

Last year the merchants in London did not give a note to the masters of the galleys, one month after their arrival there, of all the goods destined by them for shipment, because on this last voyage the goods were loaded at the King's pleasure and with his "permit," and not at the pleasure of the masters, nor yet of the merchants, and all the tin, cloths, and hides, were shipped after the expiration of the period for loading.

I took 800 golden ducats, at the rate of thirty pence per ducat, giving security on galley board, the money to be repaid three months after the arrival of the galleys at Venice.

Any one who chose to load any merchandise on the eve of departure, and was alert, might have done so, as, until the last, goods were received from all who chose to give them until we had our full cargo.

Signed: Piero Trivilio, written with my own hand.

[*Italian.*]

June 7.
"Sentenze Zudexi de Peticion."
Ex margine: Pro Ser Leonardo Cornario Testificatio Ser Antonij a Colonna, sua manu, et juravit.
Venetian Archives.

988. EXCHANGE.

Affidavit concerning the rate of Exchange between London and Venice.

1410, 7th of June, in Venice.

I, Antonio da la Chollona, in the year 1409, on account of the galleys commanded by Captain Miser Jacomo Trivixan,* gave to Ser Christofalo Dandollo, on account of his galley, 830 ducats, at the exchange of 29 pence per ducat, one month before the departure of the galleys from London.

At the freight term, which is one month after arriving in London, they [the Venetian merchants] commence taking [money ?] for payment of the wine freights; and afterwards, some 12 or 15 [days ?] before departure, they defray the customs and costs in London

The merchants notify to the masters of the galleys the bales which they wish to consign to them at the end of 35 days, but this last year I did not adhere to this rule, as the galleys had always room, and received goods from me even till the very last day, when the galley of Ser Jacomo Dandollo took wools without placing them in tiers (*senza stiva*), as he could not have his complement of cloths. Six days before our departure from London Ser Jacomo Dandollo demanded 200 ducats, on account of his galley, at the exchange of 30½ pence per ducat.

[*Italian.*]

* This document is in accordance with the table printed in vol. i., Venetian Calendar, p. 132, showing that in the year 1409, the Flanders galleys were commanded by Giacomo Trivisan, whose name is not mentioned in the documents concerning this voyage, as calendared in vol. i. pp. 48–50.

1446. Lords of the Night Watch *al civil* Statute Book (Capitolar) p. 62. Venetian Archives.

989. ENGLISH BULLIES.

Taverns' auction.

Decree issued by the Lords of the night watch *al civil.*

As there are certain Frenchmen, Englishmen, and others, "supporters of the prostitutes"* of Rialto, who live three or four in one house; some of said prostitutes (*mamole*) in like manner, renting houses beyond Rialto, and rendering the parishes of Venice public brothels, to the very great peril of the inhabitants of those parishes; in addition to which, the said prostitutes go to dine, sup, and sleep with the aforesaid in the houses rented by them to the very great detriment of the duty on wine drawn from the wood (*vini a spinâ*); because said prostitutes, when eating at Rialto, can drink no other wine than such as has paid duty.

They are, therefore, forbidden to eat or drink, save in brothels, taverns, and hostels, &c., &c., under penalty of 25 livres for each man, and 25 lashes for each woman.

[*Italian.*]

1464. Dec. 2. Library of the Venetian Archives.

990. PROTEST for NON-PAYMENT of a BILL of EXCHANGE for 100 ducats.

Drawn at Venice at usance on the 2nd December 1464, by Francesco da Ranugo, of Padua, on Francesco Zorzi and Pietro Morosini or their agents in London, payable to themselves; value received in Venice from Hironimo Zorzi, at the exchange of 50 sterlings per ducat.

Protest registered by the notary public (by Imperial authority) Robert Hydyngham, at his shop (*shopam*) in Lombard Street, parish of St. Mary Wolnoth, on the 6th March 1464 [1465]; and on the 16th March, when payment of the bill was due, the bill-broker, Manfredi de Noquis, certified that on that day in London the Venetian ducat was worth 45½ pence sterling.

Witnesses, Marino Contarini and Lorenzo Morosini, merchants of Venice.

[*Protest in Latin. Copy of the bill in the original Italian. Protest and copy, 23 lines. Notarial signature, 5½ lines. Parchment.*]

1473. Dec. 11. Library of the Venetian Archives.

991. PROTEST for NON-PAYMENT of a BILL of EXCHANGE for 50 ducats.

Drawn at Venice at usance on the 11th December 1473, by Matio Spiera on Hironimo Contarini in London; value received in Venice from Alvise Trevisan, at the exchange of 55¼ sterlings per ducat.

Protest registered by the notary public (by Imperial authority)

* In the original "*Bertoni.*" The document is curious, and of historical interest, as it connects itself with Sir John Hawkwood, after whose death in March 1394, the English military companies gradually declined, and we now find the disbanded soldiers engaging themselves to the "*mamole*" of Rialto.

1473.

William Slade in front of his house (*ante domum*) in Lombard Street, parish of St. Nicholas Acon, on the 15th March 147[3] [1474], the bill-broker Manfred de' Nocchij, certifying that on the 12th March in London the ducat was worth 50¾ pence sterling.

Witnesses, Gabriel de Ursi and Lorenzo Franchini, both of Bologna.

[*Protest in Latin. Copy of the bill in the original Italian. Protest and copy, 15 lines. Notarial signature, 3 lines. Parchment.*]

1477.
Oct. 22.
Library of the Venetian Archives.

992. PROTEST for NON-PAYMENT of a BILL of EXCHANGE for 50 ducats.

Drawn at Venice at usance on the 22nd October 1477, by Thomio de Ligier, of Chioggia, on Alvise Contarini, in London; value received in Venice from Merchio dei Colti and Nephews at the exchange of 57 sterlings per ducat.

Protest registered by the notary public William Slade, in front of his house (*ante domum*) in Lombard Street, parish of St. Nicholas Acon, on the 26th January 1477 [1478], the bill-broker Francesco Cristian, certifying that on the 23rd January [1477–8], in London, the ducat was worth 48½ pence sterling.

Witnesses; Marco Bembo and Stephano Fazan, both of Venice.

[*Protest in Latin. Copy of the bill in the original Italian. Protest and copy, 14½ lines. Notarial signature, 2½ lines. Parchment.*]

1488.
Nov. 19.
St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

993. LIONEL (CHIEREGATO), Bishop of Concordia, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

On the 13th instant letters were brought to him from the Turcopolier [Sir John Kendal]* with information that Mons. de Falcone (*Dominum de Falcone*), displaying his credentials to the Prior of Auvergne, announced in the King's name, that Zizim the Sultan's brother was to be allowed to depart out of France, "*parvis tamen itineribus.*" This was caused by the censures published against the Flemings by the Archbishop of Cologne, concerning which the King awaited a reply from the Pope. Chieregato would have gone immediately to his most Christian Majesty, had not the affair of the Bishops detained him in Paris, and had he not understood that the order would not be revoked until after the receipt of the Pope's reply. He therefore sent his secretary with credentials to the King, to the Chancellor, and to the Bishop of Lyons, and had the letters proved of any use he would have followed in person.

The Bishop of Lyons referred the secretary to the Chancellor, who complained much of the Turcopolier, as the divulgation of this matter proceeded from the letters written by him, and from the messenger whom he sent to the French Court; the chancellor

* See Venetian Calendar, 1487, September 15, No. 523.

1488.

hinting (*innuens*) that the order brought by Mons. de Falcone for the removal (*transjectionem*) of Zizim might be reserved, as in the meanwhile the Pope's answer would arrive and the affair be settled most satisfactorily. When the secretary told the Chancellor of this, and of the arrival of Chieregato, he received an answer thus, word for word, "You may speak to the King if you please, but it will be of no avail: nay, were ambassadors to come, and his Holiness in person, no other reply would be obtained, unless provision be made for the affairs of Flanders."

On the receipt by Chieregato and Flores of the Pope's brief date 4th November, together with the one for his most Christian Majesty, Chieregato presented it to him, stating what his Holiness thinks fitting with regard to the censures against the Flemings, and obtained a written order in the King's name to the Prior of Auvergne, to allow Zizim to depart by any road and in the speediest manner possible, and that he be taken to the Pope. This order was conveyed by one of the royal couriers, and by the same opportunity Chieregato informed the Turcopolier of the remedy proposed by the Pope for the affairs of Flanders, and of the King's letter to the Prior of Auvergne.

Signed; Humilis Servulus, L. Concordien.

Near St. Maturin, 19th Nov. 1488.

[*Original. Latin, 2½ pages, paper.*]

1490.

Jan. 12. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xeviii.

994. LIONEL (CHIEREGATO), Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES (Prothonotary), to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

The Bailli of Senlis? (*Sylvaneteñ*) having returned from England, where he left his colleagues, the French ambassadors, bringing with him a secretary from the King of England as ambassador to the King of France, was sent to the Count de Bourbon (*ad Illmo. de Borbonio*),* to discuss the articles brought by him from England; and after his return from Moulins, some presidents and councillors of the Parliament of Paris were sent for to consult with them about the despatch of the Bailli and the secretary. Of these articles the most difficult is one whereby the English claim the pension which King Lewis promised and paid to King Edward, as they would fain not render France tributary to the English, who, they nevertheless pretend (*quos tamen affectant*), are to evacuate Britanny pacifically. On this account the King has remained hitherto at Orleans, nor until the settlement of this affair of England will he depart to continue his journey in the Bourbonnais.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Orleans, 12th January 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 4¼ pages, paper.*]

* Pierre de Bourbon Comte de Beaujeu, consort of Anne de Bourbon, sister of Charles VIII., and younger brother of the Duke of Bourbon. In date April 7, 1490, Chieregato writes, "Illmos. D. de Borbonio," and therefore, as Anne de Beaujeu was prime minister, I translate "Bourbon Princes."

1490.
Jan. 27. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

995. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

After the Bailli of Senlis (together with the English secretary) obtained the most Christian King's decision, he returned from Orleans to England.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Orleans, 27th January 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 2 pages, paper.*]

Jan. 29. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

996. The SAME to the SAME.

Have received the Papal brief, dated 26th December, concerning the departure of Chieregato for England, with copy of the briefs sent heretofore to the King, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Papal Collector, as also the credentials in the person of Chieregato, addressed to the Kings of France and England and to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Received moreover the hortatory brief to the King of France about the peace with England, and the other concerning the expedition against the Turks. On the morrow they communicated to the Chancellor what seemed fit to them in such form as to increase his respect for the Pope, and the hope he places in him.

The Chancellor greatly commended the Pope's intentions, both with regard to seeking the peace with England and maintaining that with Germany.

Next day they repeated the same office with the King, remarking to him expressly that lest the discord between England and France impede the expedition against the Turks, the Pope exhorted him most warmly to conclude the peace, as would appear by the hortatory brief, which they consigned to him. They added that the Pope had commanded them to use their utmost exertions to effect this peace, for which purpose, supposing it to be necessary for one of the two to go to England, he had charged Chieregato to execute this commission; and they presented the credentials for that purpose.

In conclusion, they said that the Pope had already sent similar hortatory briefs to the King of England, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to his Collector, for which personages he had also sent Chieregato the necessary letters of credence. The King replied through the Chancellor, greatly commending the Pope's pious resolution to send an ambassador to England for the adjustment of the peace, and moreover praising the choice of Chieregato, whom he prayed to assume this burden willingly, for the sake of so good a result, and to go over to England as speedily as possible, which Chieregato expressed his readiness to do, although the season was unfavourable, most especially as he had to cross a stormy sea.

The French ministers regret that the Pope's orders concerning the affairs of England did not reach Orleans when they despatched the Bailli of Senlis and the English secretary, as written to the Pope in a former letter, so they requested Chieregato to depart immediately after the consecration of the Bishop of Clermont, and out of obedi-

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ence to the Pope he will do so, although at the cost of great inconvenience.

That the Pope may comprehend that what he did about the English was what the French desired, they add that on the day before their departure from Orleans the Chancellor, in a long discourse, endeavoured to prove to them how beneficial it would be for the Pope and the Apostolic See for France to be at peace, and he stated in what manner his Holiness might treat the peace, both with the King of England and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who rules everything (*qui omnia regit*).

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Moulins, 29th January 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 4 pages, paper.*]

Feb. 10. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

997. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

A herald who arrived yesterday from England announced the arrival there of the Bailli of Senlis.

The English are said to have taken a certain fortress in Poitou (*in p̃ria Pictaveñ*).

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A Flores.

Moulins, 10th February 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 2¼ pages, paper.*]

Feb. 13. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

998. LIONEL (CHIEREGATO), Bishop of Concordia, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

On arriving at Nevers received from his colleague Flores, the Papal brief, and all the papers and instructions concerning the Neapolitan affairs. The perusal of these documents encourages him to perform this English journey, as it is necessary for the French to be at peace if they are to assist the Pope, or if Ferdinand is to stand in awe of them.

His Holiness has need of peace, both for the affairs of Italy and also for those of the Gallican Church. Chieregato will exert himself to the utmost to accomplish the peace. His most Christian Majesty is grateful to the Pope.

Signed: Humillimus Servulus, L. Concordien.

Nevers, 13th February 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 1 page, paper.*]

Feb. 21. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

999. The SAME to the SAME.

Six days after his departure from Moulins arrived in Paris. Had to arrange with the Capponi [banking] house for his travelling expenses. They accommodated him with a loan of 250 crowns, and with a letter of credit for 600, payable in England. The expenses are great. Nothing was offered him in the name of his most Christian Majesty, in order not to diminish the authority and effect of the legation, for which same reason he would not have accepted anything, and thus did he answer the Chancellor, who went to visit him on the day of his departure from Moulins, offering him in his own private name (*privato tamen nomine*), money, horses, every-

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thing. He replied that the Pope supplied him with everything in abundance.

Is not losing his time in Paris; confers with many members of the Parliament, and with many doctors of the university, and finds them better disposed than ever. Those who gave him the fairest hopes were the Archbishop of Narbonne and his nephew, king's advocate (*advocatus regius*), on whom much, if not everything, depends for the good result of the [ecclesiastical ?] affairs.

The Pope's wish for the pacification of the kingdom satisfies them greatly, and if peace can be concluded between England and France, hopes on his return to do some good with the members of the Parliament; and should the peace be made, his Holiness will dictate the law to be observed henceforth by the ecclesiastics in France. Their chief complaint is about the taxes payable in Rome, and of this he reminds the Pope beforehand that provision may be made.

Signed: Humillimus Servulus, L. Concordien.

Paris, 21st February 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 2 pages, paper.*]

March 1. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

1000. LIONEL (CHIEREGATO), Bishop of Concordia, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Arrived yesterday with great difficulty at Boulogne, whence he is endeavouring to pass in safety to Calais, from which port he is recommended to take his passage to England, the Channel being much infested by pirates.

On his way, met the French ambassadors, who had returned from England, and they approved to the utmost his going thither, as most sagely ordained by his Holiness.

P. S.—Before closing this letter, received one from the Governor of Calais, informing him that he had sent an escort to the French frontier for his safe conveyance to that city; so he will depart tomorrow.

Although the sea is stormy, he will endeavour to cross the Channel as soon as possible.

Signed: Humillimus Servulus, L. Concordien.

Boulogne, 1st March 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 19 lines, paper.*]

March 9. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

1001. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, to A. FLORES, Papal Referendary and Ambassador at the Court of France.

Whilst waiting to cross the Channel, the English ambassadors accredited to the King of France arrived, and on being informed by Chieregato of the excellent qualities of Flores and of the commissions received by him from the Pope, were much pleased. Chieregato urges Flores to do his utmost to effect the peace, and exhorts him to honour the ambassadors, who are great personages and the King's intimates (*ac intimos Regiæ Maiestati*).

Signed: Filius L. ep's Concordien.

Calais, 9th March 1490.

[*Original. Latin, ½ page, paper.*]

1490.
April 7.
St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

1002. LIONEL (CHIEREGATO), Bishop of Concordia, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Apologises for not having written either from Moulins or Paris, especially because precisely at the moment of his departure from the Court, the Chancellor of France declared to him that a treaty of perpetual peace would take too long to negotiate, it sufficing if possible to conclude it for two years, during which period the King of England should receive 200,000 francs. Did not write from Calais owing to the unexpected arrival there of the English ambassadors accredited to the King of France, namely, the Bishop of Exeter, keeper of the Privy Seal, the Lord Chamberlain of the Queen, and the Prior of Canterbury. On hearing that the Prothonotary Flores was remaining in France as Papal mediator for peace between the two kings, they greatly rejoiced at Chieregato's mission to England. They banqueted each other, and the English envoys then proceeded on their way to France, Chieregato to England. Omitted also to mention that on his journey he met the French ambassadors returning from England, who congratulated themselves on Chieregato's embassy, and vastly praised the beneficent wisdom of the Pope. Chieregato, however, could not write all this because of the great impediments of the journey, and by reason of the letters from Flores and others, which he had to answer on the way; the visits which it behoved him to pay in Paris, and the preparations for his journey, having also hindered him. From Dover he announced his arrival to the King, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor of England, and to the Collector. They replied that his arrival was most agreeable to the King, who, out of respect for the Pope, chose to receive him with very great honour. He sent his almoner the Dean of York to meet him, and to express the pleasure which his Majesty felt at the arrival of an envoy from the Pope, requesting Chieregato to rest at Gravesend until the Marquis of Berkeley,* the Bishop of Salisbury, and the Earl [Viscount?] of Lisle should come with the royal barges (*navibus*) to conduct him from Gravesend up the Thames to London. The King, being at a distance of seven miles thence, had arranged for those three personages and the Almoner to take Chieregato thither, and to prepare his lodging at the Carthusian monastery, in the same place where the King himself was; but, after giving audience to the ambassadors of the King of the Romans, who had arrived a short time previously, he determined—for the purpose of giving Chieregato a more stately reception—to come back in person to London, that the magistracy of the city (*magistratus hujus urbis*) might be present there, as also the ambassadors from Spain and from the Duchess of Britanny, and certain princes and prelates detained by him for this purpose. So on the morning after the King's arrival Chieregato was conducted in the royal barge by the aforesaid personages to the King in his palace of Westminster, the apartment being royally furnished; and in addition to the aforesaid persons there were also present the ambassadors from the King of the

* William, Marquis of Berkeley, created 28th January 1489-90. Died 14th February 1491-92. (See Collins, vol. iii. p. 610.)

1490.
April 7.
St. Mark's Library, Cl. xix. Cod. xxix.

1003. Lucas (Quercensis), Bishop of Concordia, to Pope Innocent VIII.

Apologies for not having written from Chambéry or Turin, especially because precisely at the moment of his departure from the Court, the Chancellor of France declared to him that a treaty of perpetual peace would take too long to negotiate, it sufficing if peace to conclude it for two years, during which period the King of England should receive 200,000 francs. Did not write from Calais owing to the unexpected arrival there of the English ambassadors accredited to the King of France, namely, the Bishop of Exeter, keeper of the Privy Seal, the Lord Chamberlain of the Queen, and the Prior of Canterbury. On hearing that the Portuguese Fleets was remaining in France as Papal mediator for peace between the two kings, they greatly rejoiced at Chieregato's mission to England. They banqueted each other, and the English envoys then proceeded on their way to France. Chieregato to England. Omitted also to mention that on his journey he met the French ambassadors returning from England, who congratulated themselves on Chieregato's embassy, and vastly praised the beneficent wisdom of the Pope. Chieregato, however, could not write all this because of the great importance of the journey, and by reason of the letters from Flores and others, which he had to answer on the way: the visits which it behoved him to pay in Paris, and the preparations for his journey, having also hindered him. From Dover he announced his arrival to the King, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor of England, and to the Collector. They replied that his arrival was most agreeable to the King, who, out of respect for the Pope, chose to receive him with very great honour. He sent his almoner the Dean of York to meet him, and to express the pleasure which his Majesty felt at the arrival of an envoy from the Pope, requesting Chieregato to rest at Gravesend until the Marquis of Derby,[a] the Bishop of Salisbury, and the Earl [Viscount?] of Lisle should come with the royal barge (navilio) to conduct him from Gravesend up the Thames to London. The King, being at a distance of seven miles distant, had arranged for those three personages and the Almoner to take Chieregato thither, and to prepare his lodging at the Carthusian monastery in the same place where the King himself was. But after giving audience to the ambassadors of the King of the Romans, who had arrived a short time previously, to deter them—for the purpose of giving Chieregato a more stately reception—to come back to London, that the magnificence of the city (nostri[sic] Anglia regia) might be present there, as also the ambassadors from Spain and from the Duchess of Brittany, and certain princes and prelates destined by him for this purpose. So on the morning after the King's arrival Chieregato was conducted in the royal barge by the aforesaid personages to the King in his palace of Westminster, the apartment being royally furnished; and in addition to the aforesaid persons there were also present the ambassadors from the King of the

[a] William, Marquis of Derby, created 30th January 1485-86. Died 16th February 1494-95. (See Cokayne, vol. iii. p. 190.)

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Romans, and many very illustrious and learned men, besides a great multitude of inquisitive spectators.

The King being seated on his throne, Chieregato presented the papal brief, which was received with extreme veneration, and then stated the object of his mission. The King replied courteously, and said he was ready to hear the embassy either publicly or privately at Chieregato's option. The King was much pleased at his preferring the public form; whereupon, being seated opposite the King, between the Collector and Perseo Malvezzi, the Papal Nuncio, we (Chieregato) set forth the perils and dangers proceeding from the Infidels, and the necessity for concord amongst Christians, especially between England and France, adding suitable exhortations in the name of the Pope. The discourse, although impromptu, as Chieregato was not prepared for it, greatly pleased the King, who answered through the Chancellor, praising [it] and returning thanks, declaring himself ready as a Catholic Prince to combat the Turks when his own affairs were pacified, justifying the defence assumed by him of Flanders and Britanny, and showing himself ready for peace, especially through the mediation of the Pope, who would certainly not make any demand derogatory to the honour of England.

Thus spoke the right reverend Chancellor [John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury], but more at large, choosing to show himself, as he is, a learned man. When he finished speaking, all rose, and Chieregato approached the King, thanked him, and said that, as the hour was late, he would not then reply, but that if the King pleased, the business which had been commenced in public might be concluded privately. The King approved, and gave orders for Chieregato to be taken by the Bishop of Salisbury and the Almoner into a most handsomely furnished chamber, where shortly afterwards a truly regal dinner was served him; after which the King sent for him (the Chancellor and many other Lords being present), and commenced speaking very blandly in the French tongue, with which he is thoroughly acquainted. He thanked the Pope for the honour conceded him, and praised his proposal for peace, which he said had moved him much. He said that in the midst of the perils of Christendom, he was very much inclined towards peace, especially when mediated by the Pope, whom, above all other Princes, he was ready to please, provided respect were had for his own honour and rights. He then desired the Chancellor to acquaint Chieregato with his claims to the crown of France, and to several provinces in that kingdom, justifying also his expedition into Britanny and Flanders, and saying moreover that, contrary to the advice of many persons, he abstained from invading the French territory.

Much was said on both sides, and by the King's desire the conversation was protracted until night; but perceiving that the negotiation of a perpetual peace would be very tedious, Chieregato commenced treating a long truce, during which the peace might be discussed, grounding his proposal on the Pope's brief to the King (to whom he then presented it), dated last August, apolo-

1490.

gizing for its so tardy delivery. This project encountered many difficulties; first of all, by reason of the delay in enforcing the King's rights; in the next place, because certain Princes offer him their assistance, giving great security to that effect, nor would he lose the opportunity; and finally, because the King does not choose to be inferior to Edward IV., who received 50,000 crowns annually, whereas the King of France will not give more than 200,000 francs in three years. Chieregato respectfully endeavoured to remove these obstacles; and the King made especial inquiry whether he had any other commission from the Pope, and whether the French had given him a more ample mandate than the one consigned to their own ambassadors. In conclusion, the King said that the affair was important and deserved consideration, and that were he to do anything, it would be out of regard for the Pope, to whom he was greatly bound, rather than for the sake of any other sovereign in the world.

For that evening, the King then dismissed Chieregato, who next day sent the Collector (who is in great favour) to the Chancellor, to tell him many things which when thus announced took more effect, by reason of De Giglis' intimacy with his Right Reverend Lordship; and the Chancellor invited Chieregato to dinner, requesting him to come a few hours beforehand, for the transaction of business. They in fact discoursed much, and so earnestly, that the Chancellor, on being summoned by the King, sent word to him that he could not stir as he was conferring with Chieregato. They at length settled to meet the next morning in the King's presence, when something should be determined. Amongst other things, Chieregato had said that if King Henry would not accept the truce on the terms proposed by the French, he was to declare his intention openly, and not keep him in suspense, as he had many things to negotiate for the Pope in France; but that if King Henry wished, before concluding anything, to receive a reply from his ambassadors accredited to King Charles, he (Chieregato) would delay his departure. Having at length conferred with the King, the truce, after many difficulties, was stipulated for three years, according to the copy of the letter addressed to the Chancellor of France, which Chieregato sends to the Pope with the present despatch. The King of England is to announce this conclusion to his ambassadors in France, by a herald; and Chieregato is writing in like manner to King Charles, to Monsr. de Bourbon, and to the Chancellor of France. Chieregato had much conversation alone with the King, and was indeed prevented from departing immediately as he wished, as his Highness desired him to wait a day, expressing a wish for his permanent residence in England, that he might communicate everything to him. Next day, as agreed, Chieregato showed the King the letters he was sending to France; they were approved of, and after much confidential discourse, he dismissed Chieregato, allowing him to return to his lodging, which from his first arrival had been decently prepared in the house of the Dean of London.

Does not send the Pope copy of the letters written to the King

1490.

of France and to the Bourbon Princes (*Illmos. D. de Borbonio*)*, because they are in French, and of the same tenour as the one addressed to the Chancellor; neither does he send copy of his proposal, because it is still in draft, nor has he had time to transcribe it, and was therefore unable to give it to the King, who asked for it, but will send it to his Highness before he quits England, and to the Pope, immediately on his return to France. Hopes to pass his Easter at Canterbury†, with the Right Reverend Chancellor, who requested him to do so; the King also wishing it. Will afterwards proceed to the sea-side to await a fair passage. After despatching the public business, he recommended to the King the affair of the Turcopolier [Sir John Kendal],‡ and obtained the desired assent.

In conclusion, says that in England great honour was done him by everybody.

Signed: Humillimus Servulus, L. Concordien.

London, 7 April 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 4 pages, paper.*]

April 13. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

1003. LIONEL (CHIEREGATO), Bishop of Concordia, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Letter of recommendation for the Prior of the Carthusians of Sheen, a person very dear to the King of England, who greatly loves that order. The Prior wishes to regulate the discipline of his monks in England. The subject will please the Pope, to whom the King wrote warmly, recommending both the Prior and his order.

Signed: Humillimus Servulus, L. Concordien.

Canterbury, 13th April 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 12 lines, paper.*]

April 16. St. Mark's Library. Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

1004. ANTONIO FLORES, Papal Nuncio in France, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Three ambassadors from the King of England (a Bishop, an Earl, and an Abbot) conferred with the Bishop of Concordia [Lionel Chieregato],§ concerning the peace between France and England. Chieregato gave them a letter for Flores, who, on its delivery, exerted himself to further the peace, so that in accordance with the Pope's wish, the two Kings may subsequently turn their forces against the Turks. Flores asked them in what the difficulties of this peace consisted. They replied that there was no dissension between France and England, as the differences about the pension paid by Lewis XI. to the late King (*alteri Regi*) of England, and certain other subordinate matters (*dependencie*), will be easily adjusted, and indeed they said they were settled by the three years' truce. The question about the Duchess of Britanny, whose interests are protected by England, is more serious. Flores observed, that peace having been

* Count of Bourbon, Anne, his consort, and the Duke of Bourbon.

† In the year 1490, the 11th April was Easter Day. (See l'Art de Vérifier les Dates.)

‡ See also Venetian Calendar, vol. iii., No. 1475.

§ See Venetian Calendar, vol. i. p. 184, No. 559.

1490. made between the most Christian King and the Duchess, he did not comprehend what England could require. They replied, that in the peace between France and the Duchess, and between the King of the Romans and the French King, there are two articles; one, that the English be expelled Britanny, and that the four chief places which the King of France obtained by war* be placed in deposit (*deponerentur*); the other, that the judicial inquiry (*cognicio*), whether Britanny belong to the King of France or to the Duchess, be made in the course of the following year.

Concerning the first article, they say that the Duchess could not stipulate anything to the prejudice of the King of England, as he has incurred and continues incurring great cost to maintain the war for the defence of the Duchess; on which account she gave him two fortresses (*duo castra*) in Britanny as security. Until the debt be paid, the English are not bound to evacuate either the fortresses (*castra*) or Britanny, even should the Duchess wish it. Moreover, should the Duchess dismiss the English before the King of France makes the cession of those four places, she would remain without any garrison, and the deposit would perhaps never be made. Touching the second article, the English demand, in the name of the Duchess, that the term of one year, which expires in three or four months, be prorogued, as it is impossible to decide so great a suit in so short a time. The King of England desires nothing for himself in this matter, save the cessation of war, and that Britanny "*reponatur in pristinum statum.*"

Flores promised to advocate the peace. He then communicated the whole to the Chancellor, who replied that England disturbed the peace made with the Duchess, and that if the English retain the two mortgaged castles, the King of France will not place his four towns in deposit, as he consented to do so from love of peace, and in order that the English might evacuate Britanny. Concerning the prorogation, it would prejudice the peace made by France with Maximilian and the Duchess. Flores rejoined that as the question related to distinct articles, the alteration of one would not invalidate the others, provided it was made by mutual consent, and that he would therefore urge the English for the interest of the peace; and proposed to him that the King of France should pay England the sum for which the two fortresses are mortgaged to him, retaining them until repayment, and placing the other four in deposit as agreed; or else that all six be deposited, until it be juridically decided to whom the duchy belongs. They replied that England would not transfer her mortgage to France, but that if the Duchess wishes to pay her debt to England, the King of France may lend her the money, and England will surrender the two fortresses, and the Duchess will then dispose of them as of her own property. The ambassadors of the Duchess are expected here, namely, De Lebret, De Comminges, De Rios, and De la Val.

* Saint Malo, Fougères, Dinan, and Saint Aubin. (See Père Daniel, vol. v. p. 219. Ed. Paris, 1724.)

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Knows nothing more of Chieregato save that he has arrived in England.

Signed: Deditissimum mancipiolum, A. Flores.

Amboise, 16th April 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 2½ pages, paper.*]

May 6. St. Mark's Library. Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

1005. Lionel (Chieregato), Bishop of Concordia, to Pope Innocent VIII.

The Pope will (he supposes) have received his foregoing letter of the 7th April, of which he now repeats the summary, demonstrating the especial reverence of King Henry for his Holiness, and his disposition to combat the Turk.

Before the despatch of the aforesaid letter, the King desired to have some account of Chieregato's expenditure, which was really great. The horses were not in sufficient number, the passage was expensive, and in England the cost is far greater, for there they live most magnificently, so that every day seems a wedding day. Almost everything is dearer than elsewhere, and the high coinage (*altitudo monetarum*) raises the price. He had also to incur expense for raiment as well as for food, the apparel of the English being "*honestissimus;*" so he endeavoured to clothe himself and his retinue in such wise, that if not like the English in that respect, he and his attendants might at least save the Pope's honour in such quarters as necessary. The King sent him by his Almoner a silver-gilt "*poculum,*" called by them a "*cuppa,*" worth 15 or 20 ducats at the utmost, half full of English nobles. Having determined by no means to accept it, the Collector dissuaded him from this resolve, declaring that the King would take it amiss, and reminding him that his Highness had made much greater presents to ambassadors from the King of France and other Princes, and that none of them had dared to refuse, because it was customary with these Princes, and especially in England; so he therefore accepted the present. But the 250 crowns received from the Capponi were already expended before he reached England, and as the King's gift did not suffice to cover the expenses incurred there, he would have had recourse to the Bardi firm, to whom he had delivered the letter of credit received from the Capponi in Paris; but to avoid the heavy loss from the rate of exchange, he borrowed the money of his attendants until he got to Boulogne, where he again took money from a friend of the Capponi firm, and then returned to the Court of France awaiting the Pope's orders.

Remained in London until the despatch to France of the English herald, with whom he departed on Holy Thursday, the 8th ultimo. The herald proceeded from Rochester to Canterbury, and thence to the sea-side.

By the King's order, went to Canterbury on Good Friday, to keep Easter. He saw the Archbishop of Canterbury officiate and preach the Word of God most earnestly, celebrating in his vast and most wealthy cathedral the divine offices of Passion week (*majoris hebdomadæ*) and Easter, both by night and day, with the utmost solemnity, as becoming a good pastor, and most assiduously.

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For the Pope's sake, the Archbishop received him (Chieregato) with all honour, and, knowing that he had to perform a toilsome journey, gave him, as well suited for it, a hobby-gelding, which he was compelled to accept, lest (according to the English fashion) he should offend the giver. Commends the Archbishop's ability, learning, and experience of business (*rerumque experientia*), as also his reverence for the Apostolic See; wherefore respectfully counsels the Pope to promote him.

On Easter Tuesday, went to Sandwich to await a smooth and safe passage, as the pirates had taken two Spanish ships. He therefore warned the herald and his own messenger to wait, that they might take their passage together in safety; but the two, availing themselves of a small vessel, crossed alone, and he (Chieregato) who departed later, arrived at Calais before them. They however preceded him to Paris, and delivered their letters. Had an honourable reception at Calais and Boulogne, and was furnished with an escort. Did not stay in Paris, the persons with whom he was to treat about ecclesiastical affairs having been summoned to the King's presence; so by way of Normandy and Rouen he arrived at Tours on the 30th April. He was visited there by the principal personages, and King Charles complimented him in the same manner as the King of England, professing himself much obliged for the Pope's mediation. Hopes that something will be concluded, although certain difficulties have arisen which before he went to England were not considered at all important. Should any adjustment be effected, it will greatly benefit the Pope's interest. In the meanwhile, at the request of the French ministers, has given them copy of the proposal made to the King of England, and transmits also a second copy for the Pope. Apologizes should the statement prove somewhat defective on account of the inconvenience of his journey.

The ambassadors of the King of the Romans have quitted England; those of the Duchess of Britanny and of the Marshal of Britanny (*Marescalli Britanniæ*) remaining there.

The sudden departure of the courier, and the constant negotiations between the English and French, prevent Chieregato from being more diffuse.

Signed: Humillimus Servulus, L. Concordien.

Tours, 6th May 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 3½ pages, paper.*]

May 12. St. Mark's Library. Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1006. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Acquaint the Pope with the honours paid Chieregato by the King's orders, on his departure from England. The Almoner and one of the King's councillors accompanied him from London to Canterbury, from which place he proceeded to the sea, they returning to the King, to whom, both through their medium, and by letters, he returned thanks for the honour rendered him out of regard for the Pope. At Canterbury, likewise, amongst the other marks of distinction, the Archbishop chose him to be escorted to the sea-side by upwards of 25 of his attendants on horseback.

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Since the departure of the last courier, have been intent on the affairs of England and Britanny, consulting about them at one time with the most Christian King, at another with the Royal Council in the presence of the Duke of Bourbon, or apart with the councillors, at other times with the English, and occasionally with both parties together in the King's palace. The French ambassadors in England proposed the truce for three years, believing it impossible to obtain anything more, or to overcome the difficulties about the annual pension (*rem pecuniariam*); but having conferred with the King of England, the affair of the money was arranged (*quoad pecuniam acquievit*), and he consented to the perpetual peace with France. On hearing this the French likewise incline to it, and the writers have now told the French ministry, and the English ambassadors, how much preferable peace was to a mere truce, especially as the Pope has announced the expedition against the Turks. Immediately after the arrangement of the truce with Britanny, the peace will therefore be treated with fair hopes of success; and perhaps on this account likewise, the truce with Britanny will be of easier accomplishment.

Wrote thus far on the 10th of the month, since when, the conference and negotiations with the French and English continued. The Chancellor gave an excellent reply (*optimum responsum*), so that they hope the form of truce with Britanny proposed by them (much to the honour of the Pope, to whom they purpose sending it) will be accepted, and that all parties will agree to the seven months during which it is to last.

On the conclusion of this truce the perpetual peace with England will be negotiated under their mediation.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 12th May 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 3¼ pages, paper.*]

May 12. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1007. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Having written and consigned the previous letter, had a long interview with the Chancellor and the English ambassadors. The draft (*formula*) of the truce with Britanny was accepted, and they hope to have it stipulated tomorrow, when they will send the Pope the draft itself and the papers relating to it. They trust that this will facilitate the peace with England.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 12th May 1490.

[*Original. Latin, ½ page, paper.*]

June 4. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1008. LIONEL (CHIEREGATO), Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES (Prothonotary) to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

The King left the Chancellor and the other commissioners (*deputatos*) to negotiate with them (Chieregato and Flores), and with the English ambassadors, with whom the two nuncios arranged as already stated. Both parties had already accepted the draft for the truce with Britanny, as drawn up by the writers; but when

1490. transcribed in a public form, "*aliqua variatio*" arose, as usual, the business being also delayed for other reasons. Letters arrived from the Duchess of Britanny to the English ambassadors, desiring them to adopt rather a different form, and then came others charging them to delay until the arrival of the Duchess's ambassadors, who at length made their appearance. The draft (*formula*) was to be altered, because it had been drawn up when Mons. de Rieux, the Marshal of Britanny, was the Duchess's enemy, and having now become her friend, the subject-matter being changed, the draft likewise required alteration (*itaque mutata materia subiecta etiam forma videbatur mutanda*). In short, although they held frequent conferences both with the French commissioners *ad hoc deputatis*, and with the English ambassadors, the matter was procrastinated, but at length they devised another draft (*demum conceperamus alteram formulam*), which was sufficiently agreeable to both sides, and the Archbishop of Sens took it to the King for his approval. In the meanwhile they negotiated the perpetual peace with England, for which purpose the most Christian King sent to Tours (where Chieregato and Flores were), M. de Cordes, M. de L'Isle, M. de Château-Neuf, a powerful Baron of Burgundy, M. Della Volta (*sic*), with the Chancellor and the others.

On the 22nd May the commissioners went to hear mass in a chapel near the lodging of the two Legates, with the intention of going to them after the service, but the Legates went instead to the chapel, where they discoursed a long while about the peace with England. They then proceeded to the English ambassadors, and afterwards to the French commissioners, and it was agreed for all to meet together two days later in the house of the Legates, as they did on the 24th May. They had the hall prepared with sufficient decorum, and the presidency, as also priority of speech, was assigned them unanimously. They commenced with the Pope's wish for peace, both to remove the miseries of war, and in order to combat the Turks. They then passed to the perpetual peace which had been proposed between England and France, but which it was thought fit to postpone, on account of the truce with Britanny, and that being on the eve of conclusion, the parties might well consent to the peace. They next stated the reasons in favour of it, which the English admitted; adding that were the peace not concluded, the three years' truce, as already treated by the French ambassadors in England, and subsequently by Chieregato, should be ratified. The Chancellor likewise said that France would adhere to the peace, if made on just and reasonable conditions, but that they must consider whether it would be more advantageous to treat in full conference with the Papal ambassadors, or separately. As all preferred this last mode, the Legates consented to it, reserving to themselves the right of calling a full conference if necessary; and thus was it settled. The English ambassadors had promised to decide in two days about the truce with Britanny, and to ask the Duchess's ambassadors the object of their mission. On the 26th the French commissioners went therefore to Chieregato and Flores, inquiring what the English had done, and were told that the Legates having spoken to them, they apologized for being unable to

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resolve, because the Duchess's ambassadors would not negotiate with any one until after their audience of the most Christian King, who was still at a distance; and the English ambassadors also thought it fitting to await the proximate arrival of the envoys of the Marshal of Britanny, but who were coming in the name of the Duchess. He and Flores said they would nevertheless endeavour to hasten the business.

On the 24th the Legates, together with the English ambassadors, drew (*concepimus*) some clauses for insertion in the perpetual peace, which were approved by the French, but nothing was accepted unanimously, the difficulty about the Duchess of Britanny being irremovable. In the meanwhile the King returned to Tours, and with a few words dismissed the ambassadors from Britanny, who demanded the restitution of the places occupied by him, which he refused, and two days before Whitsuntide went to Amboise. The ambassadors from Britanny returned home *re infectâ*, and the English ambassadors and the French commissioners, with Chieregato and Flores, remained at Tours, negotiating these affairs daily. With regard to the truce of Britanny, the English ambassadors replied that as the Duchess's ambassadors, surprised at the reply given them, had departed, they could say nothing to them on the subject, but that others were coming, from whom they should hear her will, and they requested delay until their arrival.

This difficulty is insuperable; but touching the perpetual peace, conferences were held daily in the house of the Papal ministers and under their mediation. The French wished fresh ambassadors to be sent to England to smooth the difficulties, and that Chieregato also should return thither. But on the 1st of June his most Christian Majesty ordered all the ambassadors to proceed to Amboise, where it was settled for the English ambassadors to go to Calais, that they might the more speedily communicate with their King and receive his replies; the French commissioners going to Boulogne, from which place his most Christian Majesty could receive despatches postwise in two days; and Chieregato and Flores, both, or either of them, going in like manner to towns within the boundaries, namely, of Calais and Boulogne, and to the intermediate places (*Illisque tandem in unum congregatis, conclusus est ille modus agendi in locis confinibus, Calisiæ videlicet et Boloniæ, et in locis mediis, ubi nos quoque vel alter n̄rum adessemus*); which they did not refuse to do by reason of the Pope's anxiety for the peace.

Yesterday the ambassadors expected from Britanny arrived, and the English ambassadors announced them immediately to Chieregato and Flores, asking them for the draft of the truce to communicate it to the Bretons. The English ambassadors also said that from their King they had good news which they would communicate to the two Legates, but they had not yet been able to confer together.

The Marshal of Britanny has expelled M. d'Albret and Madame de la Valle from the citadel of Nantes (*exclusis Domino de Alebreto et Domina della Valle ex arce Nannetense*, and imprisoned eight great personages in a dungeon of that fortress, placing English guards at the gates of the town, on account of a certain suspicion.

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The Duke of Orleans, who was under close custody, is enlarged to the gardens of his prison* (*Dominus Aurleianeñ, sub exactiori custodia, relaxatus est ad viridaria arcis, ubi detinetur*).

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Amboise, 4th June 1490.

[*Original. Latin,* 6¼ *pages, paper.*]

June 4. St. Mark's Library. Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1009. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Owing to some difficulty which arose lately about the treaty of perpetual peace between England and France, it seemed well to ascertain the will of the King of England, so his most Christian Majesty purposed sending his own ambassadors to England together with the English, and had it intimated to Chieregato that he wished him to accompany them. Chieregato said he was ready to do so, but could not until the ecclesiastical affairs were arranged, to effect which, the Chancellor promised to use his influence; but in the meanwhile it was arranged for the English and French ambassadors to go to Calais and Boulogne, as mentioned in the other letter.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Amboise, 4th June 1490.

[*Original. Latin,* 3 *pages, paper.*]

June 5. St. Mark's Library. Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1010. CONVENTION between the French Commissioners and the English Ambassadors to meet at the "Hospice" near Marquise, and in other places between Boulogne and Calais, to negotiate perpetual peace under the mediation of [Chieregato] the Bishop of Concordia, on St. Peter's day next, or on the morrow, the day of the Commemoration of St. Paul.

Amboise, in the monastery of the Friars Minors, 5th June 1490.

[*Original draft. Latin,* 1½ *page, paper.*]

June 9. St. Mark's Library. Cl. xix. Cob. xcviii.

1011. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Wrote on the 4th that it had been arranged for the English ambassadors to go to Calais, and the French commissioners to Boulogne, to negotiate the peace in those towns and intermediate places, under their auspices. On the next day, the 5th, the ambassadors and the commissioners assembled in the monastery of the Francisan Friars where Chieregato and Flores were lodged, and the ambassadors spoke to them about the Duchess of Britanny, to the effect that during the negotiation for peace between England and France, she was to be exempt from any act of hostility, and comprised in the Papal mediation; but the French commissioners said that they and the English ambassadors, Chieregato, and Flores, were then assembled to negotiate the peace between the two Kings, and not the affairs of Britanny. Chieregato replied that if they really

* The great tower of the Castle of Bourges. (See Père Daniel, History of France.)

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wished to treat the peace with England, they must abstain from hostilities in Britanny, and that he would not go to Calais or Boulogne to discuss peace with angry negotiators (*cum irritatis*), as it would only cause greater confusion. The commissioners were at length persuaded, and made answer that the King bore himself peacefully (*pacifice se habebat*) towards the Duchess of Britanny, but the Marshal of Britanny, before his reconciliation to her, acted hostilely against the most Christian King, invading the French territory; but since the reconciliation they hoped he would be pacific, and his Majesty is ready to keep the peace of Frankfort with the Duchess; and they promised that during the negotiation of the peace with England, the hostilities against her should not be renewed. This they communicated to the English ambassadors, who had been somewhat disturbed, so they were marvellously pleased, and they, like the French commissioners, also offered to swear to the compact. Subsequently all the negotiators met together, and the French commissioners repeated what they had said, finally promising a cessation of arms and hostilities in Britanny, by word of mouth, as since the reconciliation of the Marshal to the Duchess, the agreement could not be reduced to writing by reason of difficulties on both sides. On this basis of the cessation of hostilities in Britanny, Chieregato and Flores proceeded to inculcate the necessity for peace in order not to diminish the forces of the Christian Princes; after which, the time, place, and other particulars concerning the Diet (*Dietam*) to be held between the French and English, were stipulated, as by the accompanying schedule drawn up by Chieregato and Flores, at the desire of the contracting parties.

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal of the King of England, the chief of the English embassy, protested however that he would return home unless he (Chieregato) would be present at this conference, which is fixed for St. Peter's Day. On the 6th of June, the English ambassadors quitted Amboise on their way to Calais, where, on the appointed day, they will expect the French commissioners and Chieregato. On quitting Amboise, the English ambassadors wished to go to Britanny, but Chieregato and Flores, knowing for certain that it would be forbidden them (the ambassadors having spoken about it in their presence to the French commissioners), persuaded them to renounce the idea, as they did to their honour, before receiving a reply.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 9th June 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 5 pages, paper.*]

June 11.
St. Mark's Library. Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1012. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Chieregato has informed the Seneschal of Carcassone that he will not go to Boulogne and Calais until after the settlement of the affair of the tenths (*de negotio decimæ*). The French wish him to go immediately, the King having remarked how well he comported

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himself both with the French commissioners and the English ambassadors.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 11th June 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 2½ pages, paper.*]

June 19. St. Mark's Library. Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1013. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Chieregato insists on not going to the conference for the peace until after the settlement of the ecclesiastical affairs.

The Prince of Salerno told them in secret, that he had something important on hand, and went to them frequently to notify it more fully, but they were always occupied with the English ambassadors and the French commissioners, so that he could not speak freely with them, as he quitted the Court before the English ambassadors.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 19th June, 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 6 pages, paper.*]

June 22. St. Mark's Library. Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1014. The SAME to the SAME.

The ecclesiastical matters being arranged, Chieregato took leave of the King to go to the Diet of Boulogne and Calais, and his Majesty returned thanks to the Pope for having the pacification of France so much at heart; wherefore he unhesitatingly (*confidenter*) requested Chieregato to undertake the journey, to mediate between the English ambassadors and his commissioners.

In France they are about to preach the Crusade,* which may be detrimental to the affair of the tenth (*decima.*) The Pope will see whether they ought not to attend first to the tenth, and then to the Crusade, as in England much less was obtained from the Crusade [Bull?] than from the tenth.

The French commissioners are proceeding on their journey to the Diet of Calais or Boulogne. Chieregato will follow them to-morrow. In the meanwhile he has written to the English ambassadors to excuse his delay and that of the French commissioners, and to assure them that they will all come in a few days.

Commissioners (*deputati*) of the most Christian King to the Diet of Boulogne or Calais:—The Archbishop of Sens, the Marshal de Cordes, the "Bailli" of Senlis, the "Bailli" of Lisor (*sic;* Issoire?), the first President of the Parliament of Paris, the General of the Holy Trinity for the redemption of slaves,† Antoine Guarena, LL.D., and royal councillor.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 22nd June 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 6 pages, paper.*]

* "Ortus est rumor predicandum esse hoc in Regno Cruciatam."

† Robert Gaguin (see Lord Bacon's Henry VII. pp. 366-373, ed. London, 1854.)

1490.
June 30.
St. Mark's Library. Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

1015. LIONEL (CHIEREGATO), Bishop of Concordia, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Arrived in Paris yesterday. Heard that the Bailiffs of Senlis and Issoire (*de Lisor*) were gone to await their colleagues at Abbeville, and that the Archbishop of Sens, the first President of the Parliament, and the General of the Maturins, looked to him to precede them, he being the mediator. Although the season is very hot, he will continue his journey and omit nothing, so that the peace may be made according to the Pope's wish. Will go straight to Calais to the English deputies (with the consent of the French) to exhort them to peace and to bear this delay patiently, as the French commissioners will assemble at Abbeville, and then meet all together at the appointed place.

Signed: Humillimus Servulus, L. Concordien.

Paris, 30th June 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 1 page, paper.*]

July 21.
St. Mark's Library. Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

1016. The SAME to the SAME.

Arrived at Boulogne from Paris on the 5th July, and having heard that the English deputies were displeased because the French deputies delayed their arrival, to convince the English of his own neutrality, and to persuade them to have patience, went in person to them at Calais on the morrow. They received him with much favour, and out of regard for the Pope consented to wait. From Calais wrote letters to urge the coming of the French deputies, on whose arrival at Boulogne no little difficulty arose about the *locus intermedius*, which was considered not sufficiently safe. Prevailed upon three of the English deputies to go with him to Boulogne on the 12th of the month, and on the morrow the English and French deputies conferred with him in his own house, where, after much discussion it was agreed that two days later they should all meet at Marquise, an intermediate place, subject to France. After many exhortations from him (of which he sends copy to the Pope) the English declared that the difficulty of the peace or truce between the two Kings consisted in the affairs of Britanny, whose Duchess, as the ally of England, ought to be comprised in the peace or truce. The French replied that as the matter was serious, they would consider it, and reply another day. He (Chieregato) fixed the day for Saturday the 17th instant, when the English insisted on the reply, but he contrived that four of the principal Englishmen should go with him on that day, together with the French deputies, to Boulogne, where they remained until this day, Wednesday the 21st; and on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, morning and evening, they conferred with him, and also this morning. At length, after much debate and many difficulties, it was settled that he should in his own name draw up "*avisamenta quædam*" for transmission by the deputies of either side to their Princes, to see whether they approved them. On receiving the reply they will all meet at Marquise, and determine what is to be done and where they are to assemble. The English will await the King's reply at Calais.

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On the termination of this business, will go with all speed to the French Court, especially for the congregation about ecclesiastical affairs, which cannot assemble until after the settlement of the truce, as the congregation is to be attended by himself and four of the French deputies.

Signed: Humillimus Servulus, L. Concordien.

Boulogne, 21st July 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 2 pages, paper.*]

August 4. St Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

1017. LIONEL (CHIEREGATO), Bishop of Concordia, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Arrived at Boulogne some days before the deputies from the most Christian King, and as the English resented the delay he went to Calais, requesting them to have patience out of regard for the Pope. When the Frenchmen came a great difficulty arose, as from certain circumstances which had occurred lately, the intermediate place appointed for the negotiation did not seem secure. After much labour, he removed the obstacle by assembling the deputies of either side in his lodging (*hospitio*) at Boulogne. By their desire he drew up certain articles, which they have sent to their respective Kings, and are awaiting their replies. On the return of the English to Calais there was a fresh difficulty, to remove which, Chieregato went yesterday to Calais, but as they have not yet decided, is unable to give the Pope any certain intelligence.

At Calais found Perseo Malvezzi, the Papal Nuncio, who comported himself admirably.

Calais, 4th August 1490.

P.S.—Dom. Giovanni de Giglis, late collector in England, has this same day (4th August) arrived at Calais. He will await here his colleague, "Dominum Magistrum Rotulorum,"* the two having been appointed ambassadors to the Pope by the King of England. Believes that they will go through Germany to Milan, and thence to Rome.

Signed: Humillimus Servulus, L. Concordien.

[*Original. Latin, 1¼ page, paper.*]

August 7. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

1018. The SAME to the SAME.

Wrote to Flores and to Perseo Malvezzi the sequel of the affair, for them to communicate it to the Pope.

The King of France has not yet replied to the *avisamenta*. Has left no means untried to attain his object. Stated the calamities of the war, and the encouragement it would give to the Infidels. On the other hand, set forth the advantages of peace, and the profit to be derived by Christendom. In public and private has exhorted both parties to make peace, assigning special reasons and the Pope's authority, and of these exhortations he sends his Holiness a summary. Will pursue this course until receipt of a reply from the most Christian King, after which he will return to the congregation for the ecclesiastical affairs.

* The mission to the Pope of Sir David Williams and John de Giglis has been already recorded in the Venetian Calendar, vol. i. p. 191, No. 573.

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Flanders is somewhat disturbed on account of the change of the coinage, but the Pope will be more fully informed about this by de Giglis and Perseo Malvezzi.

At Calais heard from the Bishop of Exeter that one Giuliano, ambassador from King Ferdinand to King Henry, did not approve of the crusade lately suggested by the Pope. Confuted the calumny as he best might, and warned de Giglis to give account of this by letter to the collector Dom. Adrian [Castellesi of Corneto] before his departure from Calais, "*ut illius nebulonis maledicta compesceret.*"

Signed: Humillimus Servulus, L. Concordien.

Boulogne, 7th August 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 1¼ page, paper.*]

August 26. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

1019. LIONEL (CHIEREGATO), Bishop of Concordia, to KING HENRY VII.

Arduous business cannot be despatched quickly, so it is no wonder if the peace between England and France is not yet concluded, but that it may be delayed rather than broken, it seems fitting to return to the three years' truce. To this effect wrote "*nonnulla avisamenta,*" in his character of mediator, and held a fresh conference between the ambassadors of France and England. Was convinced of the necessity for this conference by reason of the congregation to be held in France for ecclesiastical matters, which after being notified for the 1st of August was postponed until the 15th, and finally until the end of the month. At this congregation he (Chieregato) is to attend, as also the Bishop of Sens, the First President of the Parliament of Paris, and two of the French ambassadors appointed to the present conference. Sends therefore these *avisamenta* to his Highness, praying him, for the love of God, out of regard for the Pope and for the peace of Christendom, to approve them.

Calais, 26th August 1490.

[*Original draft. Latin, 30 lines, paper.*]

Sept. 16. St. Mark's Library Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

1020. LIONEL (CHIEREGATO), Bishop of Concordia, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Arrived at the French Court the day before yesterday. Has presented to the King a copy of the *avisamenta* drawn up by him concerning the three years' truce. The King determined that his deputies should hold a fresh conference on St. Michael's day, and that in the meanwhile, in accordance with the *avisamenta*, the affairs of Britanny alone were to be reconsidered (*nihil que extra Britaniam interea innovare: sicuti in eisdem avisamentis cavetur*).

The King approved of what he had done at Boulogne and Calais, as also of his determination not to return immediately to Picardy; a resolve based on good motives; but lest the English should be surprised at his not going thither as they wished, he wrote a letter which he hopes will satisfy them. He has always comported himself as an equitable mediator, and both the English and French are under obligations to the Pope for the office assumed by him. Over-

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came great difficulties; all parties confess this, and he owns to having toiled greatly, before he could induce the English ambassadors to accept (*passare*) the *avisamenta*; but as they knew he was negotiating sincerely, they thanked and honoured him greatly, frequently declaring that they regretted his embarrassments. The Bourbon Princes likewise, and the other chief personages of France, gave him a good reception. In establishing the truce between the French King and the Duchess of Britanny (a truce which according to report will take effect) they abided by the period specified by him in the triennial truce, namely the 1st of May. All the articles in the *avisamenta* concerning the perpetual peace were accepted with the exception of two, one being rejected by the French, the other by the English. The French refused the 15 months' truce for Britanny, as too long; the English refused acceptance of a sufficiently large sum to be paid once for all in several instalments, declaring that they would not make the perpetual peace without an annual payment. Therefore does not send the articles to the Pope.

The English deputies wished him to send his secretary with letters to King Henry, but in order not to deprive himself of his attendants, he proposed sending them by the Pope's Collector [Adrian Castellesi].

Signed: Humillimus Servulus, L. Concordien.

Angers, 16th September 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 2 pages, paper.*]

Sept. 16.
St. Mark's Library Cl. xiv. Cod. xcix.

1021. LIONEL (CHIEREGATO), Bishop of Concordia, to the BISHOP OF EXETER [ROBERT MORTON].

To obey the Pope, who is intent on making peace between France and England, hastened to rejoin King Charles, who having betaken himself to Angers and subsequently beyond, their meeting was unavoidably delayed until today. Acquainted his Majesty with the *avisamenta* drawn up by him, and found that he was excellently disposed to form a friendship with King Henry, who will learn from the French ambassadors or deputies, that King Charles will respect the conference, during which no innovation is to take place.

Would willingly return to the conference to effect the adjustment, but as the time of meeting is so immediate and the journey long and toilsome, especially at the present season, he could not undertake it without risking his health, being very fatigued and languid; but hopes that even without his mediation matters will proceed pacifically at the next meeting, though should Exeter perceive the difficulties to be so great as to require the presence of Chieregato for their removal, he will endeavour to attend the conference.

Requests the Bishop to announce these circumstances to the King and to the Chancellor, to whom he does not write, on account of the sudden departure of the messenger.

Vergy?, 16th September 1490.

[*Original draft. Latin, 21 lines, paper.*]

1490.
Oct. 16. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1022. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

A person arrived from England announces the proclamation there of a league between the Kings of Castile, of the Romans, of England, and of Denmark, and the Archduke Philip, son of the King of the Romans.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.
Moulins, 16th October 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 2 pages 5 lines, paper.*]

Oct. 30. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1023. The SAME to the SAME.

The truce with Britanny is concluded, and will last until the first of May.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.
Lyons, 30th October 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 2 pages, paper.*]

Nov. 12. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1024. The SAME to the SAME.

The herald who was sent by the King of France to the King of England, to thank him for having accepted the Diet for Michaelmas Day, has returned, accompanied by a herald from the King of England to the King of France. Both heralds went to Chieregato, the English herald in the name of his King saluting him most courteously, and saying that the King and all his ministers would have been very glad had Chieregato gone in person to the Diet, but on hearing of his indisposition accepted the apology. Although the English commissioners, having travelled rather more slowly to Calais, did not meet the French commissioners on the appointed day, they nevertheless assembled subsequently, and are still together.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.
Lyons, 12th November 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 1 page 6 lines, paper.*]

Nov. 18. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1025. The SAME to the SAME.

Their secretary, having returned from Britanny, brings word that the league between the Duchess, the Kings of the Romans, of Castile, and of England, and Philip Archduke of Austria, has been proclaimed; it being also added that should the King of France invade the territories of the Archduke Philip or of the Duchess of Britanny, the Kings of the Romans, of Castile, and of England would send their troops thither in such proportion as stipulated to defend them to the utmost. After this proclamation, which was very displeasing to the French, they also published the treaty lately stipulated at Tours and subsequently at Amboise.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.
Lyons, 18th November 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 2½ pages, paper.*]

1490.
Dec. 16.
St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1026. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

It is said by persons in authority at the French Court that the King of the Romans has not only stipulated (*contraxisse*) his marriage with the Duchess of Britanny, but that it was also published there by one of the French ambassadors, who went into Britanny with the Archdeacon of Saintonge, and then remained there, the others returning to France, and finally to the King of the Romans.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Lyons, 16th December 1490.

[*Original. Latin, 4 pages, paper.*]

1491.
Jan. 5.
St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1027. The SAME to the SAME.

The announcements concerning the marriage of the Duchess of Britanny are kept very secret here, but as yet the first report prevails, namely, that it has been contracted (*contractum*) with the King of the Romans, and not with the Lord Philip Archduke of Austria; so more serious war is expected in Britanny, and on this account the chief military commanders have been summoned to meet at Orleans on the 15th instant.

The congress of the French and English at Boulogne or Calais is already dissolved, and, according to report, without any conclusion.

The envoys sent from Britanny to the most Christian King by Monsr. d'Albret, negotiated his return in safety to France, and the restoration to him of his territories there. He went to Britanny for that marriage (*potiundi illius matrimonij*) and on account of the duchy, as notorious; and now seeing the lot fall to another, he does not deem it decorous to remain any longer there. It is said the King will grant his demand.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Moulins, 5th January 1491.

[*Original. Latin, 6 pages 6 lines, paper.*]

Jan. 9.
St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1028. The SAME to the SAME.

Request the Pope to make it known in France that he wishes for the peace between the French and English, and that he is negotiating himself with the ambassadors of the parties at Rome.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Moulins, 9th January 1491.

[*Original. Latin, 4 pages, paper.*]

Feb. 14.
St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1029. The SAME to the SAME.

Notified to the King and Council (*his Dominis Regijs*) what the Pope answered them about English affairs, concerning which discoursed at full length. The French say that the copy was sent to them of a letter presented to the Pope by the English ambassadors, containing many things against the most Christian King; that he is a tyrant, and occupies much territory of neighbouring princes

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which does not belong to him; adding, that through Dom. de Falcone, and subsequently by Dom. John Candida, the French Government requested the Pope to desire the English clergy (according to law)* not to contribute anything to their King for a war against Christians without the Pope's permission;—and that his Holiness gave no answer. They therefore wish the Pope to apply a remedy for this, but that he should not do so as at the request of their King, but by virtue of his pastoral office. The French do not dissemble their intention—should the English clergy continue their contribution—of imposing a similar tax in France, which would yield much more than is obtained from the ecclesiastics in England. The mischief will thus be increased. Write to the Pope, that he may act according to the dictates of his prudence.

With regard to the peace between the French and English, by means of the Pope's mediation at Rome with the ambassadors of the parties, this would greatly please the French provided it did not seem to proceed from them, but solely from the Pope, as an office whereby to avert the perils and bloodshed of war, and lest it prevent the expedition against the Turks. His Holiness might therefore invite the two Kings to send ambassadors to Rome with full instructions to treat this matter, or dispatch commissions to those now at Rome to that effect.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 14th February 1491.

[*Original. Latin, 9½ pages, paper.*]

March 4. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1030. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

From Britanny the French are expecting an honourable embassy, which according to some persons will urge the King to keep the day appointed by both sides for meeting at Tournai to settle the disputes.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Amboise, 4th March 1491.

[*Original. Latin, 3½ pages, paper.*]

March 15. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1031. The SAME to the SAME.

Yesterday the Chancellor, in the presence of the Cardinal, assembled all the prelates now here in the royal palace, and announced to them that his most Christian Majesty was threatened with a serious war by the three most powerful Kings—of the Romans, of Castile, and of England. The expenditure of France exceeds her revenue, and therefore the King demands a subsidy (*aliquam subventionem*) from the clergy.

The contribution of the English prelates, about which they have frequently written to the Pope, induces the French ministry to moot this matter.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Amboise, 15th March 1491.

[*Original. Latin, 1¼ page, paper.*]

* "Prout juris est."

1491.
March 17.
St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1032. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Yesterday his most Christian Majesty gave audience to the Great Master of the Household of Britanny and to the Proctor of Rennes, ambassadors from the Duchess of Britanny, styled by them Queen of the Romans. They apologized for having brought no credentials or other letters from her, because she had written to her husband the King of the Romans to consult with him about the form of the letters to be addressed to the King of France, and had not yet received an answer when the ambassadors departed; so she therefore wrote nothing.

They then said that his Majesty not having as yet perhaps sufficient certainty that the Duchess would really marry the King of the Romans (*an eadem Domina vere nupserit eidem Regi Romanorum*), they therefore came to assure his Majesty that the marriage was already contracted (*contracto*); the Duchess and the peers and states of Britanny assenting to it by so much the more readily as they knew it would be most agreeable to his most Christian Majesty, by reason of his very close connexion with his father-in-law, the King of the Romans.*

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Amboise, 17th March 1491.

[*Original. Latin, 2 pages, paper.*]

April 12.
St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1033. The SAME to the SAME.

Have complained of the manner in which the tenth is levied on the ecclesiastics in France, contrary to the promise given, but were answered that on account of the expenses incurred by his Majesty for the war against Britanny, England, Germany, and Spain, he is compelled to exact the entire tenth. Rejoined that the Pope had written to them that he was quite ready to negotiate in person for the peace between France and England, and, to express themselves in the French fashion (*ut Gallico more loquamur*), made all possible remonstrances, speaking boldly (*intrepide*) to the ministers, and omitting nothing which might tend to the good result of the ecclesiastical matters.

On the 7th instant Dom. de Falcone gave them the apostolic brief, together with the others addressed to England concerning the subsidy of the English prelates; which by his most Christian Majesty's order, and through the Chancellor's medium, they sent to England to the Collector Dom. Adrian [Castellesi of Corneto] with letters of their own, much to the King's satisfaction, though some of the ministers regretted that the briefs—as they were written many months ago—should not have been sent hither instantly by

* "Ob ejus cum Romanorum Rege, socero suo, strictissimam affinitatem." Margaret of Austria, the daughter of Maximilian by Mary of Burgundy, was affianced to Charles VIII. in the year 1482. (See Père Daniel, and Recueil de Traités par Leonard.)

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Dom. de Falcone, as they would have produced a more seasonable effect.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Nantes, 12th April, 1491.

[*Original. Latin, 6½ pages, paper.*]

May 10. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1034. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

The French are sending ambassadors to England and Spain, and a herald to the King of Scotland, with money, because the King of England is seeking his alliance, promising to give him his sister in marriage.

The ambassadors from the Emperor and the King of the Romans are expected daily; and by messengers and letters from the Archdeacon of Saintonges the French are informed that the King of the Romans, on hearing of the capture of Nantes, did not much care about it, and wishes for peace with his son-in-law, and to return to Hungary. On the arrival of the ambassadors, his thoughts will be ascertained, and whether he wishes for the Duchess without the duchy; as the French lately took the town of Redon (*oppidum Rhodonum*),* a place sufficiently well fortified, with a garrison of Spanish soldiers, whose commander is said to have been vanquished with golden artillery (*tormentis aureis*).

The only city in Britanny which can resist the French is Rennes. Some years ago the English garrisoned "*Concam*," and will perhaps not so speedily surrender it.

Notwithstanding what is said about Maximilian, the Governor of Burgundy is going today into Burgundy, and Mons. de Cortes into Picardy; Mons. Vindocino will proceed thither likewise, to prevent any disturbances which might arise; and the Admiral, of whom the English are afraid (*ex Anglis formidatum*), is also gone to his province of Normandy.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 10th May 1491.

[*Original. Latin, 8 pages, paper.*]

June 6. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1035. The SAME to the SAME.

After obtaining the city of Vannes (*urbem Veneteñ*)† the French army marched upon "*Concam*," which had been long held by the English, who after making a sally, and some lives having been lost, surrendered the place to the French, who then proceeded to another port, held by the Bretons, and having taken it, went on towards Rennes (*urbs Rhedonen.*),* which is said to be admirably fortified and

* In Cæsar's Commentaries Redones or Rhedones signified Rennes in Britanny, in which province there is also a place called Redon, in Latin Roto; the one a great city, the other a small town. Rennes contains 30,000 inhabitants, Redon 4,200. In the first vol. of the Spanish Calendar, pp. 34, 35, there is a letter from Redon, written apparently at this period.

† In a former letter, dated Tours, 19th May 1491, Chieregato and Flores informed the Pope that the governor of Vannes, Mons. de Rieux, and his cousin, Madame de Lavalle, betrayed the city to Charles VIII.

1491.

provisioned for many months, and all poor persons such as are not able-bodied (*pauperes et imbelles*) have been sent out of the town; but the Duchess has to fear some attack in the territory of Nantes.*

It is said that the Scots, to whose King the French sent money, have been routed in battle by the English, who, being occupied with that war, will perhaps be unable to succour their countrymen in Britanny.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 6th June 1491.

[*Original. Latin, 3½ pages, paper.*]

June 16. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1036. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

The French fleet, when endeavouring lately to prevent Britanny from being succoured, attacked the English fleet, and a battle was fought, in which the English were victorious.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 16th June 1491.

[*Original. Latin, 3 pages, paper.*]

June 21. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1037. The SAME to the SAME.

It is said here that Mons. de Nassau is gone over to England to exhort and urge the King, in the name of the King of the Romans, and of Duke Philip his son [to form an alliance with them ?].

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 21st June 1491.

[*Original. 2 pages, paper.*]

July 16. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1038. The SAME to the SAME.

Have spoken to his most Christian Majesty about the loan [from the clergy], concerning which the Pope wrote to them, and the French ministers said in self-defence that he had comported himself in this matter differently to the King of England, as according to report the English ecclesiastics are compelled by force to give the subsidy, whilst in France the loan is voluntary, and received with a guarantee for restitution, nor is anyone forced to disburse it.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 16th July 1491.

[*Original. Latin, ¼ page, paper.*]

July 18. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1039. The SAME to the SAME.

It is said that the English fleet has landed some 4,000 soldiers in Normandy towards Britanny, and that the [French] Admiral is therefore going into Normandy, as he has charge of that province (*cum ejus cura ad ipsum pertineat*).

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 18th July 1491.

[*Original. Latin, 1 page, paper.*]

* "Sed formidandum est Ducissæ ne quid Nanneten. patiatur."

1491.

provisioned for many months, and all poor persons such as are not able-bodied (pauperes et impotentes) have been sent out of the town; but the Duchess has to fear some attack in the territory of Nantes.

It is said that the Scots, to whom King Henry sent money, have been routed in battle by the English, who, being occupied with that war, will perhaps be unable to succour their countrymen in Brittany.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 6th June 1491.

[Original. Latin, 34 pages, paper.]

June 16. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xxvii.

1039. Lucon, Bishop of (Concordia), and Antonio Flores, to Pope Innocent VIII.

The French fleet, when endeavouring lately to prevent Brittany from being succoured, attacked the English fleet, and a battle was fought, in which the English were victorious.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 16th June 1491.

[Original. Latin, 8 pages, paper.]

June 21. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xxvii.

1037. The Same to the Same.

It is said here that Alonç de Nesson is gone over to England, to exhort and urge the King, in the name of the King of the Romans, and of Duke Philip, his son [to form an alliance with them ?].

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 21st June 1491.

[Original. 2 pages, paper.]

July 18. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xxvii.

1038. The Same to the Same.

Have spoken to his most Christian Majesty about the loan [from the clergy], concerning which the Pope wrote to them, and the French ministers said in self-defence that he had compelled himself in this matter differently to the King of England, as regarding to report the English ecclesiastics are compelled by force to give the subsidy, whilst in France the loan is voluntary, and received with a guarantee for restitution, nor is anyone forced to disburse it.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 18th July 1491.

[Original. Latin, 4 pages, paper.]

July 18. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xxvii.

1038. The Same to the Same.

It is said that the English fleet has landed some 4,000 soldiers in Normandy (remania Britanny, and that the [French] Admiral is therefore going into Normandy, as he has charge of that province (cum ejus cura sit ejusmodi provincie).

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Tours, 18th July 1491.

[Original. Latin, 1 page, paper.]

1491.
Sept. 12. St. Marks' Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1040. LIONEL, Bishop of Concordia, and ANTONIO FLORES, to POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Before they quitted Tours* the embassy from the King of Scotland in very fair array (*satis honorifica*) landed in Normandy, to escort the daughter of Don Frederick for the marriage, about which they wrote to the Pope heretofore. Whilst they were at Lyons a royal courier passed through, with the utmost speed, to urge Ferdinand's ambassadors to come for the same purpose.

The English, whose landing in Britanny and Normandy was already announced, "*dimissis Rhedoni quingentis pugilibus ad illius urbis custodiam,*" are said to have returned to their ships and then to have set sail, after having ravaged the territory.

Omitted to transmit this intelligence in their last letters from Tours, being intent solely on their own departure.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A. Flores.

Lyons, 12th September 1491.

[*Original. Latin, 6 pages, paper.*]

Sept. 19. St. Mark's Library, Cl. xiv. Cod. xcviii.

1041. The SAME to the SAME.

After their mission, which has lasted four years, being ordered by the Pope to leave some fitting person at the French Court, have made choice for that purpose, of Oliver Yuan (*Yuanum*), Dean of St. Martin's of Angers, who has been in their service during the whole of this legation.

Yuan is 40 years of age, part of which he passed in the university of Perugia, where he studied law, and part at the Court of Rome, or with Apostolic Legates. Took him to England, then sent him back to the King of France, and afterwards appointed him to Britanny, so that he cannot but be well skilled in business. He is thoroughly conversant with the French tongue, and with the style of the Court of Rome, whether of the "Rota" or the Chancery.

Signed: Humillimi Servuli, L. Concordien., A Flores.

Lyons, 19th September 1491.

[*Original. Latin, 3 pages, paper.*]

1495.
Sept. 22. Venetian Archives, Busta xxiii.

1042. MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, to POPE ALEXANDER VI.

Most Holy Father, most Reverend Lord,—

Whereas of late years, after the invasion and slaughter of Richard King of England, Henry of Richmond occupied that kingdom, and having espoused the daughter of Edward, the late King, brother of said Richard, causing it to be believed that said Edward had left no male progeny, obtained from your Holiness's predecessor, Innocent VIII., of pious memory, letters confirming him in the possession of his kingdom, and purporting that all persons disputing said Henry's right to his kingdom, or waging war on him, were to be

* In a letter, dated Tours, 12th August 1491, the Legates informed the Pope that they took leave of Charles VIII. on the 5th, and were to depart on Tuesday the 16th, so the ambassador from Scotland must have arrived in Normandy before the middle of the month.

1495.

excommunicated; the most illustrious Lady Margaret, our very dear mother-in-law, sister of the aforesaid Edward and Richard, and wife of the late most illustrious Charles Duke of Burgundy, our father-in-law (perceiving that she as well as Richard, her brother Edward's son,—who, lest he should be put to death by the occupiers of the kingdom, has hitherto often hidden himself, wandering over the world as an unknown exile,—were without cause violently injured and aggrieved, being excluded from their right,) appealed forthwith against those confirmatory letters, as well in her own name as in that of her nephew, the aforesaid Richard Duke of York, and of all others whom it might concern.

Similar confirmatory letters denouncing excommunication having been lately obtained from your Holiness, in the same manner—the truth being suppressed—said most illustrious Margaret and her nephew appealed, and committed the prosecution of the appeal to our ambassador, Philiberto Naturelli, requesting our recommendation and assistance with your Holiness.

We, perceiving the aforesaid confirmations and excommunications to be surreptitious and frivolous, as they could not exclude others from their right without hearing them; and as said Richard Duke of York is the born son of Edward, the legitimate and true deceased King, and it is evident he has excellent right (*optimum jus*) to that kingdom; which things had they been known both to the pious memory of Innocent VIII., as also to your Holiness, similar letters would doubtless not have been conceded; we have thought fit to write to your Holiness, that this said matter, which is of such great moment, may be more carefully examined, and that what was ill conceded be revoked, or that you will clemently hear such other things as our said ambassador, Philibert, will more fully declare by word of mouth, providing and administering justice, so that said most illustrious Lady Margaret, and others whom it concerns, may, both from sense of justice and through our recommendation, obtain from your Holiness their right, and that for conscience sake (*ex scrupulo conscientiæ*) we may see them freed from both sentences of excommunication. And your Holiness, whom may God preserve, will perform an act just and holy, and most agreeable to us.

From our city of Worms, 22nd September 1495. Maximilian, by divine clemency, King of the Romans, ever august King of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, etc., Archduke of Austria, etc.

On the external corner.—Letter of Maximilian, presented by his ambassador, Philibert, the 18th of October 1495.

[*Latin. Original, on parchment.*] *

1510.
April 6.
Summaries of Advices, Library Archives, v. i. p. 2.

1043. SUMMARY of LETTERS from our AMBASSADOR in England (ANDREA BADOER).

Has been unable hitherto to see the articles of agreement stipulated lately between the King of England and France, but from what he hears from his Majesty's own lips, he asserts them to be of

* It is probable that this letter, like other papal documents already calendared, was removed from the Vatican to Venice, shortly after the sack of Rome, as mentioned in Preface, vol. ii. p. lii.

1510.

such a nature as will greatly please the Republic; and notifies the constant excellent demonstrations and offers of the King to the Signory. His Majesty has deprived the Cardinal of Pavia of the Protectorate of England at Rome, hearing that he is utterly French, and in lieu of him, he has appointed as his Protector, the Pope's nephew, the Cardinal S. Pietro *ad Vincula*.

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Summaries of Advices, Library Archives, v. i. p. 14.

1044. ENGLAND and FRANCE.

The Pope having sent for the Signory's ambassador [Girolamo Donato] on the afternoon of the 7th July, read to him, in the presence of Cardinal Cornaro, a writing, taken out of cipher from the letters of his ambassador in France, dated Lyons, the 2nd instant, apologising to him at great length for having exhorted his Holiness to league with the most Christian King, whereas at present, perceiving the Pope's intention, he urges him to strengthen himself by an alliance with the Catholic King, and assures him that the affairs of England do not seem smooth with France; so that an understanding between his Holiness and the Kings of Spain and England, to the ruin of the French, may be expected very speedily.

[*Italian.*]

July 9. Summaries of Advices, Library Archives, v. i. p. 16.

1045. RUPTURE between the POPE and FRANCE.

By letters from Girolamo Donato, dated 9th July, the Signory heard that on the preceding day, the Pope sent for him, and said that shortly before his arrival, the French ambassador, the Lord Alberto da Carpi, having heard of the appearance of the Signory's army [under Legnago?], went to complain to his Holiness, who answered him that he considered his King his open enemy, and expelled him his presence. This was also confirmed to Donato by Cardinal Regino, and that the Pope said Carpi was not to trouble him any more, forbidding him to appear before him. The Pope did the same with the ambassador from Ferrara, who no longer shows himself at the palace, and thinks of departing.

His Holiness told Donato that it was no longer time to dissemble; that already in Consistory he had declared himself with regard to the investiture [of the kingdom of Naples]; and that he has sent to all the provinces and charged the preachers to declare the French contumacious against the Apostolic See; and thus are they to preach, most especially in England, whither he has written a brief, and given it for transmission to the English ambassador [Christopher Bainbridge, Archbishop of York], paying the messenger with his Holiness's own money. The Pope also wrote to his agent there [Christopher Fisher?] to hasten the union and understanding against the French, as notorious enemies of the Apostolic See. The Pope also said that he found the English ambassador as well disposed to this effect as himself, and that he had already that night sent off the letters with the utmost diligence (*in efficacissima forma*).

[*Italian.*]

1510.

July 7. Summaries of Advices, Library Archives, v. I. p. 14.

July 9. Summaries of Advices, Library Archives, v. I. p. 16.

1510.
July 10.
9th hour.
Summaries of Advices, Library Archives, v. i. p. 17.

1046. ENGLAND and FRANCE.

The Pope, reverting to the affairs of Ferrara, said to him (the ambassador Donato), that Mantua being secured through the release* of the Marquis, he did not doubt effecting the expulsion of that Duke [Alfonso of Este] without difficulty, and by so much the more, perceiving that the Emperor condescends to accept the 60,000 ducats from his Holiness.

The Pope then showed him letters from England from Dr. Christopher,† purporting that affairs there were proceeding very prosperously, that it depended on his Holiness to undo the peace [between England and France?], and that all would go well, saying, "God guides us; these matters in England proceed as favourably for us as can be desired, so that you may imagine what will become of the French."

[*Italian.*]

July 10.
22d hour.
Summaries of Advices, Library Archives. v. i. p. 17.

1047. ENGLAND and FRANCE.

When he went to the Pope in the morning, Donato found the Cardinals S. Georgio and Cornaro with him. After hearing mass, his Holiness kept them all to dine with him, and after dinner, the Pope having gone to repose, the courier Zuan Gobo arrived with the intercepted letters.

Donato then returned to his Holiness, who showed him what had been taken out of cipher from the English letters, which announce in substance that everybody there longs for an opportunity to break the peace with France, and make a fresh confederacy (*intelligentia*) against her.

Donato then read all the intercepted letters, for which the Pope returned exuberant thanks, and said he would do the like by the Signory; and he made various comments on their contents, especially on the paragraph relating to the Marchioness of Mantua, and her being on such good terms with the French, saying, "You see whether the release of the Marquis is necessary."

(Read in the College.)

[*Italian.*]

1511.
Jan. 3.
March 20.
2nd hour.
Summaries f Advices, Library Archives, v. i. p. 33.

1048. MISCELLANEOUS ADVICES.

The Pope determined to attack La Mirandola in person, and went to the camp notwithstanding the intense cold, and the snow and ice.

An ambassador from the King of Scotland has come to the Pope and assures him of the good peace existing between the most serene King of England and his King.

His Holiness has determined to send the English ambassador, the Cardinal of York, as Legate in the expedition against La Bastia.

* The Marquis of Mantua remained a prisoner in Venice from August 1509 until the 14th July 1510, when he was shipped for Rome, at the Pope's request. In date 16th June 1510, Sanuto records in his Diaries, that the Marquis complained of being unable to sleep in the "*Toreselle*," where he was confined, on account of the bugs.

† Christopher Fisher. (*See* Venetian Calendar, vol. ii. index.)

1511.

He accepted readily, and will have with him 300 men at arms, and 4000 infantry.

The said English ambassador and the Scottish ambassador have not chosen to go to Mantua.

[*Italian.*]

May 3. 22nd hour. Summaries of Advices, Library Archives, v. i. p. 35.

1049. ADVICES sent to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the LORD TURK on the 3rd of May 1511.

The Papal forces after conquering La Mirandola marched towards Ferrara.

The Cardinal of York, ambassador from the King of England, had been sent as Legate into the Papal camp for the above written expedition against La Bastia.

(Read in the College.)

[*Italian.*]

1514.

July 8. Senato Mar, v. xviii., p. 35.

1050. DECREE of the SENATE concerning ENGLISH KERSE YS.

One of the principal foundations of trade all over the world is the kerseys from the west, of which but a very small quantity is brought by our merchants over land, because they pay an entry duty besides the tenths, and also 9 per cent.; and the Germans being privileged to import them paying only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. entry,* it is necessary that our merchants should receive them at as cheap a rate as possible. And as the 9 per cent. was laid on the kerseys [imported over land] solely for the purpose of giving freight to our Flanders galleys, which no longer make the voyage, and in order that kerseys may be brought hither in greater quantity,—

Put to the ballot, that all merchants who shall henceforth bring into this city coloured cloths, and kerseys either white or coloured, and also tin, from the west, whether by land or by sea, do not pay more than 4 per cent. entry, and be absolved from tenths and every other tax; and that this decree remain in force for one month after the appointment of our galleys for the Flanders voyage.

Ayes, 134. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

1516.

Jan. 3. Library, Venetian Archives.

1051. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to MARCO DANDOLO and PIETRO PASQUALIGO, Venetian Ambassadors in France.

Requests them to forward the enclosed† to the Council of Ten; it is of no slight importance, as they can see if they please. Has no other news of England to give, but is very anxious to know the events of Italy, as in London they are discussed according to individual bias, some wishing well to Venice, others ill, so no well founded reliance can be placed on what they say. Prays them, heart and soul, to acquaint him with Italian occurrences, and to

* The German factory at Venice enjoyed many immunities, and this apparently was one of them.

† The letter in question, dated London, 2nd January 1516, is printed in vol. ii. Venetian Calendar.

1516.

address their letters to the court of the most illustrious Madame [Louise], who writes frequently to the French ambassador in London. This office of writing will be no less beneficial for the Signory than most agreeable to himself.

His secretary Sagudino, the very humble servant of their Magnificences, recommends himself to them.

London, 3rd January.

[*Italian.*]

1522.

July 5. Senato Mar, v. xx. p. 20. tergo.

1052. DECREE of the SENATE concerning ENGLISH WOOLLENS.

Put to the ballot, that the decree of July 8th 1514 be prolonged for the next two years, with all the clauses contained in said act, without however including tin, which is pledged to the galleys,* but [solely] kerseys and coloured cloths as aforesaid.

Ayes, 152. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

1523.

March 26. Consiglio X. Misti, v. xlvi. p. 12. retro.

1053. DECREE of the COUNCIL OF TEN concerning REGINALD POLE.

That the Signory's Governors of Padua be enjoined to permit the most Illustrious and Reverend Reginald Pole, British born (*Britanno*), a student in our university, to carry weapons there, in that our city and territory, both he and four of his servants, for the security of his person, according to his request, made through the English ambassador resident here; he being bound to notify the names of his said servants to our said Governors, as becoming.

Ayes, 12. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

May 10. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

1054. ALTOBELLO AVEROLDI, Bishop of Pola and Governor of Bologna for Pope Adrian VI., to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

A papal messenger informs me that the most Christian King, contrary to the Pope's earnest prayer, will not consent to any pacific adjustment between his Majesty and the Emperor and the King of England, until in the first place his duchy of Milan be restored to him. To this the King of England will not consent; but King Francis, at the intercession of his mother, has agreed to cease hostilities in Italy for two months, from the 1st instant; and Madame has written to his Holiness to be satisfied with this for the present.

The King of England and the Cardinal of York will not consent to the restitution of Cardinal Adrian. By reason of the two . . . . [bishopries?—Bath and Wells] held by him, he will certainly not be reinstated.†

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* By the Act passed on the 8th July 1514, the duty on tin was reduced in the same proportion as that on cloths and kerseys.

† See in Venetian Calendar, vol. ii., Nos. 1044 and 1054, the decrees of Leo X., whereby Adrian Castellesi was degraded from the rank of cardinal, and his bishopric given to Cardinal Wolsey.

1523.

The Court of England do not believe in the loss of Rhodes.
Bologna, 10th May 1523.
Your Excellencies' servant, A. Bishop of Pola, Governor of Bologna.
Addressed: To the most Illustrious Prince and excellent Lords, the Chiefs of the Council of Ten.
[*Original. Italian. In cipher with contemporary decipher.*]

May 14. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

1055. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Have understood the orders contained in your letters of the 31st March,* desiring me, if necessary, to have recourse to the Bishop of London and Sir Henry Marny, nor will I omit to do so on all occasions; and I should ere now have said a few suitable words to Sir Henry Marny had he not been indisposed of late, but immediately on his recovery . . . . . [*a few words illegible in the original*]. With the Bishop of London [Cuthbert Tunstall], a most learned person and in truth quite my friend, I have been unable to perform this office, he being constantly occupied from morning till night on account of this Parliament; but I have arranged to be with him tomorrow, when I intend to speak about the gunners and the injury done to the artillery, and finally about this tax imposed by them, so that he may say a good word in our favour; though as the whole government is absolutely in the hands of Cardinal Wolsey, who does not choose anybody but himself alone to interfere with it,—and indeed whoever dares to do so is therefore hated and persecuted by him,—I doubt being able to derive much advantage from these two personages, of whom the Bishop most especially is attached to me by no ordinary affection, which sprang up between us when studying classical literature at Paduaf (*tra nuy nassuta nela antiqua litteraria consuetudine Patavina*), although he is inclined to do what he can when the opportunity offers for acting, like a true friend.
Signed: Antonius Surianus D. et eques orator.
London, 14th May 1523.
[*Original. Italian.*]

1524.

July 7. Senato Mar. v. xx. p. 107.

1056. DECREE of the SENATE concerning ENGLISH WOOLLENS.

Prolongation of the Act passed on the 5th July 1522.
Ayes, 160. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.
[*Italian.*]

1526.

June 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. xli. (Original.)

1057. DOMENICO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

The Pope says he has received letters from France [urging him?], together with (*in conformità con*) the English and Venetian am-

* On the 31st March 1523, the Council of Ten wrote three letters to Antonio Surian, which were registered in vol. iii., Venetian Calendar, pp. 309–310. The ambassador's reply was discovered lately amongst unclassed papers in the Venetian Archives, and is now in the Miscellany of the Library.

† The Italian biographical dictionaries do not allude to Tunstall's studies at the University of Padua, nor do I know whether the fact has been recorded by English writers.

1526.

bassadors, to request (*richieder*) the release of the most Christian King's sons.

Rome, 7th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. xli. (Original.)

1058. DOMENICO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

This morning, Don Ugo [de Moncada] had audience of the Pope, who subsequently sent for the ambassadors of the League, namely France, England, and him [Venier], desiring them to be at the palace at the 19th hour, when he told them that Don Ugo de Moncada had been to him, saying that the Emperor will make peace with Italy; that he is formidable; has 15,000 infantry, 800 spears, and 1,500 light horse, an army familiar with victory (*exercito uso a vincer*).

Rome, 7th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xli. (Original.)

1059. DEFENSIVE LEAGUE in favour of CLEMENT VII.

The Signory having sent for all four of the ambassadors of the League,* the Doge on their entering the College, caused to be read to them the reply made by the Signory to the Imperial ambassador, which did not please them. First of all, the Legate said that the Imperial ambassador should have been told that it was already concluded and admitted of no reply, as the Pope had written to him, the Legate, to announce this League to ———, [his legate?] in Switzerland. The Bishop of Bayeux was reserved (*andò risolvado*) but nevertheless said it would be well to tell him, etc. The English ambassador (*quel di Anglia*) said openly, they ought to tell him of the League. The Milanese was yet more decided.

[*Italian.*]

June 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xli. (Original.)

1060. DOMENICO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

The ambassadors of the League have had another audience of his Holiness, who told them Don Ugo had returned, persuading him to make the agreement with the Emperor, by whom he [Don Ugo] was commissioned to leave the duchy of Milan as it is, and to make terms with the Signory. The Pope answered him that he can make no separate agreement unless it stipulated a general peace. Don Ugo rejoined that Italy ought not to care for anything but remaining at peace with the Emperor.

Rome, 18th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th (sic) June.*

[*Italian.*]

* As seen in vol. iii., Venetian Calendar, entry 1312, p. 566, the league had been stipulated between the Pope, France, Venice, and Milan, place being reserved for England, and therefore Prothonotary Casal was already considered to be one of the ambassadors of the League.

1526.

June 19. Summaries of Advices, Library Archives, v. i. p. 197.

1061. SUMMARY of LETTERS from SECRETARY ROSSO, dated ANGOULÊME, 19th June.

The Chancellor [Duprat] having dropped a hint to learn from the English ambassador * whether he was content to have his King named as Protector and Conservator in the proclamation of the League, he consented, and insisted that this should be done.

The Chancellor added that he had recent letters from England from Mons. de Morette, who hoped soon to induce the King to declare himself.

(Sent to the Ambassador at Rome.)†

[*Italian.*]

July 2. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlii. (Original.)

1062. DOMENICO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Today had audience of the Pope, who told him the League might be sworn to on Thursday as an act of deference for the most Christian King (*per accordarsi da far un atto al Re Cristianissimo*), and be then proclaimed on Sunday. He has spoken with the ambassadors of the League, who were of opinion that the whole [ceremony] should be performed on the same day, which would be one of great solemnity.

Rome, 2nd July. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlii. (Original.)

1063. The SAME to the SAME.

This morning the Pope swore to the League in the presence of its ambassadors, and of the English ambassador.‡

Rome, 5th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 10th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlii. (Original.)

1064. The SAME to the SAME.

The Pope attended chapel this morning; the Cardinal of Trani said mass, after which, the ambassadors of the League went to kiss his Holiness's feet; and an oration was delivered in praise of the

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* Doctor Taylor. (See State Papers, vol. vi. part 5, p. 542, foot note.)

† This extract being destined for Rome, had apparently for object to encourage the Pope by assuring him of valid support from Henry VIII.; and as Sanuto calendared Rosso's letter in the sense rendered by me in vol. iii., Venetian Calendar, entry No. 1321, I now print the two versions thus :—

Summario d'Avvisi, v. i. p. 197.

"Summario de lettere del Secretario Rosso, date in Angulem, a 19 Zugno 1526.

"Che havendo toccato di intender se l'Orator Anglico era contento che nela publication el Re suo fusse nominato per protettor et conservator, era sta contento, et instò che cosi si facesse.

"Che l'havea lettere fresche di Anglia da Mons. de Moreta, ch'el sperava che presto si tireria quel Re a scoprirsi." (Missa ad Oratorem Romæ.)

Sanuto Diaries, v. xli. pp. 570–571.

"Di Franza di Andrea Rosso, Secretario, date in Angulem, adi 19 Giugno. . . . . Et quì il Gran Canzellier disse la voleno pubblicar [the League] zioba adi 21 di questo solenemente, e voleno parlar col Orator Anglico, per causa di nominar quel Serenissimo Re, qual ancora non è intrato in la liga.

"Sono lettere di Anglia come Monsignor di la Moretta doveva zonzer."

‡ Il Papa questa mattina jurò la liga, presente li Oratori di quellà *et quel di Anglià.*

1526.

League by a very learned Roman, by name El Grono, lauding the Pope, the most Christian King, and the Signory.

Rome, 8th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 10th July.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 2, 5, 6. Summaries of Advices, Library Archives, v. i. p. 205.

1065. SUMMARY of LETTERS from SECRETARY ROSSO, dated Amboise, 2nd, 5th, and 6th August 1526.

Whilst talking with the King, the English ambassador* came on a summons from his Majesty, who told him that on that morning he had received letters from his ambassador in England dated the 30th June, informing him that the King and Cardinal, to their very great regret, communicated to him and to the agents of the Pope and the Signory, letters from the Lady Margaret, with an advice from the Archduke [Ferdinand], that the armies of the League had been routed by the Imperialists near Milan; the most Serene English King exhorting his most Christian Majesty, as well as all the other powers of the League, if this intelligence was true, not to distress themselves, but to rally; and that he will assist them, as he does not choose by any means to permit the ruin of Italy.

(Sent to Rome 18th of August.)

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlii. (Original.)

1066. DOMENICO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

When talking with the Pope about what was to be written to England, his Holiness said the "powers" must be sent, authorising the reform (*reformation*) of the articles.

Rome, 10th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 23. Summaries of Advices, Library Archives, v. i. p. 214.

1067. SUMMARY of LETTERS from SECRETARY ROSSO, dated Amboise, 23rd August.

The King has written to Guienne and Languedoc ordering inspection of the men at arms and infantry in garrison there, and that they be marched as near as possible to the Spanish frontier, so that this move may induce the Emperor to delay the despatch of the fleet (*armata*); and in the meanwhile, the messenger sent to Spain 26 days ago by the King of England will return,† whereupon his most Christian Majesty will attack the borders in earnest.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlii. (Original.)

1068. DOMENICO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

His Holiness told me today that he has made the agreement with the Colonna faction (*con Colonesi*), whom he pardons, they promising to cease hostilities and to restore Anagna; and in case war

* Dr. John Taylor? In a letter of Clerk's to Wolsey, dated Blayse (Blois), 12th of August 1526, he mentions his arrival there on the preceding day, having been met by Taylor; and that he purposed going to Amboise, on the day of the letter's date. (See State Papers, *ut ante.*)

† The messenger was Osborne Echingham. (See State Papers, vol. vi., part v., p. 547, foot note.)

1526.

League by a very learned Roman, by name El Grosa, leading the Pope, the most Christian King, and the Signory.

Rome, 8th July. Registered by Sanuto, 10th July.

[Italian.]

Aug. 2, 5, 6. Sanuto's Diaries, v. xlii. (Original.) 1065. SUMMARY of LETTERS from SECRETARY ROSSO, dated Ambleise, 2nd, 5th, and 6th August 1526.

Whilst talking with the King, the English ambassador* came on a summons from his Majesty, who told him that on that morning he had received letters from his ambassador in England dated the 30th June, informing him that the King and Cardinal, to their very great regret, communicated to him and to the agents of the Pope and the Signory, letters from the Lady Margaret, with an advice from the Archduke [Ferdinand], that the armies of the League had been routed by the Imperialists, near Milan; the most Serene English King exhorting his most Christian Majesty as well as all the other powers of the League, if this intelligence was true, not to distress themselves, but to rally; and that he will assist them, as he does not choose by any means to permit the ruin of Italy.

(Sent to Rome 15th of August.)

[Italian.]

Aug. 10. Sanuto's Diaries, v. xlii. (Original.) 1066. DESPATCH from the SIGNORY.

When talking with the Pope about what was to be written to England, his Holiness said the "powers" must be sent, authorising the reform (*riformation*) of the articles.

Rome, 10th August. Registered by Sanuto, 13th August.

[Italian.]

Aug. 23. Sanuto's Diaries, v. xlii. p. 314. (Original.) 1067. SUMMARY of LETTERS from SECRETARY ROSSO, dated Ambleise, 23rd August.

The King has written to Guienne and Languedoc ordering inspection of the men at arms and infantry in garrison there, and that they be mustered as near as possible to the Spanish frontier, so that this move may induce the Emperor to delay the departure of the fleet (*armada*); and in the meanwhile the messenger sent to Spain 25 days ago by the King of England will return,† whereupon his most Christian Majesty will attack the borders in earnest.

[Italian.]

Aug. 24. Sanuto's Diaries, v. xlii. (Original.) 1068. DESPATCH from the SIGNORY.

His Holiness told me to-day that he has made the agreement with the Colonna faction (*con Colonesi*), when he pardons, they promising to cease hostilities and to restore Aunguas; and in case war

* Dr. John Taylor. In a letter of Clerck to Wolsey, dated Blois (Bleis), 29th of August 1526, he mentions his arrival there on the preceding day, having been detained by [illegible] and that he proposed going to Amboise on the 30th of the same day. (*State Papers*, at sup.)

† The messenger was Osborne Bellingham. (See State Papers, vol. vi. part v. p. 515, foot note.)

1526.

be waged in the kingdom Naples they are at liberty to go and defend it in person (*con le persone*), but not "*li stadi*" [query, against the Papal States]; and respecting the Cardinal Colonna, who wished to remain as a baron, the Pope would not grant it, but pardons him his offences.

Rome, 24th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 25.

Summaries of Advices, Library Archives, v. i. p. 215.

1069. SUMMARY of LETTERS from SECRETARY ROSSO, dated Amboise, 25th August.

When the Milanese envoy withdrew from the Council chamber, entered it to acquaint the ministers with what the Signory had written to him about the articles of the League which are to be remodelled in England.

With regard to the first, they answered him, that they considered the demand of the King of England fair, but that the following words should be added:

"His Majesty joining the League as a principal party, and he likewise contributing to the expense."

Respecting the second, that it be admitted; his most Christian Majesty, whom alone it concerns, having already given his consent.

They consent to the third, provided his most Christian Majesty be merely pledged to the effect for which the present League is made; videlicet, that Italy being freed, he be not bound to render any assistance for the future.

They admit the fourth.

Touching the fifth, they refer themselves to the Pope and the Signory, as it relates to them alone, and they think the King of England will not hesitate, when this reason is assigned him, having already heard it from his most Christian Majesty, to whom he made no further reply.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xlii. (Original.)

1070. DOMENICO VENIER to the SIGNORY.

Communicated to the Pope the advices from Hungary received this morning in the Signory's letters. His Holiness was much distressed by them, saying, "We must no longer delay uniting the Christian princes," and that he would this day call consistory, impart this intelligence to the Cardinals, and ask their opinion, offering to go in person and march against the Turk; and it was settled to discuss the matter more at length in the afternoon. His Holiness complained that Cardinal Colonna was mustering his forces at a place near Rome, where there were but 100 horse and 200 infantry, and that the Colonna faction had broken faith with him.

In the afternoon went again to his Holiness, who was expecting all the ambassadors of the Christian powers now in Rome, to acquaint them with the news from Hungary; and on their arrival his Holiness told them of the peril of the Christian commonwealth, and what should be done, uniting the Princes of Christendom, etc. All the ambassadors commended this, but he (Venier) said nothing, on account of the Turk. In conclusion, the Pope told the ambas-

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sadors that they were to write to their Princes to provide against the ruin of Christendom, his Holiness offering to go in person against the Turks, and, as the vicar of Christ, offer himself as a victim. The ambassadors recommended the suspension of hostilities in Italy, and that the Princes should be united against the Turk, Cardinals-Legates being sent here and there, and that, if necessary, the Pope should go in person to the Emperor to make peace between him and the most Christian King and the others, as he had offered. It was settled to wait until tomorrow, when they would determine what should be done.

Rome, 19th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 21. Summaries of Advices, Library Archives, v. 1. p. 219. tergo.

1071. Summary of Letters from Secretary Rosso, dated Blois, 21st September.

Sanga returned from the Court last evening. The most serene Madame (Louise) gave him a positive reply about the offer of the duchy of Milan, a matter into which his most Christian Majesty cannot enter at present, on many accounts, *et imprimis*, from fear of losing the King of England, and rendering him his enemy.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 21. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlii. (Original.)

1072. Letter from Rome to ———.

On the 21st, the Pope held consistory, and sent also for Don Ugo, and finding himself in very great need, there being no garrison in the castle nor troops in the town, and the people determined not to take up arms, his Holiness made such agreement as he could; viz., he is content, provided the enemy [the Colonna faction] retire from Rome into the kingdom of Naples, and cease hostilities, to withdraw his army from Lombardy and his fleet from Genoa; the truce to last for four months, etc., etc.

Rome, 21st September. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlii. (Original.)

1073. Letter from Rome narrating the assault by the Colonna faction.

The Pope now says that he has been brought to this pass on account (*per causa*) of the King of France and the King of England, and that they must assist him to avenge this injury.

Rome, 23rd September. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. xlii. (Original.)

1074. The Colonna Insurrection.

The Senate assembled in the afternoon for the purpose of writing to France, England, and to Rome.

Letters were also read from Sir Gregory Casal, ambassador from the King of England, dated Rome the 21st, to the English ambassador here, Prothonotary Casal, narrating the whole affair, and how it took place, and he also states the Pope's opinion; so the Cardinal [Wolsey?] should be written to.

[*Italian.*]

1526.
Sept. 24.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlii. (Original.)

1075. DOMENICO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

On the 21st, announced the agreement made by the Pope with the Colonna faction, and the truce with the Emperor for four months, and [its ?] prolongation for another two months.

Today went into the Castle to the Pope, who told him he believed the most Christian King and the King of England would never endure the injuries done, not to him, but to the Apostolic See; and he said he would send two briefs, one to France by Paulo da Rezo, the other to England by the Papal Auditor; and he holds that, for a certainty (*et tien*), those Sovereigns will not bear the perpetration of such iniquity; but that he would pardon them all, were they to unite for a general peace, and go against the Turk. Sadoleto read to him (Venier) the said two briefs; and the one which the Pope is sending to the Emperor, complaining much of what has been done, was not completed. The brief for the Signory will contain few words, as his Holiness well knows the Republic's mind.

Rome, 24th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xliii. (Original.)

1076. The SAME to the SAME.

Today in consistory the Pope determined to proceed against Cardinal Colonna and his brother, sending them the monitory, and giving them nine days time for three terms (*per tre termini*) to appear and make their defence for the insult on the Church.

Communicated to his Holiness the descent of the Lansquenets into Italy. The Pope told him the Signory should look to Vicenza, and urge France not to fail sending more money than has been sent, and what she is bound to send. He says that the King of England had promised him (*li havia dà parola*), and had sent him, 25,000 ducats.

Rome, 9th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 20.
Summaries of Advices, Library Archives, v. i. p. 229.

1077. ANDREA ROSSO to the SIGNORY.

When speaking with his most Christian Majesty about the negotiation with England, he said that if the King would forthwith (*de præsenti*) send him his daughter, who is only 11 or 12 years old, or give him security of such a sort that he can rely on having her in two years, he would immediately conclude everything, and that otherwise he should fear being deluded, and compelled subsequently to consent to whatever the King of England might choose, he having once for all barred the road to his most Christian Majesty so that he could no longer make peace with the Emperor.

Poissy, 20th December 1526.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 30.
Summaries of Advices, Library Archives, v. i. p. 227.

1078. PARAGRAPH in a letter from DOMENICO VENIER, Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

His Holiness, when speaking to him about the letters from France, said it surprised him that his Nuncio and the Venetian secretary had utterly rejected the terms of the general peace, making a difli-

1526.

culty about referring the judgment (*judicio*) of the duchy of Milan to the English King; because, as the Emperor accepts his arbitration concerning Milan and the other towns, they ought not to make so much difficulty about consigning Cremona and Lodi; and his Holiness, being anxious for peace, would wish some means to be found for commencing it.

(Sent to France.)

[*Italian.*]

1529.

June 2. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., Register (v.iii.)*

1079. The CHIEFS of the TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the DUKE OF MILAN.

The Milanese ambassador acquainted them with letters written to the Duke by his ambassador Taberna, dated Tours, 10th and 11th ultimo, announcing the return from Spain of the envoy sent by Madame Margaret. Taberna suspects that, through this envoy, the most Christian King is negotiating an adjustment with the Emperor, and is surprised that nothing whatever has been communicated either to him or to the Signory's ambassador.

The Chiefs of the Ten inform him that their ambassador in France wrote on the 17th ultimo that the most Christian King, having sent for all the ambassadors of the League, acquainted them with the return of Madame Margaret's envoy, who went to the Emperor to obtain a commission to prolong for three years the truce stipulated by Flanders with France and England. And his most Christian Majesty having sent Lelu Bayard to the envoy, the latter told Bayard that not only was he the bearer of the Emperor's commission for the truce, but also for the general peace, though he would not show it to Bayard until he had given it to Madame Margaret. The most Christian King therefore urged the ambassadors of the League to obtain from their Sovereigns the power to conclude this peace, so that on ascertaining that the Emperor has sent a free commission for the peace, they may proceed to negotiate it.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

June 8. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. v. iii. p. 21.

1080. The CHIEFS of the TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR and VICE "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Emperor has sent a commission to his aunt Madame Margaret, Governess of Flanders, to make a truce with Flanders, France, and England, and to make peace with the King of France and his confederates, &c. &c.

[*Italian.*]

June 21. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. v. iii. p. 26.

1081. The CHIEFS of the TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the DUKE OF MILAN.

Their ambassador in France, in date of Orleans the 3rd inst., writes, that he has been shown a letter from the Bishop of Bayeux, with the

* The *Registers* of the "*parti secrete*" of the Council of Ten were sent back from Vienna to Venice in June 1869, and are much more convenient for reference than the "Filze," or drafts.

1529.

written copy of a printed proclamation published in Normandy and those parts, to the effect that a truce has been concluded for seventeen months between the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty, excluding the confederates; and when the Signory's ambassador enquired of the Lord Steward and the Admiral the cause of the coming of the Duke of Suffolk, they replied that they knew not what he brought, but believed it to relate to war and peace, and that the whole would be communicated to him (the ambassador) by his most Christian Majesty.

Their ambassador in England writes to them, in date of the 21st ultimo, that the King and Cardinal having heard of the conclusion of the truce between their Imperial and most Christian Majesties, and the Cardinal having resented it, the French ambassador resident in England asserted positively (*havea largamente affirmato*) that nothing whatever had taken place, but that the report was circulated by malignants to create suspicion.

Concerning the peace which is being negotiated by Madame Margaret, their said ambassadors tell them nothing.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

1530.

May 16. **1082.** DIVORCE CASE.

Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. v. iii. p. 61. tergo.

Motion in the Council of Ten and Junta for a communication to be made to the Imperial ambassador.

It is necessary that, as it was carried in this Council on the day before yesterday to communicate to the Imperial ambassador the decree made to write to Padua in the matter of the divorce, there be in like manner communicated to him its execution.

Put to the ballot, that the aforesaid magnifico ambassador being sent for into our College tomorrow morning, the aforesaid decree and its execution be communicated to him by word of mouth, modified in such part as shall seem fit to our College with the intervention of the Chiefs of this Council; he being told besides that as he evinced a wish that the matter should be kept very secret, and most especially with regard to the point of the Signory's prohibition (against giving counsel's opinion in this divorce case) proceeding from the Emperor, they therefore did not think it desirable to proceed further, but to communicate and impart the whole to him.

Ayes, 24. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG.

1527.
May 15.

1083. MARTIN LUTHER.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 75.

By order of the Right Reverend Patriarch [of Venice, Girolamo Querini] many books of Martin Luther and his followers were burnt in the centre of [the Piazza of S. Giacomo at] Rialto.

[*Note by Sanuto. Italian.*]

June 5.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. p. 212.

1084. The COMMUNITY of VENZONE to ZUAN MORO, Lieutenant of the Friuli.

Heard today from one of the townspeople, who spoke with two carriers from Bavaria, that war has been proclaimed between that Duke and the Duke of Saxony, on account of Luther's affairs; the Duke of Bavaria saying that he is a good Christian, opposed to the opinions of Luther, and to the Duke of Saxony, because he is a Lutheran. The intelligencer says this was confirmed to him by another person from Saltzburg. Have no other certainty of this news.

Venzone, 5th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th June.*

[*Extract. Italian.*]

Nov. 15.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xlv. pp. 243, 244.

1085. ANTONIO BIDEMARIO, Captain of the Town and Community of Venzone, to ZUAN MORO, Lieutenant of the Friuli.

Have heard that at Saltzburg the Bishop is burning, hanging, and drowning divers persons for Lutheranism; he has 150 in prison, including priests, laymen, and women; and he caused one of the principal priests in his service to be burnt. He has also lately abrogated a corrupt practice (*una coruptella*), thus,—The male inhabitants of Saltzburg on meeting a married man would say to him, "Lend me thy wife for tonight, and tomorrow I will give her back to thee." Some assented from sheer good will, and some for hire. This abuse (*coruptella*) the Bishop has determined utterly to extirpate. The writer spoke with persons come from Saltzburg who affirmed they had witnessed the burning of individuals for these irregularities (*disordini*), and that many of the inhabitants have made their escape; also that the Duke of Bavaria is doing the like in his duchy; adding moreover that the Archduke Ferdinand sent 50 halberdiers with a sheriff or provost to Wels near Lintz (where the late Emperor died) to stop (*obviar*) and punish the Lutherans, but the people of Wels cut the halberdiers to pieces; which disturbances will greatly prejudice the affairs of the Archduke Ferdinand.

Venzone, 15th November 1527. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th November.*

[*Italian.*]

1529.
July 16?
Sanuto Diaries, v. li. p. 74.

1086. LETTER written by order of GIAN MATTEO GIBERTI, Bishop of Verona, to MARCO CONTARINI.

Understands by advices from Trent, that the diet of Spires has been dissolved (*risolta*), and it was determined to take the silver vessels (*li arzenti*) from the churches, to make money; and that, *pro nunc*, all men are to profess what religion they please; and the Lutherans are more in favour.

Erasmus has quitted Basle.

1529.

In the neighbourhood of Frankfort, a priest carrying the sacrament to a communicant, the Lutherans dashed it to the ground with great ignominy, and the priest was beaten.

An agreement has been concluded between the Pope and the Emperor, and the Lord Chancellor of Spain [Gattinara] is made Cardinal.

Verona, 16th ? July. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th July.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26. Sanuto Diaries, v. li. p. 437.

1087. ZUAN ANTONIO TAGLIAPIETRA, Vice-Bailiff and Captain of Bergamo, to the SIGNORY.

Has heard news that the Swiss Lutheran cantons are waging war on the Catholics, although the two Lutheran cantons, which are Zurich and Berne, stand alone, but they can raise a considerable force. The Catholic cantons are Lucerne, Uri, Schwitz, Undervald and Zug.

Bergamo, 26th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th September.*

[*Italian.*]

1530.

May 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. pp. 145–148.

1088. LUTHER'S CONFESSION.

Confession of the opinion, or manifesto (*resolutio intentionis*), of Martin Luther; for proposal in the present Imperial Diet of Augsburg, comprised in seventeen articles.*

Ist Article. Man is to be taught firmly and "*unanimiter*," that the only (*solum unicum*) true God is the Creator of Heaven and Earth, so that (*ita quod*) in the single (*unicâ*), true, divine essence, there be three distinct persons, namely, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost; which Son begotten of the Father, being eternally by nature from the beginning true God together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, (proceeding ?) from the one and the other, from the Father and from the Son, he likewise from the beginning being eternally by nature true God with the Father and the Son; all which can be clearly and irrefragably demonstrated by Holy Writ, according to the 1st of St. John, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things are made by him," &c.; and in the last of Matthew, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

IInd Article. That God's Son alone became man, of a pure virgin born, perfect in body and mind; nor were the Father and the Holy Ghost made man, as taught by certain heretics. Moreover the Son did not assume the body alone, without the soul, as the Phocinians (*Photiniani*) said; as in the Gospel he himself very often speaks of his soul, as when he says, "My soul is sorrowful unto death," &c.; and that the Son of God be man is expressly said by St. John, chapter 1, "And the Word was made flesh;" and in the 4th chapter of Galatians, "But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth," &c.

IIIrd Article. That God the Son, true God and Lord Jesus Christ, be one sole indivisible person, [who] suffered for us men, was crucified, died, was buried, rose again the third day from the dead, ascended into heaven, sat on the right hand of God, Lord over the whole creation (*super omnes creaturas*) so that it neither may nor can be believed or taught that Jesus Christ, as man, or as having assumed this human form, suffered for us; but it should be believed and taught that under this form, being God and man, not two

* The following document was registered by Sanuto on the 31st *May*; the Confession of Augsburg was not presented to the Emperor until after the 20th *June*; and according to Sarpi, it contained eleven articles and seven chapters. Sanuto does not state through what channel he received so early a hint of some of the dogmas contained in the authentic "Confession."

1530.

persons but one person indivisible, God and man, Son of God, he really suffered for us: as in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, "He that spared not his own son, but delivered him up for us all;" and in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 2, "for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory."

IVth Article. That original sin be a real sin according to the correct, true quality, nature, or form of sin; and not merely a lack (*privacio*), deficiency, or want, but sin of such a sort, that it condemns and separates from God all men descended from Adam, had not Jesus Christ presented himself for us, taking upon himself this sin, and all sins proceeding thence, atoning for them by his passion, having thus entirely removed and cancelled them in himself, as clearly written concerning this sin, in the 52nd (*sic* 51st)* Psalm, and in the 5th chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

Vth Article. As now, therefore, all men are sinners subject to sin and death, and moreover to the Devil likewise, it is impossible for any man by his own exertions and good works, to rid, disembarrass, and free himself from them by these works, or by their means justify himself anew, or become assuredly good and just; nor can he prepare or dispose himself for justice or justification; nay, the more he proposes, or intends, labouring of himself to exonerate, free, or purge and justify himself, the worse does his condition become. The only way therefore to justice (*justitiam*) and the absolution from sin and from death is this,—without any merit or work to have faith and believe in the Son of God, who suffered for us, etc, as aforesaid. This faith is our justice; for God of his justice, goodness, and holiness commands (*Deus enim vult*) man to believe and hold, that he has chosen to pardon the sins of all men, or give them gratuitously, life eternal. Those who have this faith in the Son of God are through that Son to be received into his grace, and be sons in his kingdom, etc. All these things are taught diffusely by Saints Paul and John in their epistles, as in chapter 10 to the Romans, "For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness," etc.; and in the 3rd chapter of St. John, "He that believeth on the Son doth not perish, but hath everlasting life."

VIth Article. That this faith is not human nor even possible for our strength, but is the work of God, and a gift which the Holy Ghost operates in us given us through Christ; and such like faith, when not feeble, or an infirm opinion, or an obscure adhesion of the heart, such as the pseudo-faithful have, but a vigorous, fresh, lively, essential substance, is a thing bearing much fruit; always operating good things with regard to God, praising, thanking, praying, preaching, and teaching; with regard to man (*erga proximum*) loving, serving, aiding, counselling, lending, and enduring every adversity until death.

VIIth Article. To acquire for, or to give us men this faith, God instituted the office of preaching, or the word of the allocution of the mouth, that is to say, of the tongue, namely, the Gospel, by means of which he causes the utility and fruit of this faith and power, or virtue, to be promulgated and preached; and for this same word thus sown, he also gives, as the means, the faith, through his Holy Ghost. Notwithstanding the opinion of others, there is no other mode, or way, or path, or road, to acquire the faith. Our meditations, save and except the word of mouth (*verbum oris*), although they may appear holy and good, are nevertheless vain, mendacious, and erroneous.

VIIIth Article. With regard to this "word" of preaching (*predicationis*) delivered by the living mouth, or together with it, God also instituted external signs called sacraments, especially baptism and the eucharist, through which, together with the "word," God also gives faith and his Holy Ghost, and comfort to all who desire it.

* Psalm li. 5., "And in sin did my mother conceive me."

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IXth Article. Baptism—the first sign or sacrament—is effected by two things—by water and by the word of God. Baptism is performed by water, and by the utterance of the word of God; the effect being produced not by mere water or washing—as now taught by the blasphemers about baptism;* but by uniting the word of God with the sprinkling of water; which washing, based on the word of God, is holy and efficacious; as in St. Paul's Epistle to Titus, chapter 3, and to the Ephesians, chapter 5, "the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost" (Titus, chapter 3, verse 5); "that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word" (Ephesians, chapter 5, verse 26). And that this baptism be administered and communicated even to infants,† as the words of God, whereon baptism is based, are these, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (St. Matthew, chap. 28, verse 19). He who will believe, must believe this likewise (*qui crediderit et jam ibi oportet credere*).

Xth Article. That the Eucharist, or sacrament of the altar, consists moreover in two things, and especially that there be truly (*veraciter*) present in the bread and wine the true body and blood of Christ, according to the tenour of the words, "This is my Body; this is my Blood;" and not merely the bread and wine, as the appearance would cause it to be believed. These words require faith, and moreover induce it in all who desire that sacrament, and do not act contrary thereto; in like manner as baptism also lends and gives faith, when the desire for it exists.

XIth Article. That secret confession (*confessio secreta*) ought not to be compulsory as precept and law, but free, neither should baptism itself, the Sacraments, the Gospel (*Evangelium*) [be enforced]; though be it known that the consolation is wholesome, fruitful, useful, and good; that thereby absolution—which is the word and sentence of God—is given. The conscience, being thus free, relieved, and tranquillized, recovers from its mental disquietude; but it is not at all necessary to enumerate every sin, merely notifying and revealing such as corrode (*mordent*) the heart and disquiet it.

XIIth Article. That there is no doubt whatever but that the Holy Christian Church will last on earth eternally, as Christ says in the last of Matthew, "Lo, I am with you alway, unto the end of the world." This Church is formed by the believers in Christ, who maintain, believe, and teach the aforesaid articles and particulars (*articulas et particulas*), and therefore suffer persecution and martyrdom in the world; for where the Gospel is preached, and the sacraments rightly administered or conferred, there is the Holy Christian Church; nor is it to be fashioned, instructed or bound, by institutions, rights, or laws, by extrinsics, state, pomp, or mode of living, custom or habit, nor by hours or seasons, persons or ceremonies.

XIIIth Article. That our Lord Jesus Christ will come at the end of the world, to judge the living and the dead, and will free his faithful [followers] from all evil, and will lead them into life eternal; he will punish the infidels and those condemned by God, namely bad men; and will condemn them eternally, together with the Devil, to Hell.

XIVth Article. That in the meanwhile, until the Lord shall come to [pass] judgment and [assume] all power (*potestatem*) and sovereign dominion (*dominandi superioritatem*), the secular and temporal sovereignty and dominion is to be honoured and obeyed, as a Government (*statui*), thus ordained for the defence of good men and the dispersion of the wicked; so that a Christian man when cited in a regular or legitimate manner for this

* Namely, the Anabaptists. Concerning the antagonism between Lutherans and Anabaptists, see Mosheim. The Anabaptists insisted on total immersion.

† The Anabaptists maintained that baptism should be administered solely to those who are able to make a profession of faith.

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purpose, without deceit, and peril to his faith and salvation of his soul, may bless or adhere to that Government, and serve it diligently.

XVth Article. From the whole writing, it appears, that the doctrine which forbids marriage to priests and friars—namely the clergy—and to people in general meat and food (*carnes ac cibus*), is all of a piece (*una pariter cum omni*).

XVIth Article. That amongst all the errors or things to be avoided, there be included the mass, hitherto considered so efficacious and so much reverenced, that thereby one man procured grace for another. Instead of it be the divine ordinance or disposition observed, the Holy sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; be it administered under both forms, to every one, according to his faith and the measure of his need.

XVIIth Article. That the church ceremonies at variance with Holy Writ be abolished. The observance of the others to be optional, in such wise as not to create scandal causelessly or from levity; and that the common peace be not disturbed unnecessarily.

Registered by Sanuto, 31st May.

[*Latin.*]

June 16, 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. pp. 189, 190.

1089, Nicolò Tiepolo, LL.D., Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Signory.

The Emperor went from Inspruck to Munich, and then proceeded to Augsburg, where on his entry the Duke of Saxony would not salute the Legate Campeggio (*non volse far reverentia al Legato Campeggio*).

The Duke of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Marquis of Brandenburg, and two or three other Princes are Lutherans; the rest are apparently Catholics (*il resto monstrano essere Catholici*).

During two days after his Majesty's entry, they continued preaching in the Lutheran fashion, which having come to the Emperor's knowledge, he issued a proclamation forbidding them to preach any more, under very heavy penalties; and concerning this, the Duke of Saxony sent his Majesty a writing, the copy of which the Ambassador encloses.

The preachers in like manner made four demands of the Emperor.

First, that the laity might communicate "*sub utraque specie*," like the clergy.

Secondly, that the priests and friars might all marry; and that the mass be reformed, cancelling the things introduced by the Popes and others.

Thirdly, that the Host (*l'Hostia*, the consecrated wafer) be not offered as a sacrifice, because it does not, as supposed, contain the body of Christ, but merely its effigy (*in figura*) and not . . . . . .

Fourthly, that the priests and friars be merely allowed to retain a revenue sufficient for their living, the residue to be transferred to the laity.

The Diet has commenced, there being present . . . . . .* members, and the Emperor proposed . . . . . .* articles, (and he [the Ambassador ?] sends them in writing) narrating therein all his proceedings, and exhorting the Princes to extirpate the Lutheran sect, which had been joined by the Duke of Saxony.†

The Emperor has appointed the Marquis del Guasto his captain, sending for him from the camp under Florence to Germany. He gives him the command of 5,000 infantry, 2,000 Italians to be raised by the Marquis, and 3,000 Spaniards, whose commanders will be appointed by his Majesty. He has also made Paulo Luzasco captain of 500 light horse, 200 to be raised by himself; and of the other 300, his Majesty will name the commanders.

The advices from France announce the full payment to the Imperial agents of the ransom for the most Christian King's sons and . . . . . .

* Blank in MS.

† The articles here alluded to, do not exist in the Diaries.

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Also concerning the cattle, a reply has arrived from the governor of Austria, and he will discuss the matter with the Cardinal of Trent.

Augsburg, June 16th and 27th. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd July.*

[*Italian.*]

May 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. (Original.)

1090. NOTE presented to the Emperor Charles V., by the LUTHERAN PRINCES at the DIET of AUGSBURG in June 1530. (Copy sent to the Senate by the Ambassador Tiepolo in his letter dated Augsburg, 16th June.)

Concerning the conditions to be imposed there at Augsburg, they most respectfully pray his Imperial Majesty not to enforce them; they being unable with a clear conscience to interdict their preachers, as they teach nothing but the pure (*simplex*) and manifest Gospel. The Electors would not allow them to mingle with it extraneous and useless disputations; so that it would be very difficult to prohibit to the teacher the word of God and the manifest truth.

Moreover, as all men are in the midst of infinite perils, to guard against which they have nothing but the judgment of God, it would be dangerous on their part in this age and with this salvation (*in hac ætate et valitudine*) to oppose the word of God; wherefore, if we fear God, and greatly esteem the divine word, we with due respect pray, that the sermons may not be prohibited.

In addition to this, after the sermons, our preachers daily exhort the people at great length to pray God for the welfare of the whole Christian commonwealth, and principally that God may grant to the Emperor (as to a power constituted by divine will and by that of the Princes Electors) and to the other Princes and people of the empire, grace to treat in these perilous times all the ecclesiastical and civil affairs in this Diet, so as to amplify the glory of God, and establish peace and concord.

They also faithfully instruct the people against the errors and impious dogmas disseminated in this city against the sacraments; wherefore, it would be grievous and hurtful to prevent the sermons, as some of the people, being enlightened by these sermons, seem to return to salvation; nor can greater disputes arise from these sermons, as they contain nothing new. This doctrine has been discussed here and elsewhere for many years, and it would, therefore, be difficult to prohibit the manifest Gospel because some persons take offence at it, as they do so without any fault of the teachers; and for the most part, those individuals, in order not to be heard, taught the faith hitherto [preached ?] at the two Diets of Spires (*et plerumque tales ne audiantur fidem hactenus in duobus conventibus Spiritosibus* (sic) *docuerunt*).

No mischief is ever caused by our preachers—no tumult—nor does it seem that any one is rendered worse by them; neither is any preacher known to preach sedition or abuse, or to teach anything that is not catholic.

Be his Imperial Majesty pleased clemently to consider how much greater scandal would be caused were the sermons to be prohibited; as the edict, which was written piously, and doubtless after much consultation, concerning this Diet, and which is spread over the whole world, purports that the opinion and judgment of everybody is to be listened to here; all controversies to be adjusted, and reduced to the sole Christian truth. Were the sermons to be now forbidden, the consciences of many persons would be troubled, the thing being taken as if his Imperial Majesty would oppress this doctrine, without having either understood or judged it. We do not doubt his Imperial Majesty's unwillingness to have this suspicion disseminated, as it would render the authority of his letter doubtful.

If in virtue of our office and allegiance (*fide*), which binds us to amplify his Imperial Majesty's honour, and promote all good, we had to give counsel to his Majesty, we could give him none other than this, not to

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May 31. Senate Diario, v. fol. (Original.)

1530. Note presented to the Emperor Charles V., by the Lutheran Princes at the Diet of Augsburg in June 1530. (Copy sent to the Senate by the Ambassador Tiepolo in his letter dated Augsburg, 10th June.)

Concerning the conditions to be imposed there at Augsburg, they most respectfully pray his Imperial Majesty not to enforce them; they [are] unable with a clear conscience to surrender their principles, as they teach nothing but the pure (simple) and genuine Gospel. The Electors would not allow them to mingle with it extraneous and useless disputations; to this it would be very difficult to prejudice to the teacher the word of God and the manifest truth.

Moreover, as all men are in the midst of infinite perils, to guard against which they have nothing but the judgment of God, it would be dangerous on their part in this age and with this salvation (in Anno salvo) to oppose the word of God; wherefore, if we fear God, and greatly esteem the divine word, we with due respect pray, that the sermons may not be prohibited.

In addition to this, after the sermons, our preachers daily exhort the people at great length to pray God for the welfare of the whole Christian commonwealth, and principally that God may grant to the Emperor [his] to a power constituted by divine will and by that of the Princes Electors] and to the other Princes and people of the empire grace to treat in these perilous times all the ecclesiastical and civil affairs in this Diet, so as to amplify the glory of God, and establish peace and concord.

They also faithfully instruct the people against the errors and [opinions dissentaneous] to this city against the sacraments; wherefore it would be grievous and hurtful to prevent the sermons, as some of the people, being enlightened by these sermons, seem to return to salvation; see [how] greater disputes arise from these sermons, as they usually [do].

This doctrine has been discussed here and elsewhere for many years, and it would, therefore, be difficult to prohibit the preaching [of it] and [to] persuade [people] to silence it, as they do so without any fruit of the doctrine; and for the most part, these [individuals], in order not to be heard, [ought] the faith hitherto [preached ?] at the two Diets of Spires (or [Nuremberg] Aries or [Ratisbon]. Exercise to decree [the] sermons [are] observed).

No "article" is ever urged by our preachers—no tumult—nor does it seem that any one is rendered worse by them; neither is any [person] known to preach sedition or abuse, or to teach anything that is not catholic.

If his Imperial Majesty, placed eminently to consider how much greater scandal would be caused from the sermons to be prohibited, as the [faith] which was written plainly, and doctrines after much consultation, concerning this Diet, and which is spread over the whole world, [reports] that the opinion and judgment of everybody is to be formed to [be] all controversies to be refunded, and reduced to the sole Christian truth. Were the sermons to be now forbidden, the consciences of many persons would be troubled, the thing being taken as if his Imperial Majesty would oppress this doctrine, without having either understood or judged it. We do not doubt his Imperial Majesty's [willingness] to have this [opinion] discontinued, as it would render the authority of his letter doubtful.

If in virtue of our office and allegiance (fede), which binds us to amplify his Imperial Majesty's honour, and provide all good, we had to give counsel to his Majesty, we could give him none other than that, not to

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tolerate a change of the promises contained in the letters whereby the Diet is convoked; but that according to the honour of those letters, diligence be used, and after judging and adjusting the controversies, the enemies be coerced to Christian concord.

Our office has induced us reverentially to give this counsel to his Imperial Majesty from good will and candour; and considering the condition of these affairs, we are also of opinion that should any one give your Majesty contrary advice, it will neither benefit your Majesty nor the empire, nor the entire Christian commonwealth; and whoever counsels otherwise, is not impartial.

We, therefore, with due respect and obedience, pray his Imperial Majesty, our most clement Lord, not to receive this our reply and memorial angrily (*inclementer*), as we have acted from necessity, nor is it lawful for our conscience to be constrained; and that he will be our most clement Lord, as we clemently hope (*quem ad modum clementer confidimus*).

We also—so long as life shall be granted us—will with God's assistance exert ourselves for that to his Imperial Majesty—as to a sovereign appointed for that purpose—due obedience be rendered by every sort of office, with the utmost faith and good will; and in whatever may be undertaken for the affairs of the empire at all times, we together with the other Electors, our friends, and other Princes, will maintain the grandeur and interests of the empire, comporting ourselves in such wise as to demonstrate our obedience both to God and his Imperial Majesty, and to the whole empire.*

In conclusion, with regard to the other articles, we hope that his Imperial Majesty will clemently consider that we ask for nothing of which anybody can complain, and that he will graciously concede what we request.

We in return will perform every sort of office, even at the peril of our properties and lives, to show his Imperial Majesty, with due respect, our gratitude for these benefits.

Of you—Counts of the Empire—one and all† we request, that with due respect and becomingly, according to your prudence, you will lay before his Imperial Majesty this our necessary reply; and we, on the other hand, will act so as to let you know that this most honourable office has proved highly agreeable to us. Given at Augsburg, under our seal, the last day of May 1530.

Registered by Sanuto, 3rd July.

[*Latin.*]

June 4 and 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 161.

1091. Nicolò Tiepolo, LL.D., Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Signory.

The Lutheran agitation is subsiding; and the preachers who went to Augsburg with the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse preached the true faith, and instead of advocating Lutheranism they rather exhorted all men to take up arms against the Turk; and it seems that at a place called Ornemburg a thousand houses of the Lutherans were destroyed by lightning, so that these Imperialists say it is a miracle wrought by the Almighty.

The Right Rev. Cardinal Lord Chancellor, a Piedmontese [Gattinara], has had an apoplectic stroke. According to the first letter, he was in danger, and the second letter announces his death.

Nineteen great personages (*signori*) arrived at Augsburg to attend the Diet, and their servants bore a motto, thus—

"Verbum Domini manet in æternum."

* "Pro complitudine et utilitate Imperii conservandâ ita nos geremus, ut speremus nos et Deo et Ces. Mti. et Universo Imperio, officium nostrum probaturos esse."

† "A vobis comitibus vel utroque vel singulis."

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June 4 and 5. Senate Diets, v. iii. p. 161.

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On the 6th the Emperor purposes departing for Augsburg, the Cardinal of which city writes to Cardinal Campeggio that they hope Philip Melancthon, one of the chief Lutherans, will be converted to the good faith. Also about the oxen, King Ferdinand has determined to grant free transit through Germany for cattle brought out of Hungary for conveyance to Venice.

Inspruck, 4th and 5th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th June.*

[*Italian.*]

July 3. 1092. MARCO SAVORGNANO to his brother the COUNT CONSTANTINE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. pp. 213–215.

On the 20th ultimo the Emperor and the King his brother [Archduke Ferdinand, King of Hungary], with the Electors and other Princes, so many as fifty in number, accompanied by the Right Rev. Lords the Legate Campeggio and the Cardinals of Salzburg and of Trent, and by the ambassadors, went to the cathedral and heard a mass of the Holy Ghost performed by the Elector the Right Rev. Cardinal of Mentz, and sung most solemnly; after which the Papal Nuncio accredited to the most Serene King Ferdinand, Archbishop Pimpinella, made an oration in the name of the Apostolic See, which contained these two charges—1st. He exhorted all men to take up arms, and make very great preparation against the Turk, demonstrating to them that the undertaking was not only profitable and honorable, but also necessary. 2ndly. He told them that, should they choose to undertake the expedition, they being inferior in strength and divided, against an enemy more powerful and compact, such as the Turk, they must at least quell all discord, which will prevail amongst them so long as they have a variety of religions, and that therefore they should renounce heresy. This oration seemed in fact finer to everybody, from being both well pronounced and delivered with singular grace and action, as, according to general opinion, Pimpinella in these matters is a very rare man; and, as I said, the discourse seemed finer than it was in reality. It will soon be printed, and when finished I will send it you.

The Emperor and the above-named Princes then went to a palace belonging to the municipality on the public market-place, and the Imperial Diet commenced. The hour being late, they on that morning did nothing but read a very long writing, written in German in the Emperor's name, narrating the causes which had prevented him from coming into these parts sooner, stating that after the Diet of Worms he was obliged to go to Spain and remain there until every thing was settled, and then proceeded to Italy, where he despatched his business as speedily as possible and somewhat to his detriment, for the sake of being sooner in Germany; and that he omitted to go to his kingdom of Naples, which had very great need of his presence, for this reason solely. After this apology, he said he was now come with the intention of making great preparations against the Turk, and that he thought they would all second so holy and necessary an undertaking, exhorting them most earnestly so to do, and promising them, for the benefit of the Christian commonwealth, not only the revenues of his realms, but even such as were personal, and his brother's revenues likewise. It is impossible to say how much the whole Diet was touched by this writing, for they expected him to adopt a much harsher tone; so that the Elector Duke Joachim of Bavaria, by commission from the entire assembly, answered him most respectfully, evincing singular love for his Majesty, who subsequently attended the Diet twice, though the Princes sat often alone, and after discussing certain articles, then went to report their opinion to the Emperor. His Majesty's second appearance in the Diet was on account of the Right Rev. Legate Campeggio, who, after having had a brief from the Pope read, in exhortation of this undertaking, then made a short oration (*orationetta*), well nigh of the same tenor as that of Pimpinella, which was much commended, and thereby he offered faithfully and lovingly to remind them of what was required for the success of this holy undertaking. On the de-

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parture of the Legate, who was accompanied as far as the stair by the whole Diet,—he having been in like manner met on his arrival,—the Lutheran Princes, namely, Duke John of Saxony the Elector, Duke George of Brandenburg,* Philip Landgrave, son of Duke John, and two others,† rose, and presented the Emperor with a very long writing, saying that as it concerned the matter of our faith, they besought him to have it read in public, so that all might hear it, which after many words *hinc inde* the Emperor would not grant them, but said, and thus was it done, that they were to bring it to him on the morrow. This writing contains upwards of fifty articles, and amongst them these—they demand that the laity may communicate *sub utraque specie;* that it may be lawful for priests to marry, and that they be merely allowed a sum sufficient for the necessaries of life; and they also require the mass to be adjusted (*si conzi*), saying that certain parts are superfluous.

The Emperor, and subsequently the Catholic Princes, determined to have this writing answered by certain learned and candid men, whose reply is now being drawn up, but not yet completed.‡

The Lutheran Princes composed this document for the purpose of bringing about a disputation, and if possible the Council General; and they say that preparations against the Turks are not to be discussed until after a decision about the faith, so it is necessary to answer the writing, which contains fifty articles. This much has been done hitherto.

Augsburg, 3rd July. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 209.

1093. Nicolò Tiepolo, LL.D., Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Signory.

Writes about the Lutheran affairs. The Papal Legate has presented a certain writing to the Emperor, urging him to despatch this sect by force of arms,§ and the Emperor with his Council answered him that it is well to do things pacifically. Sends the copy of the writing.

Also that of a very sage writing, sent by Philip Melancthon to the Legate Campeggio.

In conclusion these Lutherans require three things—

1st. That all persons may communicate *sub utraque specie.*

2ndly. That the mass be reformed (*conzà*), certain additions made by the Popes and others being canceiled.

3rdly. That priests and friars may marry.

The Landgrave [of Hesse], who is the head of the Lutheran sect, was soundly rated by the Emperor,‖ who told him he would punish him, and that he has taken upwards of 100,000 ducats rental of church property, so that the Landgrave remained much astounded and confused.

Gives account of the battle between the troops of the Archduke [Ferdinand] and those of the Vaivod [Zapolski], King of Hungary, who has but a small force.

Augsburg, 6th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th July.*

[*Italian.*]

August 4–6. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 333.

1094. Antonio Surian, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Signory.

The Pope has received letters from Augsburg about the two articles required by the Lutherans, so his Holiness has written to the Legate Cam-

* George Pius of Anspach, son of Frederick II., and cousin of Gioacchimo I., Elector of Brandenburg, from 1499 till 1535.

† Ernest Duke of Lunenburg, and Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt. (See Mosheim.)

‡ This refutation was composed by John Faber (afterwards Bishop of Vienna), with the assistance of Eckius and Cochlæus. (See Mosheim.)

§ "Che voria si expedisse contra questa secta con le arme."

‖ "L'Imperador a fatto un gran rebuffo al Lanthgravio."

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July 6.
Senato Dieries,
v. 1111. p. 202.

1088. NICOLÒ TRIVISO, LL.D., Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

Writes about the Lutheran affairs. The Papal Legate has presented a certain writing to the Emperor, urging him to demolish this sect by force of arms; and the Emperor with his Council advised him that it is well to do things poetically. Sends the copy of the writing.

Also that of a very sage writing, sent by Philip Melanthon to the Legate Campeggio.

In conclusion these Lutherans require three things—

1st. That all persons may communicate sub utraque specie.

2ndly. That the mass be reformed (corso). certain additions made by the Popes and others being cancelled.

3rdly. That priests and friars may marry.

The Lansgrave [of Hesse], who is the head of the Lutheran sect, was soundly routed by the Emperor, who will then be wholly master, and that he has taken upwards of 100,000 florins round of silver, property that the Landgrave possessed much astonished and confused.

Gives account of the battle between the troops of the Archduke [Ferdinand] and those of the Valoys [Zapolski], King of Hungary, who has but a small force.

Augsburg, 6th July. Reported by Sanuto, 13th July.

[Italian.]

August 4–6.
Senato Dieries,
v. 1111. p. 333.

1089. ANTONIO SERIPO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

The Pope has received letters from Augsburg about the two articles required by the Lutherans, so his Holiness has written to the Legate Cam-

* George Pfau of Augsburg, son of Frederick II., and canon of Ottenbüren I.
Elector of Brandenburg from 1493 till 1535.
† Ernest Duke of Lunenburg, and Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt. (Sir Matthew.)
‡ This reference was suggested by John Duke [Giovanni Duca or Vescovo], with the assistance of Scaino and Cardinus. (Sir Matthew.)
§ "Che vuole si cerchino certe cose sopra non le scrip."
‖ "L'Imperador a fato un gran resalto al Landgravio."

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peggio to do what he can, and to grant them, and to expunge certain things from the mass.

The Pope purposes making a Cardinal, by name Ghinucci, a Siennese, ambassador from the King of England, Auditor of the Chamber at the Court (of Rome), heretofore papal nuncio in England, he being elected (Cardinal) at the suit of the King of England.* The money obtained by the Pope is as follows—from Florence 80,000 ducats; there at Rome 110,000 ducats; and from the Lucchese he hopes to have 30,000 ducats.

Rome, 4–6 September. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th September.*

[*Italian.*]

August 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. pp. 291.

1095. PAGIN ERIZZO (domiciled with the Venetian Ambassador at Augsburg) to THOMA TIEPOLO.

The Emperor in the Diet replied to the articles of the Lutherans, exhorting them in fair language to renounce their false opinions, and return to the true and Catholic faith, or he would make them repent. He said that were the whole of Germany—which is not the fourth part of Christendom—to demand the Council for this matter, it ought not to be granted, still less to the Lutherans, who form but the fifth part of Germany; wherefore they must renounce their opinions, or he would convince them of their error by fact, and so forth, telling them to take time to reply until yesterday. In the meanwhile the Landgrave of Hesse, a marquis, son-in-law of the Duke of Saxony,† and one of the principal Lutherans, departed without any leave from the Emperor. It is said he subsequently wrote a letter to his Majesty to the effect that having heard that his consort was dangerously ill, he departed *insalutato hospite*, but that whenever requested by the Emperor, and on the slightest hint from him, regardless of anything else, he would return. It is said that when the Emperor urged him to renounce heresy, or he should be compelled by force, the marquis replied that for many years war had been waged in Italy, and that it was but fair it should come to Germany, for which purpose troops were being raised, and that many of the free towns were with the Lutherans, two of them having signed the articles, intending to maintain their opinions with all their might.

Should this be true, the expedition against the Turks must be renounced, which God forbid.

Augsburg, 7th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th August.*

[*Italian.*]

August 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. pp. 291, 292.

1096. The SAME to the SAME.

On Friday last the Emperor went to the Diet and presented the articles in reply to the Lutherans, drawn up by twenty or thirty most eminent Doctors of Canon Law.

The articles having been read in the presence of the Emperor, his Majesty spoke at great length, turning towards the Duke of Saxony,‡ who is the head of the Lutherans, requesting him and the others to renounce their opinions and approve this reply, declaring that they would thus perform a good act before God, and one most agreeable to his Majesty; but should they be obstinate he, as Emperor of the Christians, is bound to defend his faith and Holy Church. In the next place he discussed the Lutheran demands, which have been reduced to two; first, that priests may be allowed to marry, and those already married to cohabit with their

* The election did not take place.

† George "*the Bearded, or the Rich.*" His daughter, Cristina, became the wife of Philip Landgrave of Hesse, on the 11th December 1523, and died in 1549. (See Chiusole, p. 316.)

‡ John the Constant, the Elector, was of the Ernestinian line of the Dukes of Saxony; Duke George the Bearded, was of the Albertinian line.

1530.

wives. To this the Emperor replied that the proposal greatly surprised him, that if the whole of Germany, which is but the fifth part of all Christendom, were to demand the Council General, there would be something to say, but that it would be preposterous for a fraction (*alquanti*) to demand it, for the purpose of changing a custom which had been observed for upwards of a thousand years. To the other demand made by the Lutherans, for all the laity to communicate *sub utraque specie* like the priests, he said that as the Lutherans admit that Christ is entire in either form, they must continue the custom which for good reason was instituted by the Church, and had hitherto been observed. His Majesty added, that to gratify them the Council should be convoked if they wished it, giving them to understand that he had the Pope's permission to that effect; and he requested them to reply and state their will. They then said they must have the copy of the verbal answer given them, and that after consideration they would reply.

With the consent of the Catholic Princes the Emperor refused this demand, knowing that the Lutherans would draw up other writings and protract the business; so with the others, as a mode of adjustment concerning the two articles above mentioned, his Imperial Majesty decreed that certain persons should be appointed to confer with the Lutherans and himself, and the six Electors chose four for the Catholics and four for the Laymen (*Laici*).

Subsequently on Saturday the Landgrave of Hesse departed with four of his attendants, and wrote the letter to the Emperor as mentioned in my last.

This individual is a young man 22 (*sic*) years of age,* "*molto terribile*" in deed and word, and holder of his neighbour's goods, he having seized territories belonging to the Count of Nassau, the chief personage in the Emperor's Court, and much property owned by the Cardinal of Mentz, saying they ought not to have those revenues as they spend them amiss; and he is guilty of other similar improprieties, it being also said that he killed his mother for reproving him about his religion; but he says he killed her for other causes.†

Augsburg, 10th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th August.*

[*Italian.*]

August 10? Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. pp. 352, 353.

1097. Lutheran Opinions against the Church of God.

I. The Holy Catholic Church, of which Christ is the head, was born of the word of God, which it still maintains, "*nec audit vocem alienam.*"

II. The Christian Church does not make laws or precepts without the word of God; wherefore all human mandates are called counter-precepts of the Church, but are not binding unless based on the word of God and prescribed thereby.

III. Christ is the sole nature, wisdom, justification, redemption, and atonement for all the sins of the world, so that to acknowledge any other merit for our salvation and any other atonement is to deny Christ.

IV. It cannot be demonstrated by the words of the Bible that the body and blood of Christ are taken corporeally and essentially in the bread of grace (*pane gratiarum*).

V. The Mass, as now in use, in which we offer Christ to God the Father, for the sins of the living and the dead, is contrary to Holy Writ. To sacrifice to the passion and death of Christ is, from its abuses, a scandal and an abomination before God.

* Philip (called the Magnanimous) Landgrave of Hesse, was 26 years old in 1530, as his birth took place in 1504. (See Chiusole, p. 396.)

† The mother of the Landgrave of Hesse, was Anna, daughter of Magno Duke of Mecklenburg. (See Chiusole, as above.)

1530.

VI. As Christ alone died for us, so is he alone to be invoked as mediator and advocate between God and us; wherefore our invocation of other mediators and intercessors must be looked upon as unauthorized by Holy Writ.

VII. The existence of purgatory cannot be proved by Holy Writ, so that all the eves, the masses, the "*operationes*," the "*septenarius*," the "*tricesimus*," the anniversary, the lanterns, candles, and other similar things, are useless.

VIII. To raise images to be venerated is contrary to the word of God both in the Old and New Testaments; wherefore such as have been raised to be venerated are to be destroyed.

IX. Matrimony is not prohibited to any state or condition, but every state and condition of man is commanded to abstain from fornication and lasciviousness.

Arbitrators. For the Roman Church.	Arbitrators. For the "Evangelisti."
Princes.	Princes.
The Bishop of Augsburg. Duke Henry de Praunsberg (*sic*).	Marquis George of Brandenburg. Duke John son of Frederick (*sic*) Duke of Saxony, Elector of the Empire.
Doctors in Canon-Law.	Doctors in Canon-Law.
Marquis Erast de Boche, Chancellor and Elector of the Empire.	Dr. Pucher, Chancellor of the Imperial Elector Duke of Saxony. Dr. Coler, "*Executor*" of the Marquis George of Brandenburg.
Doctors in Theology.	Doctors in Theology.
Dr. Eck, of Ingolstadt. Dr. Herleus (*sic*) de Carnus, of Frankfort. Dr. Cumpina, "*Executor*" of the Marquis Gioachini, Elector of the Empire.	The Chief Doctor at the Court of the Marquis George of Brandenburg, by name ————. Doctor Herardus Switzer, Preacher to the Landgrave of Hesse.

Augsburg, August 10? *Registered by Sanuto, 28th September.*

[*Latin.*]

August 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 292.

1098. Antonio Bagaroto to the Duke of Mantua.

I send your Excellency the copy of the reply made by the Emperor to the Lutherans, which will not profit much, as they are "*più indiavolati che mai*," in proof of which the Landgrave departed hence, post, on the 6th, and his retinue followed him later. The Count of Nassau is to leave on the 13th to go and see his wife, and also to try and take possession of the territory of the late Prince of Orange for his son. The Count had a law suit with the Landgrave, and three awards having been given in his favour, the Landgrave offered him 300,000 ducats, or territory yielding an annual rental of 15,000 ducats.

Augsburg, 10th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th August.*

[*Italian.*]

August 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 320.

1099. The Same to the Same.

The Lutheran sect has not yet formed any decision, and seems now more inclined to moderation. This day his Majesty caused "*un parochiano*

1530.

Lutherano," who was married, to be arrested. It is not known yet what they will do with him.

Augsburg, 17th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th August.*

[*Italian.*]

August 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 329.

1100. Nicolò Tiepolo, LL.D., Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Signory.

The conference took place, and the twenty-two articles (*capitoli*) were reduced to three—(1) the sacrament to be administered under both forms; (2) married priests to remain as they are; (3) certain prayers added to the mass to be cancelled; so it is thought they will be pacified, and that these demands will be granted. Bishops, churches, etc., to continue.

Augsburg, 27th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 352.

1101. ——— to the Duke of Mantua.

Concerning the affairs of Luther no determination whatever has been made, and, so far as can be understood, the settlement of this business depends more on the restitution of the Church property than on any other article, but the greater part of these Princes have usurped portions of it for themselves, and to no small amount, so the restoring is a difficult matter; nor will they hear of coming to this pass, save by the decision of the Council.

It is said that the Emperor will depart hence shortly for Frankfort, where the election of the King of the Romans will be made.

Intelligence has been received here that some towns belonging to the Marquis Gioachini of Brandenburg have become Lutheran, which it is believed will greatly displease his most illustrious Lordship, as he is a good Christian, and is expected to punish the offenders as they deserve.

Augsburg, 12th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 352.

1102. Gregorio Pizzamano, Proveditor of Cividal di Friul, to the Signory.

The commissioners of King Ferdinand in these parts convoked a Diet at Gorizia, which was attended by all his subjects in that county, both clergy and laity, and some letters from the Emperor were read, wherein his Majesty narrated how to put an end to the Lutheran difficulties. Fourteen sages had been elected, namely, seven for the Pope, and seven for the Lutherans, whom they style "the party of the Evangelists," and they are to decide nine propositions presented by Martin Luther against the Holy Roman Church. The King commands them to elect two delegates and send them to Augsburg, as has been done by all the other provinces subject to the Emperor, so that they may be present at the aforesaid decision, and also at the debate about the provision to be made for the war against the Turks. At this Diet Luther's said propositions were read, together with the names of the persons elected who were sent by the Emperor.

Cividal di Friul, 23rd September. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. liii. p. 353.

1103. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

The Pope complained to him that the affairs of Germany do not proceed in the manner desired by him, nor will they be adjusted. The Lutherans "*voleno*" the property of the priests.

Rome, 24th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th September.*

[*Italian.*]

1530.
Oct. 2. 1104. —— to the Duke of Mantua.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 35. According to letters from the Imperial Court dated the 15th ultimo, the Lutherans are more obstinate than ever, nor can they be induced to abandon the eight most important articles. In these letters, nothing is said about the Council, though by previous advices it is understood it must be conceded, though before its commencement a long time may elapse, there being many conditions for observance, which will occupy months, and perhaps years.

Rome, 2nd October. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 5. 1105. Sigismondo Fanzino to the Duke of Mantua.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 68. Although the affairs of these Lutherans have not been brought to any further conclusion, there has nevertheless been much talk within the last two days of the departure of the Court for Flanders, which it is said will take place in 15 or 20 days; and this is the more credited, because in addition to the 600,000 ducats payable by the States of Flanders for "the service of the Court," the Flemings have offered, if the journey takes place, to pay all the arrears due to the Imperial household, which are supposed to amount to another 300,000 ducats; so that the idea of departing hence, where breath is wasted, and the sun rarely visible, and where there is "*un bestialissimo freddo,*" coupled with the mention of money, rejoices the whole Court.

The people of Augsburg "*dicono voler esser boni,*" and the day before yesterday commenced opening some churches which have been long closed, the chief of which is that of St. Francis, though as yet there are only two or three "*fraticelli,*" in very sorry plight.

Augsburg, 5th October 1530. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 19. 1106. Note by Sanuto.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 69. Advices received from the Duke of Milan that there was dissension amongst the Catholics and that they came to blows, part adhering to the Lutheran opinion, so that the Emperor sent an ambassador express to the Pope to tell him that he must "*al tutto*" call the Council, but there are no letters about this from our ambassador [Nicolò Tiepolo].

[*Italian.*]

1531.
April 1. 1107. Note by Sanuto.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 405. Reported that the King of England, the King of Denmark, the Duke of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburg and many others, and all the Lutheran Free Towns, have leagued together against the Pope.

[*Italian.*]

July 17. 1108. Nicolò Tiepolo to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 592. The Emperor has come to an agreement with . . . . . (Bishop?) of Liege;* and in a Lutheran city called Ulm, they have despoiled all the churches of the saints; and what they dream by night, they do, and even with regard to "*cose veneree,*" to the extent of having connexion with their nearest female relatives, saying "God inspires us." The Emperor purposes attending the Diet ordered at Spires; and it seems that Nuremberg supports the election of the King of the Romans.

* "col . . . . . di Lege."

1531.

This sect which has sprung up here styles itself "that of the Dreamers" (*de li Insuniati*), and is established in the neighbourhood of . . . . .*

Brussels, 17th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. pp. 645–647.

1109. Bortolo Fontio, Minorite Friar, to Hironimo Marcello.

This city is divided into three factions, viz. the Papists (*Papisti*), who still have here their churches, images, masses, canonical hours, and bells, though they are in very small number as compared with the other inhabitants; but amongst them are some very wealthy individuals, and who are powerful in the city, such as the Fuggers, because they have much to do with ecclesiastical benefices and with the Emperor. They perform their usual ceremonies without any hindrance, it being the intention of the Government to let all men believe what they please; though I know not how they can tolerate the scoffs and gibes of the multitude, who constantly ridicule their ceremonies. They preach to small congregations, and perhaps hope that the approaching Diet at Spires will improve their condition; but the best informed persons do not expect it to be held, unless by means of the embassy sent to him the Emperor persuade the Duke of Saxony to attend it in person. Of this, however, I will give you notice from day to day.

The second faction is that of the Lutherans, who are numerous, and complain greatly of the dismissal by the Government of some of their preachers, because they did not agree with certain other preachers of the faction of Zuingle in the matter of the Eucharist; but the Government acted thus for the public peace.

The third faction, which is that of Zuingle, is the greatest, and it comprises beyond comparison many more of the citizens, so that yesterday they celebrated the communion *more Zuinglij*, and side with him in all things as you know, and all the Evangelical preachers are unanimously in his favour. By reason of this division I am not much pleased to remain in this city; though, being here, I endeavour to acquaint myself with the arguments and authorities of both parties, but will not precipitate my judgment.

On holidays, the aforesaid preachers preach "*la scriptura sacra*" in five places, some of them expounding Matthew, some Paul, *et sic de singulis, tutti differentemente*, before the sermon, there being present a very great concourse of people evincing much devotion; and they go without much ringing of bells, which merely strike the hours. All the people sing the Psalms of David, most melodiously, causing great spiritual joy and consolation to the hearers; so that after the sermon, they always sing a psalm; and then the preacher exhorts them to give alms, which are most abundant, in such wise that the need of such as are unable to help themselves is provided for. He also exhorts them to pray for all sorts and conditions of men, (*pro quovis hominum genere accommodate*), as likewise for the propagation of the Gospel. They live very frugally, with regard both to apparel, household furniture, and daily food; and they administer exemplary justice.

They also give daily lectures in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; and attend more than ever was the practice formerly to the education of youth, both as concerns literature and sound Christian morality.

* In Tiepolo's report of his embassy to Charles V. (vol. i., series 1, p. 127, edited by Alberi, 1839), the "*Dreamers*" are called "*Spiritualists*" (*Spirituali*); the ambassador says they were communists, and allowed themselves "*ogni incestuosa e bestial libidine purchè ad alcuno venga voglia d'usarla.*"

The editor states in a footnote that the "*Spirituali*" did not form an independent sect, but were an emanation from the Anabaptists. I do not know on what authority this contradiction is based.

1851.

This sect which has sprung up here styles itself "that of the Dreamers" (de l'Assemblée), and is established in the neighbourhood of . . . . .

Brussels, 17th July. Approved by Senate, 4th August.

[Italian.]

Aug. 7. Senato Diario, v. liv. pp. 645–647.

1103. Decreto Portoria, Alimenti Frati, to Diocesan Directors.

This city is divided into three Sections, viz. the Tepolo (Temple), who still have their churches, liturgy, masses, canonical hours, and bells, though they are in very small number as compared with the other inhabitants; but amongst them are some very wealthy individuals, and who are powerful in the city, such as the Zappers, because they have much to do with ecclesiastical benefices and with the Emperor. They perform their usual ceremonies without any tendency to bring the intention of the Government to let all men believe what they please: though I know not how they can tolerate the evils and gilse of the multitude, who constantly ridicule their ceremonies. They preach to small congregations, and perhaps hope that the approaching Diet at Spirea will improve their condition; but the best informed persons do not expect it to be held, unless by means of the embassy sent to this Emperor personally the Duke of Saxony to attend it in person. Of this, however, I will give you notice from day to day.

The second faction is that of the Lutherans, who are numerous, and complain greatly of the dismissal by the Government of some of their preachers, because they did not agree with certain other preachers of the faction of Zuingle in the matter of the Eucharist; but the Government acted thus for the public peace.

The third faction, which is that of Zuingle, is the greatest, and it comprises beyond comparison nearly more of the citizens, so that yesterday they celebrated the communion more Zuingly, and side with him in all things as you know, and all the Evangelical preachers are unanimously in his favour. By reason of this division I am not much pleased to remain in this city; though, being here, I endeavour to acquaint myself with the arguments and authorities of both parties, but will not precipitate my judgment.

On holidays, the aforesaid preachers preach "de scriptura-more" in five places, some of them expounding Matthew, some Paul, and so de singulis, and [illegible], before the sermon, there being present a very great concourse of people orderly much devotion; and they go without much ringing of bells, which merely strike the hours. All the people sing the Psalms of David most melodiously, causing great spiritual joy and consolation to the hearers, so that after the sermon, they always sing a psalm; and then the preacher exhorts them to pray also, which are most abundant, in such wise that the need of such as are unable to help themselves is provided for. He also exhorts them to pray for all sorts and conditions of men, (pro omnis hominum generis necessitate), as they do for the propagation of the Gospel. They live very frugally, with regard both to apparel, household furniture, and daily food; and they administer exemplary justice.

They also give daily lectures in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; and attend more than ever was the practice formerly to the education of youth, both as concerns literature and sound Christian morality.

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* In Tepolo's report of his embassy to Cracow V. vol. I. series I. p. 152, cited by Alberi, 1839, the "Anomeo" are called "Anabattisti" ("Sectatori"), the reformed says they were communists, and allowed to themselves "ogni cosa come comune ed alcuno cosa veglio s'avesse."

The editor states in a footnote that the "Sectatori" did not form an independent sect, but were an emanation from the Anabaptists. I do not know on what authority this contradiction is based.

1531.

Concerning works of charity, there are six delegates appointed by the Government to visit the town, which is divided [into districts] accordingly,* and to see to the poor, by which I mean such as are not in the hospitals.†

There is nothing else to announce at present. If able to acquaint myself better with the government of the town, I will give you full account.

I have not any books to send you, as there is no novelty of importance in the libraries, save things written in German. "*Vale, patrone et domine mi singularissime.*"‡

Augsburg, 7th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. pp. 647, 648.

1110. The MANTUAN AMBASSADOR to the DUKE of MANTUA.

The people of Nuremberg and Ulm have lately introduced a new sect, which no longer allows any ceremonies or sermons, or books, either of the Old or New Testament, saying that with a clean conscience, and having the soul turned to God, God inspires man with what he has to do, and that these inspirations are perverted by the precepts which are read in books and heard from preachers; wherefore these sectarians forbid both one and the other, so that they may freely act according to the divine inspiration, without being diverted or seduced by the rules of others. It is foreseen "*che con questo principio habbia ad venir alla comunione de tutte le cose*," as intended by them a few years ago, when the peasants rebelled; and the system being very detrimental to the Princes, both Heretics and Catholics, it is hoped that in this way the Lord God will rouse them; and that they will unite together against this plague, which, if allowed to take root, might then produce the most mischievous effects.

Brussels, 7th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 666.

1111. NICOLÒ TIEPOLO to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor's departure for Spires, where the Diet was to have been held, has been delayed until October, because the plague is there; and they wish to hold it at Worms.

A few days ago, the Lutherans held a Diet at Nuremberg, and said they would submit to the Emperor and the King of the Romans in temporal matters; but that with regard to spiritual matters, they choose to believe in their own fashion, until the convocation of the Council.

The King of the Romans has written to the Emperor that the Princes will send their envoys to the Diet, but not come in person, which the Emperor considers indecorous for him.

Brussels, 30th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. p. 661.

1112. ADVICES from GERMANY received by way of Milan.

The new sect of the "*Insuniatori*" is opposed by the Lutherans, who have burnt eight men and four women; with other particulars, *ut in litteris.*

Milan, 5th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th September.*

[*Italian.*]

* "Circha le opere di carità, sei sono deputati per il dominio, gli quali debbano visitare la terra similiter divisa."

† "Negli hospitali;" query, almshouses.

‡ The letter ends with messages to the writer's friends at Venice, who seem all to have been literary men, whose place of meeting was a silk-mercer's shop, belonging to one "Zacaria" (*In apothecâ a serico Domini Zacaria*). In Venice, the shops of respectable tradesmen were places of resort for men of letters, before the establishment of coffee houses, and were still frequented by them even in the present century; the learned librarian Morelli presiding at Mantovani's the apothecary in "Calle Larga," at St. Mark's.

1531.
Sept. 5.
Sanuto Diaries, v. liv. pp. 664, 665.

1113. ZUAM BASADONNA, Venetian Ambassador with the Duke of Milan, to the SIGNORY.

On the 24th July I wrote that at the Diet of Spires they were to discuss the Lutheran affairs, and other new heresies, without explaining what they were, as the particulars had not then arrived here.

It is now heard, through letters written from Munich last month, that a new sect has sprung up, called the sect "*delli somniatori.*" It originated in Franconia, and has not yet spread much, being persecuted by the authorities and the Princes; twelve persons having been executed in eight days, eight men and four women.

These sectarians maintain that preaching is neither useful, necessary, nor commanded by God, so they disparage it. The foundation of their faith consists in certain dreams and visions—styled by them revelations,—and the like; and they do nothing but what is manifested to them by their said dreams and pretended revelations. They moreover dissolve marriage, dismissing their lawful wives, and marrying them to others, saying that such is the commission from God. They do not believe in the Eucharist, nor yet in baptism; so the Senate of Nuremberg has issued proclamations forbidding any one to consort with such heretics under pain of death.

Ulm has entirely given up the mass, and "*fa una cena*" on Sunday; and the like is said of part of the population of Augsburg. The foundation of this supper is the bread and wine, which remain (they believe) in their original substance, and do not change, but become "*dominice*" bread and wine, to be used in the service of the Lord, and they therefore call it "*sancto segno.*" They maintain that Christ is present at the supper, but not in the bread; according to St. Matthew, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;" and that in faith they eat the body and drink the blood of Christ. They moreover believe many other things which astound those who hear them.

The Lutherans make every possible demonstration of being opposed to this sect, and of hatred to it.

May the Lord God provide for his religion.

Milan, 5th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29, 30.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 28.

1114. NICOLÒ TIEPOLO to the SIGNORY.

The Lutheran delegates have come to make four demands of the Emperor.

1st. A safeconduct for themselves and their effects when coming to the Diet.

2dly. That they may bring with them Martin Luther, and that no molestation whatever be offered him.

3dly. That at Spires, where the Diet is to be held, the preachers may be allowed to preach.

4thly. That they may be allowed to eat meat when they please.

Should his Majesty not think fit to grant these conditions, they pray him not to compel them to attend this Diet.

These requests displeased the Emperor greatly; and he answered them, that he would grant the safeconduct willingly, although it was not needed, but that with regard to the rest, he would concede them nothing.

Brussels, 29th and 30th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th and 13th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. pp. 41, 42.

1115. LETTER from BRUSSELS concerning LUTHERAN AFFAIRS.

At present nothing more is said here about the Emperor's going into Germany, for as yet the Lutherans do not acquiesce, and, on the contrary, are worse than ever, and their sect increases daily. The whole House of

1531.

Brandenburg is of their faith, whereas before the Diet of Augsburg the Marquis George alone professed it. The Cardinal of Mentz,* who was so very hostile to the Lutherans, now agrees with them, and will perhaps marry, many bishops of the country doing the like. The Marquis Gioachim,† brother of the Cardinal, also of the house of Brandenburg, who showed himself the best Christian of any at the Diet of Augsburg, now shares his brother's opinion; so that of the whole family [of Brandenburg] there remains but one [Roman Catholic], Giovanni Alberto,‡ who resides at the Emperor's Court, and is "Clerk Prothonotary" (*Clerico Prothonotario*), and in the time of Pope Leo resided at Rome with another of his brothers. So you can judge for yourself how the affairs of these Lutherans prosper; and they say they will not attend the Diet should the Emperor discuss the faith. If they come, they choose the gates of the city to remain open day and night, and that their preachers be allowed to preach; with other articles sent by them to the Emperor, too long to enumerate. It is said that Martin Luther will come, should the Diet be held, which may easily come to pass from what took place this morning, when the Emperor assembled the municipality of this city at the palace in a large hall, he himself and the Queen [Dowager of Hungary] his sister being present. They conferred upwards of three hours, the conference purporting that his Majesty, intending to go into Germany, leaves certain concessions (*capitoli*) for the people and their government, and recommends his sister to them. After his Majesty had said much by proxy, he also spoke to them with his own lips for upwards of an hour, the Queen likewise making a speech. Their discourse was so gracious and affable that it well nigh moved to tears, and the people declared themselves unanimously his servants and slaves.

Brussels, 7th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 17 ?
Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 50.

1116. Battle of Baden.

News received at Milan from Switzerland.

Last evening news arrived that the eight Lutheran cantons of Switzerland united, in number 20,000, because the five Christian cantons purposed punishing their rebel subjects. So the Lutheran forces went to Zug, one of the chief of the five Christian cantons, which sent for succour from the other four, and altogether they mustered a force of 8,000 men, with which on the 11th instant, at about the twenty-first hour, they attacked the enemy. It was a pious satisfaction to see the Catholics victorious. After having routed the Lutherans they killed some 2,000 of them, taking four banners and twenty-four pieces of artillery. Few of the Christians were killed, but many were wounded, and had not the night intervened the slaughter would have been greater. The event may be considered advantageous for the religion and the Diet of Spires, and gives hopes that should another engagement take place the like mishap will not befall the Christians, which may God grant, should recourse to arms be unavoidable.

Lugano, 17th October? *Registered by Sanuto, 24th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 21.
Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 55.

1117. Zuam Basadonna to the Signory.

Letters from Giacomo Fier, Captain of Lugano, dated the 17th instant, announce the rout of the eight Lutheran cantons, which took place at Baden

* Albert (son of John), brother of Gioachim I., the reigning Elector of Brandenburg.

† Gioachim II., son of the Elector of Brandenburg, Gioachim I., whom he succeeded in 1535.

‡ Son of Frederick, and brother of Marquis George. Chiusole (p. 340) calls him Gumberto; says he was a canon, and in the service of Leo X., and that he died in the year 1528 (*sic*).

1531.

Brandenburg is of their faith, whereas before the Diet of Augsburg the Margrave George alone professed it. The Cardinal of Mentz,* who was so very hostile to the Lutherans, now agrees with them, and will perhaps marry, many bishops of the country doing the like. The Margrave Christopher, brother of the Cardinal, also of the house of Brandenburg, who showed himself the best Christian of any at the Diet of Augsburg, sees above his brother's opinion; so that of the whole family [of Brandenburg] there remaining but one [Hessian Catholic], Albert,† who resides at the Emperor's Court, and is "Clerk Treasonstory" (Clerico Proditorio), and in the time of Pope Leo resided at Rome with another of his brothers. So you can judge for yourself how the affairs of these Lutherans prosper, and they say they will not attend the Diet should the Emperor decree the faith. If they come, they choose the place of the city to remain over-day and night, and that their preachers be allowed to preach, with other articles sent by them to the Emperor, too long to enumerate. It is said that Martin Luther will come, should the Diet be held, which may easily come to pass from what took place this morning, when the Emperor assembled the municipality of this city at the palace in a large hall, he himself and the Queen [Dowager of Hungary] his sister being present. They conferred upwards of three hours, the conference purporting that his Majesty, intending to go into Germany, leave certain commissioners (coprinci) for the people and duke governance, and recommends his state to them. After his Majesty had said much by proxy, he also spoke to them with his own lips for upwards of an hour, the Queen likewise making a speech. Their discourse was so gracious and affable that it well might move[d] to tears, and the people declared themselves unanimously his servants and slaves.

Brussels, 7th October. Registered by Sanuto, 20th October.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 17 ? — 1116. BATTLE of BLENEK.

Sanuto Diarii, v. lv. p. 50.

News received at Milan from Switzerland.

Last evening news arrived that the eight Lutheran cantons of Switzerland united, in number 20,000, because the five Christian cantons purposed punishing their rebel subjects. So the Lutheran forces went to Zug, one of the chief of the five Christian cantons, which sent for succour from the other four, and altogether they mustered a force of 8,000 men, with which on the 11th instant, at about the twenty-first hour, they attacked the enemy. It was a plain satisfaction to see the Catholics victorious. After having routed the Lutherans they killed some 2,000 of them, taking four bronze and twenty-four pieces of artillery. Five of the Christians were killed, but many were wounded, and last year the night intervened the slaughter would have been greater. The event may be considered advantageous for the religion and the Diet of Spires, and gives hopes that should another engagement take place the like mishap will not befall the Christians, which may God grant, should recourse to arms be unavoidable.

Lugano, 17th October? Registered by Sanuto, 24th October.

[*Venice.*]

Oct. 21. — 1117. ZOLY BRANDENBURG to the BURGRAVE.

Sanuto Diarii, v. lv. p. 55.

Letters from Giacomo Thor, Captain of Lugano, dated the 17th instant, announce the rout of the eight Lutheran cantons, which took place at Blenen

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* Albert (son of John, brother of Joachim I.; the reigning Elector of Brandenburg).

† Joachim II., son of the Elector of Brandenburg Joachim I., whom he succeeded in 1535.

‡ Leo of Parkstan, and brother of Joseph George. Clement (p. 249) calls him Gaudenzio; says he was a canon, and in the service of Leo X., and that he died in the year 1532 (sic).

1531.

of Capel (*di Capel*), one and a half German miles from Zug. On their flight they threw away all their arms, and the Christians captured two banners of Zurich, and those of Friburg. Fifteen hundred Lutherans were killed, and the Catholics pursued them for a distance of two miles along the road and through the woods until near Zurich. Amongst the killed is Ulric Zuingle, the enemy of the Faith, and chief leader of this sect, together with many other natives of Zurich, Captain Plainter, the late Abbot of Santa Maria di Gualdo, the Abbot of Capel, &c., &c.

Subsequently the troops of the five cantons also took the castle of Lucerne; so Giacomo Fier by this letter demands money and harquebuses from the Milanese, as the Bernese will now come with a considerable force to attack the five cantons. The Duke [of Milan] has offered his mediation to both parties for the adjustment of their disputes.

Milan, 21st October. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th October.*

Postscript.—A person has arrived with news that the Bernese, in number 30,000, gave battle to 20,000 of the Christians. The latter were victorious, causing the former no little loss and slaughter, for which the Lord God be thanked.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28.

1118. BATTLE of BADEN?

Sanuto Diaries, v. lv. p. 54.

Note by Sanuto, how on that morning letters were received from Basadonna, Ambassador at Milan, with advices of a battle fought between 30,000 Lutherans and 20,000 Catholics; and the Catholics were victorious, and killed many of the [Lutheran] leaders, *ut in litteris.*

[*Italian.*]

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ERRATA.

No. 28, *for* "Eihingham" *read* "Echingham."

„ 71, line 6, *transfer* "Sir Gregory Casal" *to the next line, after* "English ambassador."

Page 61, line 9, *for* "Turrene" *read* "Turenne."

No. 273, line 7 from foot, *for* "Possi" *read* "Poissi."

Page 357, line 2, *for* "cellarer" *read* "cell-keeper" (*celerario*, the friar who takes care of the cells in a convent).

No. 1092, line 1, *for* "Marco" *read* "Mario."

Page 505, line 4, *for* "Philip Landgrave, son of Duke John," *read* "Philip Landgrave [of Hesse], John [Frederick], son of Duke John [of Saxony]."

In Volume III.

Nos. 1264, 1277, 1278, 1283, 1347, 1360, 1372, 1375, 1379, 1385, 1389, 1408, 1416, and 1448, *for* "Marco Foscari," *read* "Domenico Venier." (The latter, and not the former, as stated in the Nos. given above, was the Venetian ambassador at Rome from April 1526 till the autumn of 1527.)

Index, p. 654, under "Cabot, Sebastian," *for* "Francis" *read* "Venice."

„ p. 730, *insert* "Venier, Domenico, Venetian ambassador at Rome, letters from and to, 1264, 1277," &c. (as above.)

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The "Fœdera," or "Rymer's Fœdera," is a collection of miscellaneous documents illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Charles II. Several editions of the "Fœdera" have been published, and the present Syllabus was undertaken to make the contents of this great National Work more generally known.

In the Press.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. IV., Part 2.—1526, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. III.—1586, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* ALLAN JAMES CROSBY, Esq., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. VIII.—1566–1568.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF JAMES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by the* Rev. C. W. RUSSELL, D.D., and JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. I.—1603, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH (continued), preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Vol. VIII.—Addenda, 1580, &c.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FŒDERA; with Index. Vol. II.

CALENDAR OF THE CAREW PAPERS, preserved in the Lambeth Library. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London; and WILLIAM BULLEN, Esq. Vol. VI.—1603, &c.

In Progress.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. Hen. VIII.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. Vol. IV.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1622, &c. Vol. V.—America and West Indies, 1661, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. XIV.—1639.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. Vol. V.—1534, &c.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[ROYAL 8vo., half-bound. *Price* 10*s*. each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an "uniform and convenient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's "royal sanction, would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, "and conducive to the advancement of historical and constitutional know-"ledge; that the House therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He "would be graciously pleased to give such directions as His Majesty, in His "wisdom, might think fit, for the publication of a complete edition of the "ancient historians of this realm, and assured His Majesty that whatever "expense might be necessary for this purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

1. THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, by JOHN CAPGRAVE. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. LIVES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. I.—La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei. II.—Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III.—Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., and probably written in the year 1245, on the occasion of the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between the years 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between the years 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA; scilicet, I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. II.—Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. III.—Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College London. 1858.

This volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It has been the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed.

5. FASCICULI ZIZANIORUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS WYCLIF CUM TRITICO. Ascribed to THOMAS NETTER, of WALDEN, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written, the disputes of the school-

men had been extended to the field of theology, and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. THE BUIK OF THE CRONICLIS OF SCOTLAND ; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece ; by WILLIAM STEWART. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, and was written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends, and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for in such a work as this ; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true ; and the chronicle is valuable as a reflection of the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this metrical version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. JOHANNIS CAPGRAVE LIBER DE ILLUSTRIBUS HENRICIS. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three distinct parts, each having its own separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, and extends from the election of Henry I., the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, and extends from the accession of Henry I. in the year 1100, to the year 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of King Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world.

Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for the history of which period his work is of some value.

8. HISTORIA MONASTERII S. AUGUSTINI CANTUARIENSIS, by THOMAS OF ELMHAM, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. EULOGIUM (HISTORIARUM SIVE TEMPORIS) : Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366 ; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. HAYDON, Esq., B.A. 1858–1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially

of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH: Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in the year 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest in connexion with the period are given in an appendix.

11. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Edited by* CHARLES A. COLE, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A Life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici, written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859–1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and early part of the fifteenth centuries.

The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the fourteenth century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the twelfth, thirteenth, and early part of the fourteenth centuries.

13. CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. *Edited by* Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in the year 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and

comes down to the year 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom, which are not to be elsewhere obtained, and some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. A Collection of Political Poems and Songs relating to English History, from the Accession of Edward III. to the Reign of Henry VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A. 1859–1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us, through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. The "Opus Tertium," "Opus Minus," &c., of Roger Bacon. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon: also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologiæ.*"

16. Bartholomæi de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana; 449–1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. Brut y Tywysogion; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A Collection of Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV. 1399–1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events. The period requires much elucidation; to which it will materially contribute.

19. The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy. By Reginald Pecock, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born

about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual mediæval reward—persecution.

20. ANNALES CAMBRIÆ. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in the year 447, and come down to the year 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle, which was also used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. THE WORKS OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V. and VI. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861–1868.

The first three volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before, and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The Topographia Hibernica (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in the year 1183, the second in 1185–6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the Topographia of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony, with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The Expugnatio Hibernica was written about the year 1188, and may be regarded rather

as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history.

Vol. VI. contains the Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ.

22. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE WARS OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861–1864.

The letters and papers contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impérial, and the Depôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the line of policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and such other provinces of France as had been acquired by Henry V. We may here trace, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared to read of its final overthrow.

23. THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* BENJAMIN THORPE, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to the year 1154, is justly the boast of England; for no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, either in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGNS OF RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1861–1863.

The Papers are derived from MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from these documents is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. LETTERS OF BISHOP GROSSETESTE, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066–1200. Vol. III.; 1200–1327. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862–1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials,

when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages; the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which the original portions are distinguished from those which are mere compilations. When possible, the sources are indicated, from which such compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice has also been given of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III. Vol. I., 1216–1235. Vol. II., 1236–1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862–1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.—1. THOMÆ WALSINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272–1381: Vol. II., 1381–1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259–1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELOWE ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259–1296; 1307–1324; 1392–1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMA WALSINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIÆ PRÆCENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793–1290: Vol. II., 1290–1349: Vol. III., 1349–1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1871.

In the first two volumes is a history of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., written by Thomas Walsingham, precentor of St. Albans and prior of the cell of Wymondham, belonging to that abbey. Walsingham's work is printed from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the third volume is a Chronicle of English History, from 1259 to 1306, attributed to William Rishanger, monk of Saint Albans, who lived in the reign of Edward I., printed from the Cottonian Manuscript, Faustina B. IX. (of the fourteenth century) in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219–231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cottonian Manuscript Claudius E. III., fols. 306–331: Also an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol by King Edward I., 1291–1292, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., attributed to William Rishanger above mentioned, but on no sufficient ground: A short Chronicle of English History, from 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A short Chronicle from 1297 to 1307, Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi Regis Angliæ, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with an addition of Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: A fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1299, 1300, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A fragment of a Chronicle of English History,

1295 to 1300, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: and a fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1285 to 1307, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library.

In the fourth volume is a Chronicle of English History, by an anonymous writer, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: Annals of King Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henricus de Blaneforde, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A full Chronicle of English History, by an anonymous writer of St. Albans, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and an account of the benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the fifteenth century, from MS. VI. in the same Library.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes (which form an entirely separate work), contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, and of the fortunes and vicissitudes of the house, from 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, Præcentor of the Abbey in the reign of Richard II., and transcribed from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum; with a brief Continuation of the History, extracted from the closing pages of the Parker MS. No. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The eighth and ninth volumes are in continuation of the Annals, containing a Chronicle supposed to have been written by John Amundesham, a monk of that monastery.

29. Chronicon Abbatiæ Eveshamensis, Auctoribus Dominico Priore Eveshamiæ et Thoma de Marleberge Abbate, a Fundatione ad Annum 1213, una cum Continuatione ad Annum 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. Macray, M.A., Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ. Vol. I., 447–871. Vol. II., 872–1066. *Edited by* John E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863–1869.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355–1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book iii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Brittaniæ*, in 1747.

31. Year Books of the Reign of Edward the First. Years 20–21, 30–31, and 32–33. *Edited and translated by* Alfred John Horwood, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1866.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "lex non scripta" of England, and have been held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and were received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of the attention of the general reader on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

32. Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy; 1449–1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conferences

between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham. 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in the year 1450. The history commences with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ends with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The whole period embraced is less than two years.

33. HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. HART, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863–1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester, the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "this Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; "but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre; and though there are many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT OF EARLY ENGLAND; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1864–1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

36. ANNALES MONASTICI. Vol. I.:—Annales de Margan, 1066–1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1263; Annales de Burton, 1004–1263. Vol. II.:—Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519–1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291. Vol. III.:—Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1–1297; Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042–1432. Vol. IV.:—Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016–1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066–1289; Annales Prioratus de

Wigornia, 1–1377. Vol. V. :—Index and Glossary. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS. From Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and, being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186 ; he died on the 16th of November 1200 ; and was canonized in 1220.

38. CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST. Vol. I. :—ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI. Vol. II. :—EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES ; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury ; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199 ; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records ; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. RECUEIL DES CRONIQUES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAIGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, par JEHAN DE WAURIN. Vol. I., Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399–1422. *Edited by* WILLIAM HARDY, Esq. F.S.A. 1864–1868.

40. A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, by JOHN DE WAVRIN. Albina to 688. (Translation of the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by* WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A. 1864.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471, after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete

and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vol. III. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Rawson Lumby, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865–1871.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. Le Livere de Reis de Brittanie e Le Livere de Reis de Engletere. *Edited by* John Glover, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livere de Reis de Engletere." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French.

It is supposed that Peter of Ickham must have been the author, but no certain conclusion on that point has been arrived at.

43. Chronica Monasterii de Melsa, ab Anno 1150 usque ad Annum 1406. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* Edward Augustus Bond, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. Matthæi Parisiensis Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067–1253. *Edited by* Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1866–1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the 'Historia Major.' The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455–1023. *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by* EDWARD EDWARDS, Esq. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources, which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from, writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments. There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. CHRONICON SCOTORUM: A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, from the EARLIEST TIMES to 1135; with a SUPPLEMENT, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150. *Edited, with a Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked, year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are the invasions of foreigners and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1866–1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and that he lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum," in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, down to the death of Henry III., and in the third a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, or, THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN. *Edited, with a Translation, by* JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. THE CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169–1192; known

under the name of BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868–1871.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree, showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work: it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE. *Edited, from William of Malmesbury's Autograph MS., by* N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Pontificum" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122. The manuscript which has been followed in this Edition is supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the author's autograph, containing his latest additions and amendments.

53. HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172–1320. *Edited by* JOHN T. GILBERT, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

A collection of original documents, elucidating mainly the history and condition of the municipal, middle, and trading classes under or in relation with the rule of England in Ireland,—a subject hitherto in almost total obscurity. Extending over the first hundred and fifty years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, the series includes charters, municipal laws and regulations, rolls of names of citizens and members of merchant-guilds, lists of commodities with their rates, correspondence, illustrations of relations between ecclesiastics and laity; together with many documents exhibiting the state of Ireland during the presence there of the Scots under Robert and Edward Bruce.

54. THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM 1014 to 1590. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1871.

The original of this chronicle has passed under various names. The title of "Annals of Loch Cé" was given to it by Professor O'Curry, on the ground that it was transcribed for Brian Mac Dermot, an Irish chieftain, who resided on an island in Loch-Cé, in the county of Roscommon. It adds much to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland; and contains many curious references to English and foreign affairs, not noticed in any other chronicle.

In the Press.

A Collection of Sagas and other Historical Documents relating to the Settlements and Descents of the Northmen on the British Isles. *Edited by* George Webbe Dasent, Esq., D.C.L. Oxon.

Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, Secretary to Henry VI., with other Letters and Documents. *Edited by* the Rev. George Williams, B.D., Senior Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

Roll of the Privy Council of Ireland, 16 Richard II. *Edited by* the Rev. James Graves, A.B., Treasurer of St. Canice, Ireland.

The Works of Giraldus Cambrensis. Vol. IV. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. VII. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire.

Chronicon Radulphi Abbatis Coggeshalensis Majus; and, Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ et de Captis a Saladino Hierosolymis. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham.

Iter Britanniarum: the Portion of the Antonine Itinerary of the Roman Empire relating to Great Britain. *Edited by* William Henry Black, Esq., F.S.A.

Year Books of the Reign of Edward the First. Years 21–22. *Edited and translated by* Alfred John Horwood, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law.

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The Anglo-Latin Satirists of the Twelfth Century. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A.

Documents relating to England and Scotland, from the Northern Registers. *Edited by* the Rev. James Raine, M.A., Canon of York, and late Fellow of the University, Durham.

Matthæi Parisiensis Historia Major. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge.

Liber Niger Admiralitatis. *Edited by* Sir Travers Twiss, D.C.L., Queen's Advocate-General.

Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII. *Edited by* the Rev. William Campbell, M.A.

Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, with Trevisa's Translation. Vol. IV *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Rawson Lumby, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

In Progress.

THE METRICAL CHRONICLE OF ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER. *Edited by* WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A.

RECUEIL DES CRONIQUES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAIGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, par JEHAN DE WAURIN. Vol. III. *Edited by* WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A.

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CHRONICLE OF WALTER OF COVENTRY. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.

CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.—6. REGISTRUM ABBATIÆ JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII S. ALBANI, SECUNDO; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, HUC USQUE, UT VIDETUR, ADSCRIPTUM. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford, and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law.

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